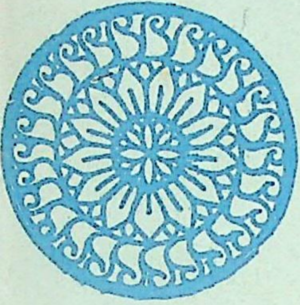
Lii-Liii January-December (1996-1997)



JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA KENDRIYA SANSKRITA VIDYAPEETHA

EDITORS

Gaya C. Tripathi

Maya Malaviya

I S S N 0016—4461

Journal of the
Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
(Formerly : *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*)

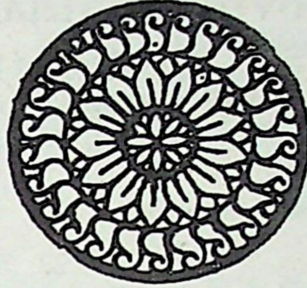
A Journal devoted to Oriental Studies in general and Indological Studies in particular

Sketch on Cover Shows
the building of
Ganganatha Jha Kendriya
Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad
established on 17th November 1943.

Published by
Prof. G. C. Tripathi, Ph. D.. Dr. Phil.. D. Litt.

Published by

G.C. Tripathi, Ph. D., Dr. Phil., D. Litt.
Principal
Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
Chandrashekhar Azad Park
Allahabad—2
India



।। गोविन्दाभिनन्दनम् ।।

(द्वितीयो भागः)

Govindâbhinandanam

(Part II)

Prof. Govinda Chandra Pande
Felicitation Volume

Essays on Archaeology, History & Culture, Religion, Philosophy, Art & Architecture, Language and Literature

।। गोविन्दाभिनन्दनम् ।।

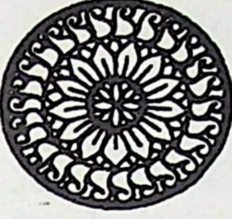
Govindâbhinandanam

Members of the Felicitation Committee

(In alphabetical order)

1. A. V. Narasimha Murthy
2. A. D. Pant
3. A. M. Shastri
4. A. L. Srivastava
5. B. B. Lal
6. B. N. Mukherjee
7. B. N. Puri
8. Bimal Chand Shukla
9. B. P. Sinha
10. B. N. S. Yadav
11. C. B. Tripathi
12. D. N. Tripathi
13. G. C. Tripathi
14. Jagatpati Joshi
15. J. S. Negi
16. K. D. Bajpai
17. Lallanji Gopal
18. M. C. Joshi
19. Maya Malaviya
20. Manju Shri Rao
21. N. C. Ghosh
22. Om Prakash
23. R. N. Mehta
24. R. K. Verma
25. S. K. Bajpai
26. S. C. Bhattacharya
27. S. N. Chaturvedi
28. S. N. Dubey
29. S. R. Goel
30. S. P. Gupta
31. S. C. Kala
32. Sandhya Mukherjee
33. S. C. Pande
34. S. L. Pande
35. Sushila Pant
36. S. S. Roy
37. U. P. Arora
38. U. N. Roy
39. Upendra Thakur
40. U. S. Tiwari
41. V. S. Bhatnager
42. V. C. Srivastava

□□□



JOURNAL OF THE GANGANATHA JHA KENDRIYA SANSKRITA VIDYAPEETHA

Editors

GAYA C. TRIPATHI

MAYA MALAVIYA



Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha

Chandrashekhar Azad Park

Allahabad-2

2000

ISSN..0016-4461

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
(Formerly : Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute)

The Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha is a constituent Institute of *The Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan*, Delhi, which is run under the auspices of the Ministry of Human Resources Development, Govt. of India.

●

गङ्गानाथप्रसृमरयशश्चन्द्रिकाधौतहर्म्यं
कूजद्विद्वद्विहगनिवहानेकगीताभिरामम्।
काले काले कुसुमितनवान्वेषणाऽऽमोदिताशं
विद्यापीठं जयतु जगतां भूयसे मङ्गलाय।।

●

Annual Subscription
Indian : Rs. 80/- Foreign : $ 20/-
(including postage and registration charges)

Price of this Double Volume : Rs. 160/-, $ 40/-

●

PRINTED BY:
SHAKUNTAL OFFSET
34, Balrampur House, Allahabad-2
PHONE:641123

।। गोविन्दाभिनन्दनम् ।।

(द्वितीयो भागः)

Govindâbhinandanam

(Part II)

Journal of Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit
Vidyapeetha, Vol L-LIII
(Complete in two Parts)

Part I
(Vols. L-LI)

Part II
(Vol. LII-LIII)

**JOURNAL
OF THE
GANGANATHA JHA
KENDRIYA SANSKRIT VIDYAPEETHA**

Vol. Lii-Liii January – December 1996-1997

CONTENTS

Section-V
Religion and Philosophy

Section-VI
Art and Architecture

Section – VII
Language and Literature

गैर्वाणी-गौरव-ग्रन्थमाला

RĀMĀNUJA'S THEORY OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE : PRELIMINARY DEFINITION

Prof. S. L. PANDEY

Allahabad

Rāmānuja (11th cent.) has made a momentous contribution to epistemology by his theory of Attributive Knowledge. His theory has traditionally been developing uptill the 17th century when Śrīnivāsa gave it a final touch in his *Yatīndramata Dīpikā*[1].

Between Rāmānuja and Srīnivāsadāsa there were several eminent philosophers of the school of Rāmānuja who made their own contributions to this theory. A passing reference can be made here to Veṅkaṭanātha and Lokācārya who founded in the order of Rāmānuja, the North School and the South School respectively. In the eigthteenth century Raṅga Rāmānuja wrote commentaries on the several upaniṣads *ala* Rāmānuja's school and vindicated his theory by the statements of the Upaniṣads.

But a new trend has emerged in the treatment of the theory of *Dharma bhūta jñāna* in twentieth century. It is chiefly analytical and critical. In particular, those savants who have devoted themselves to comparative philosophy, i.e. to comparison of Indian Philosophy with western philosophy, have drawn some new corollaries from the theory of *Dharmabhūta-jñāna* and thrown some fresh light on it. It is therefore, a great need of the present moment of contemporary Indian philosophy to take the stock of these researches and reconstruct the theory of *Dharmabhūta-jñāna* in a way that is acceptable to modern mind all over the world.

---

1. *Yatīndramatadīpikā*, Śrinivāsadāsa, English Translation, Swami Adidevananda, Sri Rama Krishna math, Mylopore, Madras, 1967, Chapter 6.pp 86-101.

The word *'jñāna'* has been translated as 'consciousness' 'knowledge' 'intelligence', 'reason', or 'thought' in modern times. This laxity has created a confusion. To remove it we shall translate the word *'jñāna'* as knowledge in the sense we use it in the statement, 'I know that p', where P stands for a proposition. Rāmānuja himself has discussed two types of *jñāna,* i.e. *Svarūpa jñāna* and *Dharma-Bhūta jñāna*[2]. Although he has clearly distinguished between them, the common use of jñāna for both of them is a source of confusion. So in order to remove this confusion we shall use a new word, 'consciousness' for Svarūpa *jñāna* and thereby distinguish it unequivocally from knowledge which is *Dharmabhūta jñāna.*

Rāmānuja very rightly states that knowledge invariably belongs to spirit. But for him spirit is twofold, jīva and God. So knowledge belongs as much to God as to jīva. But we, as ordinary mortals, have no idea of that knowledge which belongs to God. So we shall restrict the use of knowledge for the knowledge of a jīva only and call the knowledge that belongs to God as Divine knowledge or DK. The distinction that Divine Knowledge is infinite whereas the knowledge that belongs to a jīva is finite can be retained, provided that we take that the infinite is different from the finite both quantitatively and qualitatively.

For Rāmānuja human beings are not the only kinds of jīvas. There are many jīvas other than human beings. This means that the word 'knowledge' is also used for that cognition which belongs to non-human jīvas. In order to remove this ambiguity, we shall use the word 'knowledge' exclusively for human knowledge, i.e. the knowledge that belongs to human beings. The other jīvas may not have human knowledge or knowledge as we understand it. The knowledge that they have may be designated as non-human knowledge that is different from human knowledge. In this way, we are going to use knowledge exclusively for human knowledge. An objection, however, may be raised to our usage. It may be argued that our usage is suffering from anthropomorphism

2. न च ज्ञातृत्वं विक्रियात्मकं, ज्ञातृत्वं हि ज्ञानगुणाश्रयत्वम् ज्ञानं चास्य नित्यस्य स्वाभाविकधर्मत्वेन नित्यम्। ....अस्य ज्ञानस्वरूपस्यैव मणिप्रभृतीनां प्रभाश्रयत्वं ज्ञानाश्रयत्वमपि अविरुद्धम्। स्वयं अपरिच्छिन्नमेव ज्ञानं संकोचविकासार्हमिति।।

Śrī bhāṣya, Rāmānuja. For a detailed description of the contrast between Ātman and knowledge see *The Tattvatraya of Lokācārya*, ed. B.N. Awasthi & C.K. Datta, New Delhi, 1973, 1033, p. 24

whereas Rāmānuja has used them term 'knowledge' in a non-anthropomorphic sense. But this objection can be ruled out as it is superficial. 'knowledge' as objective is free from anthropomorphism. Moreover, we have no evidence for any type of non-human knowledge or Divine knowledge. In the realm of human knowledge also the classification of subjective knowledge and objective knowledge is well known in western epistemology. But we are not using the word 'knowledge' in the sense of subjective knowledge. We are taking it as objective knowledge. All this will be clarified in the sequal.

II Traditional Explanation

Traditionally *Dharma-bhūta-jñāna* has the following characteristics. First, it does not mean that knowledge is only a quality (*guṇa*), for it is also substantive (*dharmi*). Metaphysically speaking, knowledge is neither spirit (*cetana*) nor matter (*jaḍa*), but something midway between dead matter and spirit.[3] Like spirit it is self-luminous (*Svayamprakāśa*) in the sense that it does not need anything else to reveal itself. Like matter, it is manifested not for itself but for another. It is not *pratyak*, i.e. subject but *parāk* (object). It is also called unconscious (*acetana*) which might be interpreted as a substance that is subconscious or that which has latent consciousness, like the Unconscious principle of Hartmann's philosophy. Prof. Hiriyanna rightly says that 'pain, pleasure, desire, hate and volition are all looked upon as only its varied forms'[4].

Secondly, knowledge invariably belongs to a spirit which is either finite (jīva) or infinite (God). It is an inseparable and essential quality of the spirit.

Thirdly, the relation between spirit and knowledge is called *apṛthaksiddha*, i.e., inseparable. It means that spirit and knowledge are existentially (i.e. in existence) and phenomenologically (i.e. in cognition) are invariably simultaneous[5]. But as objects they are validly justified as distinct (*pramīta*). In other words, they are analytically distinguishable from each other. *Apṛthaksiddhi*, however, is not a relation in itself like *Samavāya*. It is Svarūpa

---

3. *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, M. Hiriyanna, Allen and Unwin, London, 1939, second impression 1951, p. 180.

4. *ibid.* p. 180.

5. The two meanings of *Apṛthaksiddhi* as *Apṛthaksthiti* and *Apṛthak pratīti* are given in *Śrutiprakāsikā* 1.1.13, see also *Fundamental of Viśiṣṭādvaita* Vedānta, S.M. Srinivasachari, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1988, p. 43.

saṁbandha which does not require a relation for its manifestation[6]. So there is no ontological entity between spirit and knowledge to relate them. Spirit itself is called intrinsic knowledge (*Svarūpa jñāna* or *dharm-bhūta-jñāna*) while knowledge is dharma-bhūta jñāna. Thus Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge initially accepts two types of knowledge which are inseparable from each other.

Fourthly, knowledge invariably refers to an object. It is always *Saviṣayaka* or intentional. That is why it is called objective knowledge or *parāk.*

Fifthly, existence of objects precedes their knowledge. Rāmānuja and his followers are, therefore, hard-core realists. For them knowledge is not creative (*kāraka*) but only revelation (*jñāpaka*). It reveals what is there in existence and does not create anything suo motu.

Sixthly, every case of knowing gives some information about what is real in the external world.[7] This has led Rāmānuja's philosophy to a theory or error that is the object of an erroneous perception is real.

Seventhly, although Rāmānuja is a realist, he does not subscribe to the correspondence theory of truth. He finds it necessary to supplement the correspondence of a proposition to a complex state of affairs with a variety of pragmatism. Truth or *pramā* is defined as *yathāvasthite vyavahārānug-uṇajñānam*[8], i.e. truth is not simply correspondence to what is real but also instrumental to the practical utility of the external object. In other words, knowledge is not only correspondence but also serviceability. Logical validity and practical utility both ars compatible in Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge. Neither is self-sufficient in itself.

Eighthly, there are only three sources of knowledge, i.e. perception (pratyakṣa), inference (anumāna) and verbal testimony (śabda)[9]. All of them have their objects that are qualified by their specific characteristics and differences.

---

6. S.M. Srinivasa Chari, op cit, p. 44.
7. *Śrībhāṣya,* 1.1.1, यथार्थं सर्वविज्ञानम्।
8. S.K.Srinivasa Chari, op. cit, p. 178.
9. *Yatīndramatadīpikā.* op. cit., p. 8. तानि प्रमाणानि प्रत्यक्षानुमानशब्दाख्यानि त्रीणि।

Ninthly, knowledge is eternal although at the same time it contracts and expands. The contraction and expansion of knowledge are treated as its obscuration and articulation. That is why these states of knowledge are said to be compatible with the eternity of knowledge. Epistemologically it means that knowledge is essentially *a priori.*

Lastly, as a corollary to the preceding point knowledge is synthetic in its character. In other words, knowledge is not merely congnitive but also emotive or effective and conative. It is not being but becoming as these terms are understood in the philosophy of Hegel. All states of soul or spirit are pervaded by knowledge. This explains the personal identity of the jīva. Knowledge is the unifying factor of all the attributes and qualities that are attributed to jīva or any human being.

III Modern Researches

The above traditional account of Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge has been developed in recent times by certain scholars among whom M.Hiriyanna, P.N.Srinivasachari, Bharatan Kumarappa, P.T.Raju and F.K.Lazarus may be considered as they have made significant researches in this field. So before restructuring the theory for the modern mind, it is necessary and appropriate to take a stock of the researches of these eminent authorities.

(i) P.N. Srinivasachari

He has published several treatises on Viśiṣṭādvaita and made the following significant observations on the theory of *Dharma-bhūta-jñāna.* First he argued that Rāmānuja's theory of knowlede avoids the defects of realism and idealism. In his opinion realism creates a gulf between thought and things, which it is unable to bridge. Idealism on the other hand, reduces things to thought and defines reality as mental or spiritual construction.

The theory of *Dharmabhūta jñāna* states the reality of the subject-object relation.[10] This relation is eternal and expresses Brahman itself. Srinivasachari interpretes the theory of *Dharmabhūta jñāna* as that which goes beyond idealism and realism. He has, thus shown the relevance of the theory to the contemporary

---

10. His article 'The *Viśiṣṭādvaita of Rāmānuja's'* in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, ed. H. D. Bhattacharya, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 1953, reprint 1975, p. 302.

epistemology. Secondly, he says that knowledge is self-originated and *sui generis* and self-validated[11]. Here his description that knowledge is something *sui generis* deserves a special notice, for H.A.Prichard, an eminent epistemologist of modern times also says so. In fact, if every object of knowledge is comperhensible only through *Dharma-bhūta-jñāna*, then obviously it cannot be defined through any object or concept what-soever. Analytically, therefore, it is indefinable.

Thirdly, during the phenomenal state of *sansāra* knowledge is causally determined by moral law of Avidyā-Karma.[12] This causal theory of knowledge is, however, adaptable to an intuitive theory of knowledge.

Fourthly Brahmānubhava, experience of God is expansive consciousness of Dharmabhūta jñāna[13]. It is the ideal of human knowledge.

Fifthly, *Dharmabhūta jñāna* has unity and identity of context which runs through all its varying and vanishing presentations and is one single affirmation about the Dharmin and is sustained by its intelligence[14]. Does it have in itself a principle of its own development (*Vikāsa*) and condensation (*Saṁkoca*) ?.

(ii) Prof. Hiriyanna

Prof. M.Hiriyanna presented at the first Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925 a research paper entitled Rāmānuja's Theory of Knowledge. This paper made some substantial contributions which were summarised in his books Outlines of Indian Philosophy in 1932 and in 'Essentials of Indian Philosophy" in 1949. Prof. Hiriyanna reconstructed the salient features of Dharmabhūta jñāna expecially in the contexts of human knowledge. He formulated the following statements with regard to Dharmabhūta jñāna, that is the attribute of human existence.

(i) Dharmabhūta jñāna is a substance that is midway between matter (jaḍa) and spirit (cetanā)[15].

---

11. *Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita*, P.N.Srinivasachari, p.11
12. *ibid.* p,31
13. *ibid.* p.477
14. *ibid.* p. 293
15. See supra note 3

(ii) It can only show but cannot know.

(iii) It has limitations although there is a ceaseless effort to transcend the limitations.

(iv) It always and necessarily refers to a complex object and as there is a sort of correspondence between it and the complex object, therefore it is also cmplex. Or inversely, as Dharma bhūta jñāna is complex, so its object is equally complex.

(v) The theory of Dharmabhūta jñāna is linked with Satkhyātivāda which explains that the object of an illusion is real. But there are two types of illusions for example, shell-silver type of illusions and yellow-conch or dream-elephant type of illusions. The objects of the first type of illusions are public while those of the second type are private. This much is accepted by Rāmānuja[16]. From this it is inferred that he admits different kinds of orders of being - an admission which would place his doctrine epistemologically on the same footing as Śaṁkara's Advaita.[17]

(vi) For Rāmānuja the distinction between truth and eror becomes significant only from the practical standpoint, and not from the theoretical standpoint, because truth is not only Yathārtha or agreement with the outside reality but also *Vyavahārānuguṇa* or conforming to the practical interest of life. "The discovery of error touches the reactive side of the consciousness, not the receptive side[18]", because the object of an eroneous perception is not negated but only Pravṛtti (activity) is arrested.[19] From this theory two corollaries are deduced. First, the practical activities of life do not regain a complete knowledge of our surroundings. It is enough if we know them approximately. Secondly, the doctrine recognises an inter-subjective side to knowledge, because the serviceability of knowledge depends upon the general and tacit testimony of society[20].

---

16. Rāmānuja's Theory of Knowledge, first published in the *Proceedings of Indian Philosophical Congress, 1925*, Calcutta; also included in *Indian Philosophical Studies* Vol. I, M.Hiriyanna, Kavyalaya publishers, Mysore, 1975, p. 54.

17. *ibid.* Pp. 59-60.

18. *ibid.* p. 62.

19. *ibid.* p. 62

20. *ibid.* p. 62

(vii) The Satkhyāti doctrine contains the suggestion of an ideal form of knowledge which is not only valid and has practical value but is 'also all comprehensive. "This ideal of perfect knowledge........is actually recognised by Rāmānuja as characterizing the jīva in its condition of Mukti"[21].

(viii) Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge combines the elements of realism and pragmatism and ultimately becomes mysticism in which man's vision is extended to the maximum and blossoms to the full.

These reconstructions of Prof. M.Hiriyanna are based upon his deep understanding of Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge in the background of contemporary theory of knowledge. Each point that he has made has great significance. But the second point in my opinion deserves a little more development. The fact that Dharmabhūtajñāna can show itself but cannot know itself indicates that there cannot be knowledge of knowledge. If X knows that P is a case of knowledge then X knows that X knows that P is not possible. An act of knowing can be recalled, but it is not the same as what is reproduced. It can be expanded or contracted but cannot numerically reoccur. It is the subject or Ātman that is self-conscious, i.e. it is the subject that knows itself through knowledge.Obviously this doctrine is totally positivistic and hence acceptable to modern philosophy of science that is based on positivism. In fact, Rāmānuja has provided the requisite base for a philosophy of science in India. All know-ledge that has both validity and utility is objective and particularized, i.e. both Saviṣayaka and Saviśeṣa. What else is needed for a philosophy of science ?

(iii) Dr. Lazarus

Dr. F.K. Lazarus has published a book entitled 'Rāmānuja and Browne' which is a comparative study of the philosophies of a well known Indian Philosopher Rāmānuja of the 11th century and a little known American philosopher Borden Parker Browne of the 19th century who was a follower of the German philosopher Lotze. Dr. Lazarus, however, threw a new light on Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge that deserves the attention of every follower of Rāmānuja. His main contributions to Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge are in order[22].

---

21. *ibid.* p. 63

22. *ibid.* p. 63

First, according to Dr. Lazarus Rāmānuja recognizes four sources of knowledge i.e. sense-perception, inference,varbal testimony or Śabda and intuition[23]. Thus he adds intuition as an independent source of knowledge. Some followers of Rāmānuja have called Śabda as spiritual intuition but Lazarus distinguishes between *Śabda* and intuition. He bases his view on the statement of Rāmānuja in the *Śrī Bhāṣyam* that an extralogical knowledge of reality through intuition is possible though only in meditation marked by the quality of devotion[24]". K.C.Varadachari also says that intuition is natural to the individual but it is feeble and has to be strengthened by practice of disinterested devotion to knowledge and to the highest purposes to the divine[25]". So intuition is the natural light of reason (*Lumen naturale*) as well as the light of the Faith or verbal testimony i.e. *lumen fidei* and the light of grace or lumen gratiae. It is the thead that strings together all types of objects of Knowledge.

But for Rāmānuja intuition has no transcendental character in the sense that it rises above all predicates. Intuition has two poles of existence, a subject, its locus, and an object that it reveals. The unity of intuition is a synthetic unity. Its moments may appear and disappear, but intuition itself with its twofold relation with subject and object undergoes no change as a synthetic unity.

Secondly, Lazarus states that intuition for Rāmānuja is not mystic vision although it yields knowledge that is superior to the knowledge that is obtained through perception or inference. It is perfectly hidden in common-sense.

Thirdly, for Rāmānuja knowledge is more than conceptualization. "All knowledge, he recognises, involves a process which comes to fruition not in a concept but in a *state of being* (*underlined mine*). True knowledge involves perception, inference, intuition, even authority, but it involves these only as it involves the whole being of a knower. Again, Rāmānuja is aware that involved in all knowledge is the subject-object relation, or better the subject-other relation, but the otherness that confronts consciousness is not the antagonistic substantiality suggested by the term object. Rather it is qualitative and as such

---

23. *Rāmānuja and Browne*, F.K.Lazarus, Chetana Limited, Bombay, 1962, p. 86

24. Quoted, *Ibid*, p, 99

25. *Ibid*. p. 101.

absorbed in the activity of consciousness. Indeed, the whole object of experience, congnitive and the other, is the achievement of an immediate relation between world and subject[26]". Again, the decisive datum for Rāmānuja is "not the self that reasons and conceptualizes, but selfhood as a condition of being, as a state of consciousness striving to become an untarnished mirror, so to speak".[27]

Fourthly, Rāmānuja argues for the progress of knowledge and takes it as a "recession from otherness. Hence he has little, if anything, to say about epistemological categories[28]".

Lastly, Rāmānuja's view is understood as mystical. It is "open to the criticism that it involves not the affirmation of selfhood but its dissolution in Brahman[29]".

Now most of the above statements of Dr. Lazarus are justified by the citations from the works of Rāmānuja or his followers. But his last observation is seemingly overstated; for the entire thrust of Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge is on the affirmation of selfhood, and not on its dissolution. The stipulation that consciousness or Ātman is eternal and distinct from God is meant to prove its immortality. It is only a *Prakāra*, and not the *Prakārī*. The essence of human knowledge thus is called Dharmabhūta jñāna. It is also regarded as enteral which means that it is never dissolved. In fact, it is always irrepressible even in the state of *mukti* which is recorded as the ideal state of both Ātman and Dharmabhūta-jñāna. But on the whole, the view of Dr. Lazarus that knowldge is always a state of being that is essentially characterized by some qualities is commendable. He has endeavoured to show the working of intuition in the life of Dharma-bhūta-jñāna. The finale of intuition, however, need not be the mystical experience of the pure identity of numerical existence that is idealized as the Absolute, Brahman or God[30].

---

26. *Ibid.* p. 301.
27. *Ibid.* p. 305.
28. *Ibid.* p. 302.
29. *Ibid.* p. 305.
30. *The Hindu Conception of the Deity*, Bharatan Kumarappa, Reprint, 1979, Inter-India Publications, Delhi.

(iv) Dr. Kumarappa

Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa who obtained the Doctorate Degree from the University of London in 1930 on his thesis entitled 'Rāmānuja's Conception of the Deity' published his thesis under the title' The Hindu Conception of the Deity' in 1933. Although his work concerns with the philosophy of religion, especially the exposition of the idea of God, he has made an important contribution to Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge by underscoring his view that the knowledge of the soul or spirit is not possible without morality. "If one does not practise austerity, there is no success in the knowledge of the soul[31]. He says further that" redeeming knowledge does not exclude morality, but is the ripe fruit of morality[32]." The knowledge that is called the experience of Brahman is the state of perfect conciliation or endearment, i.e. meditation bearing the character of devotion. It is not any other state[33]." In this way, Dr. Kumarappa has analytically pointed out the chief characteristic of that state of human knowledge which is regarded as its highest form.

(v) Dr. Raju

Dr. P.T. Raju, a well known Indian philosopher espousing the cause of contemporary philosophy to day has brought out an important research paper on consciousness and knowledge which he calls existential consciousness and phenomenological consciousness respectively[34]. He has further incorporated his researches in his book" *Structural Depths of Indian thought*" in chapter XII. He has discovered that historically there are two stages of the development of the theory of *Dharma bhūta jñāna.* At the first stage[35], *Dharmabhūta-jñāna* was supposed to work through mind and sense-organs and at the second stage it was thought that the mind and senses are constitutive of *Dharmabhūta-jñāna.* One important corollary from the latter view is that everything except the unconscious *Prakṛti* is attribute consciousness (*Aham-dhi*)[36]. It 'includes every-

31. *Maitri Upaniṣad.* 4/3-4.

32. Dr. B.Kumarappa, Op. Cit., p. 80.

33. *Ibid.* p. 160.

34. See his paper, *Existential and Phenomenological Consciousness in the Philosophy of Rāmānuja,* The Journal of American Oriental Society.

35. *Structural Depths of Indian Thought,* P.T.Raju, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, 1985.

36. *Ibid.* p. 455.

thing except ātman (which is svarūpa jñāna) and Prakṛti[37], and is "essentially the form of the activity of ātman, one of the types of its becoming[38]. Thus the *ātnan* (Svarūpajñāna) cannot be excluded from *Dharmabhūtajñāna*. The latter is a function, power on *Śakti* of the former. From the above formulations of the theory of *svarūpajñāna* and *Prakṛti* Prof. Raju infers that from the independence of Prakṛti phenomenological consciousness (dharmabhūta jñāna) of either the supreme spirit or the finite *ātman* is not ultimately tenable." He also argues that in the ideal state of human knowledge, i.e., in the state of *mukti*, the phenomenological consciousness (I know) is absorded into being (I am) or the existential consciousness and hence the view that *atman* is atomic has no significance. He further maintains that since all *ātmans* in the ideal state of *mukti* are the same, all *ātmans* are one[39]. But the unity of all *ātmans* for which Prof. Raju pleads is the Cosmic Reason or Logos that is inherent in all of them. Rāmānjau explains this unity by means of the Principle of Śuddha sattva (Transparent Power) and not by means of Dharma bhūta jñāna. So he can maintain the plurality of *ātmans* along with the unity of the Transparent power. But anyway, Prof. Raju has tried hard to bring Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara closer to each other. His estimate of Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge is *prima facie* an Advaitic refutation of the theory; but if it is seen a bit deeply it will be understood as a serious attempt to explain the position of Rāmānuja and remove the wide gulf that has been created between Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja by their respective followers. The view that both Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja ultimately accept the same ideal position although they follow their different approaches to it is not far from the truth. In fact, it is the most powerful current of Hindu Religion. Prof. Raju, however, fails to do justice to Rāmānuja's views that soul is atomic and Prakṛti is independent of Dharma-Bhūta-jñāna. We contend that despite these views of Rāmānuja there is a very wide area of consensus between Śaṁkara and Rāmānuja and there is no need of the rejection of their metaphysical views for arriving at the common ground of their epistemology. After all they are Vedantists and hold that the Veda is intrinsically valid and not the human being[40].

---

37. *Ibid.* p. 458.
38. *Ibid.* p. 459.
39. *Ibid.* p. 460.
40. Ibid, p. 460.

IV Epistemological Satkāryavāda

Now after considering the main contributions to the theory of *Dharmabhūta-jñāna* that have been advanced in the recent past, we can undertake our work of restructuring the theory in the terms of human knowledge which has been used in its widest sense by Rāmānuja. In this sense every state of human consciousness is a state of Dharma bhūta jñāna and as it expands and contracts, so it is likely to be understood in the sense of Hegel's Reason that is Becoming and dialectically develops to achieve its ideal. Prof. Raju has read this type of Hegelianism in Rāmānuja. Rāmānuja, however, does not give a dialectic of expansion and contraction of *Dharma-bhūta-jñāna*. But it may not be considered as a drawback[41], for he does not treat knowledge as creative, and does not attribute to it the functions of God or Prakṛti. For Hegel, there is no difference between Reason Prakṛti and God, but for Rāmānuja there is. As Rāmānuja takes Jñāna as both Dharma and Dharmi and calls it Buddhi also, so there is a strong argument for the view that *Dharma bhūta Jñāna* is the *Mahat* of Sāṁkhya philosophy that is internally or inseparably related with Puruṣa and externally or conjunctively related to Prakṛti. In other words, Rāmānuja has based his theory on Sāṁkhya and given an epistemological version of Satkārya-vāda. In the terminology of Western philosophy his theory of knowledge is far closer to rationalism than to empiricism or pragmatism, realism or idealism. He is a rationalist believing in the doctrine of innate ideas like Leibnitz. Prof. Raju's discovery that mind and senses are constitutive of Dharma-bhūta-jñāna and Dr. Kumarappa's view that religious knowledge is not possible without morality are the corner stones of Rāmānuja's theory of human knowledge. Dr. Lazarusa's discovery that intuition is an independent source of knowledge can also be accepted for the restructuring of the theory. In fact intuition is the foundational principle of all other sources of knowledge. No intuition, no certainty and no certainty, no knowledge.

Again Prof. Hiriyanna and Srinivasachari have tried to explain the purely logical and epistemological characters of *Dharma-bhūta-jñāna*. Epistemologically knowledge is something *sui generis*. Here it can further be said that it is neither midway between spirit and matter, nor an intermixture of both of them. It is a *quid* that may be regarded as indefinable. All attempts to

---

41. Earlier I considered it as a drawback. See my *Bhartiya Darshana Ki Kahani*, Allahabad p. 283. For Hegel knowledge is creative but for Rāmānuja it is not so.

understand it in terms of metaphysics are vitiated with the fallacy of reification. The Vedantic position that it is to be understood analogically or by means of lakṣaṇā is not unacceptable to Rāmānuja and his followers.

Furthermore, the rationalism of Rāmānuja is mingled inseparably with intuitionism. There is a complete blend of rationalism and intuitionism in his theory of knowledge that is compared with light by every school of Vedanta. The medieval doctrine of intuitionism that unites perception, inference or reason and verbal testimony with the light of intuition virtually states that all these ways of knowledge can also be designated as Pan-intuitionism. The Satkhyātivāda and Svataḥ prāmāṇyavāda also strengthen the view that this theory is a type of Satkāryavāda. Knowledge is not originated but manifested. The means of its menifestation are inherent in it. The external *Prakṛti* which is a datum for the theory simply provides an occasion for its manifestation. In the absence of Dharma-bhūta jñāna, no amount of the activity of Ātman or the movement of *Prakṛti* can beget knowledge as it is not created but discovered yet knowledge as that something like a pendulum between the two poles of Ātman and Prakṛti. It is the medium by means of which both Ātman and Prakṛti are known what they are. They may be intuited as though they are independent of Dharma bhūta-jñāna, but they cannot be conceptualized without the help of Dharma-bhūta-jñāna. In this sense Dharma-bhūta-jñāna makes both nature and ātman function. It is the *ratio congnoscendi* of ātman and Prakṛti.

Again Rāmānuja has tried to understand the common factors that characterise empirical (scientific) knowledge, psychological feelings and desires, moral knowledge and religious knowledge. All these types or knowledge are objective or directed to some object. Except Rāmānuja no philosopher of the world has assumed that all types of knowledge have directedness or intentionality. This is really a great contribution of Rāmānuja to epistemology. Human knowledge is subject predicate form (Viśeṣaṇa-Viśeṣya-bhāva). It is essentially predicative in its nature. But this predicativeness is inseparably connected with the substantive about which it makes some stipulations. When Rāmānuja says that even the knowledge of pleasures and pains, duties and values and communion with God can be expressed restated in the rubric of subject-object form, he is giving a very revolutionary theory of human knowledge the consequences of which will go on to be inferred and estimated in all times to come. He has revealed the perennial truth which must be preserved

in every sound theory of knowledge. In fact knowledge is ultimately not knowing but knownness.

Lastly Rāmānuja has shown that both Karma and Bhakti are special modes of human knowledge. As Lokācārya says, action and feeling are the specific modes of knowing[42]. His philosophy of action and philosophy of devotion culminating into the philosophy of total donation or surrender to the supreme value that is devoid of all despicable qualities (sakalaheya-pratyanīka) touch the core contents of humanism. All these philosophics are the successive steps of his theory of knowledge that really answers what man can know, what he can do and what he can hope for. As for Kant so for Rāmānuja, it is reason that expresses itself in these ways. This Reason is *Dharma bhūta-jñāna.* As perception and inference and the like, so faith, *Bhakti* and *prapatti* are also its particular forms[43]. When knowledge becomes concentrated on one object and steadfast and continue like the flow of oil from the oil mill, it is called Bhakti. Indeed, Rāmānuja has clearly formulated a thoroughly complete phenomenology of Reason or Dharma-bhūta-jñāna. Hegel's dialectical phenomenology of mind and Husserl's descriptive phenomenology of eidetic intuition appear to be its poor and partial simulations, for their formulations lack certainty and justification. Rāmānuja's phenomenology has got the tacit support of the Vedas and a long tradition. That is why its formulations are correct, certain and justified by a tradition of wise sages.



42. Tattvatraya, 17.
ज्ञाता इत्युक्तौ कर्त्ता भोक्ता चेत्युक्तः,
कर्त्तृत्वभोक्तृत्वे ज्ञानावस्थाविशेषौ।

43. एवं प्रत्यक्षानुमानागम......श्रद्धाभक्तिप्रपत्त्यादयश्च..... अनन्ता धर्मभूतज्ञानविशेषा एव।
Yatīndramatadīpikā, Op. cit, pp. 91-92.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PURĀṆA-PASSAGES QUOTED BY KUMĀRILA AND ŚAṀKARA

Prof. S. N. ROY

Allahabad

The Purāṇa-passages quoted by Kumārila and Śaṁkara are too well known to be reconsidered at the present stage of indological researches. However, there are some Salient features which may be brought out in correct historical perspective. Thus in the *Tantravārttīka,* Kumārila makes specific reference to the Purāṇa-passages elaborating the causes of loss of "dharma" in the Kali Age; " स्मर्यन्ते पुराणेषु धर्मविप्लुतिहेतवः कलौ "[1]

The expression " स्मर्यन्ते " in the line under reference is quite meaningful. Commenting on this line Upadhyaya observes that in the Purāṇas, Buddha has been badly condemned. This observation may be partly true in view of Kumārila's pointed remark on the Purāṇa-tradition speaking of dharma's decline due to the role of Buddha and other anti-Vedic sectarian agencies[2]. The noted scholar has however overlooked the fact that the Purāṇa-passage cited by Kumārila is missing from the extant texts. It is probably for this obvious reason that Kumārila uses the term " स्मर्यन्ते " instead of any other term conveying the idea of availability of said passage in the Purāṇa-tradition preserved in writing. On the other hand in the extant passages of the Purāṇas, Buddha has been accorded a celebrated and honourable status. These passages allude to Buddha having been an incarnation of Lord Vishṇu and also narrate that the human form

---

1. *Tantravārttika,* 1.3.7.

2. " कलौ शाक्यादयस्तेषां को वाक्यं श्रोतुमर्हति "; Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Purāṇa-Vimarśa,* p.27. Other passages of *Tantravārttika* also reveal Kumarila's acquaintance with Purāṇa-passages on dharma. Thus, Purāṇas were considered to be authentic on dharma during the age of Kumārila. See Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,* p.6.

of the divinity brought about the destruction of the adversaries of the Vedic religion through supernatural deluding technique[3]. It appears therefore that Kumārila's citation points to the early stage of Purāṇa-Compilation, when Buddhism was in the heyday of its life and was supposed to be antagonistic to the Vedic tradition. The available passages of the Purāṇas point to the stage of decline of Buddhism, when attempts were being made to assimilate it into the Brahmanical faith and the Purāṇa-texts were revised for the purpose of incorporating the religious changes of the subsequent stages[4].

Kumārila quotes the authority of Purāṇa-text in another context of *Tantravārttika*. Here, he seeks to explain identification of " स्वर्ग " with मेरुपृष्ठ ;" " तथा स्वर्गशब्देनापि.......... पौराणिकयाज्ञिकदर्शनेनोच्यते........... यदि वेतिहासपुराणोपपन्नं मेरुपृष्ठं " and cites the evidence of the Purāṇas as the source of his observation[5]. Upadhyaya has rightly noted that allusion to the above evidence is available in the passages of the *Matsya* and *Padma Purāṇas*[6]. It is significant that, in the quotation under reference Kumārila uses the expression " उच्यते ". This may be taken in the sense of availability of the account in the extant texts of the Purāṇas.

Thus, the references of *Tantravārttika* reveal two distinct aspects of Purāṇa-Compilation characterized respectively by the alteration of passages appearing inconsistent with current concepts and preservation of those, the appeal of which had constantly been maintained in the society.

Coming to the evidence of Śaṁkara, we find that the authenticity and authoritative character of the Purāṇas remained intact during the age of the celebrated philosopher. In support of his commentaries on the Upanishads and the *Brahmasūtra*, Saṁkara brings into relief such passages the source of which are stated to be the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas.[7] This shows that, in the early mediaeval period the Purāṇas were considered to be as authoritative as the Smṛti

---

3. See author's article entitled "Date of Vishṇu Purāṇa's Chapters on Māyāmoha Legend." Purāṇam Vol.VII. NO.2, pp. 276-287.
4. See author's "Paurāṇika Dharma Evam Samāja" pp. 385-387.
5. *Tantravārttika*, 1.3.30.
6. Baladeva Upadhyaya, *ibid*, pp 27-28.
7. Earlier this point was taken into account by Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* Vol. 1, p.527. Upadhyaya has brought to light a number of such passages, ibid, pp. 28-31 which require fresh analysis.

texts. Hazra has rightly observed that, on such occasions Saṁkara makes generic reference to the Purāṇa-texts without naming them individually. It is however not difficult to trace out the concerened passages in the available texts of the Purāṇas.[8] Thus, convergence of the various Purāṇa-texts to a common tradition continued to be a recognized fact even in the later stages of their compilation.

It is significant that, Purāṇic allusions of Saṁkara's Commentaries are available not only in the early texts like Vāyu, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu,* but also in *Śiva Purāṇa* which is said to be one of the later texts. This indicated that, in the age of Saṁkara the authenticity of a Purāṇa-passage was brought out not because of the earliness of the text which continued it, but because of the earliness of the matter contined in a particular passage.

There is yet another commentary of Saṁkara on *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1.1, which cites the evidence of Purāṇa-text without specifying its name. The Verse quoted by Saṁkara runs as under;

ततश्च संक्षेपमिमं शृणुध्वं नारायणः सर्वमिदं पुराणम्।
स सर्गकाले च करोति सर्वं संहारकाले च तदत्ति भूयः।।[9]

According to Upadhyaya, by the term Parāṇa Saṁkara here means the extant text of *Vāyu Purāṇa* in which the present Verse is found intact except the word "nārāyaṇa" substituted by "maheśvara.[10]" In this context Kāṇe observes that this substitution was effected at the stage, when the original *Vāyu Purāṇa* was subjected to revision. The noted scholar also emphasizes that some later redactor did it on account of Śaiva bias[11]. Without deviating much from the observation of Kane, it may be added that the point needs a closer analysis of the actual state of affairs. If the Purāṇa-passage under reference is considered to be the integral part of *Vāyu Purāṇa* in its entireness, one fails to imagine how Saṁkara effected the change of his own accord. In close consonance with the spirit of the present issue, it may be remarked that Śaṁkara's reference is not so much to *Vāyu Purāṇa* as to the original Vāyu-prokta-purāṇa. The latter expression is applicable to the extant versions of the two Purāṇa-texts, namely

8. Hazra, *ibid*, p. 20.
9. On *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1.1.
10. Upadhyaya, *ibid*, p.30
11. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol V. Pt.II.

the Vāyu Purāṇa and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. This is brought out by the fact that in the colophons of their chapters, both these texts claim themselves to have been narrated by *Vāyu* (वायुप्रोक्ते पुराणे) . It would be observed that the verse cited by Saṁkara is available in *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* without even a minor Variation.[12]

Elsewhere tha writer of the present note has shown that there was an original text *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which was free from sectarian bias. This text was remodelled sometime after the fourth century A.D. which according to Hazra[13] seems to be the period of separation of *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* from the parent text of *Vāyu Purāṇa*. To this parent text both Vaishṇava and Śaiva passages were added to retain its age-old popularity under the new socio-religious development. In its Vaishṇavits form the text was renamed as *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, while the Śaiva sectaries preserved the original title of the text. In all probability the text was one even uptil the seventh century A.D. because Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harshacarita* does not give any specific name to the Purāṇa, the recitation of which he attended in his village and prefers to call it " पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणम् ". Similarly in the *Kādambarī* he selects the expression " वायुप्रलपितं " instead of applying any specific title to the text.[14]

Thus, the analysis of the Purāṇa-passages cited by Kumārila (7th Cent. A.D.) and Śaṁkara (9th cent. A.D.) shows that during the early mediaeval period the early copies of the Purāṇa-texts were subjected to the process of revision and recompilation, and among the forces operating in the background sectarian bias played a prominent role.



12. *Brahamāṇḍa Purāṇa*, I.1.174.

13. *Purāṇam*, Vol. V, No.2, pp. 306-319 and Vol.VI, No.2, pp.366-377; Hazra, *ibid*, p.18.

14. For details see author's monograph "Historical & Cultural Studies in the Purāṇas" pp. 197-210.

SĀṄKHYA - THEISTIC OR ATHEISTIC

Prof. LALLANJI GOPAL

Varanasi

In ancient India philosophy is found emerging generally as an adjunct of religion. Philosophical thought did not exist in isolation. There are, no doubt, passages of sublime metaphysical heights. But philosophy seldom arose in abstraction. It is in the context of religious needs that philosophical speculation had its birth. The practical requirements of religion were often provided with an intellectual background or speculative justification through philosophical thinking. The need for escape from the sufferings of life and the urge for salvation led to various methods and ways. These methods or systems tried to rationalise their approach by presenting a philosophy dealing with the problems of life and world, the causes of suffering, and the way to overcome suffering. F. Edgerton[1] underlies this characteristic of Indian thought by describing it as "practical in its motive". It seeks truth "not as an abstract and in itself; it is for the sake of the salvation which that truth is believed to bring with it".

Among the issues, which the philosophical systems are suppósed to deal with, the nature and role of God occupies an important position. In certain respects it becomes a distinguishing feature of the system. The question is important in respect of the Sāṅkhya system as well. From very early times the Sāṅkhya view about God has been debated and discussed. The classical exposition of Sāṅkhya in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* does not contain any mention of God. For this reason Sāṅkhya is labelled as an atheist system. Denial of God is taken to be a distinguishing feature of Sāṅkhya. It is often pointed out that the twin systems of Sāṅkhya and Yoga subscribe to the same philosophical views; the main point of difference between the two is that whereas Yoga upholds the position of God and assigns him a dominate role in its scheme, Sāṅkhya does not

---

1. "The meaning of Sāṃkhya and Yoga", *American Journal of Philology*, XLV. L, No. 177 (1924), p. 1.

mention God in its philosophical system. The atheist nature of Sāṅkhya is taken to be such a prominent characteristic of the system that scholars often describe it as a non-Vedic philosophy. Scholars go to the extent of branding Sāṅkhya as being anti- Vedic and suggesting its origin from a non-Vedic source. Modern scholars have a complete faith in the atheistic nature of Sāṅkhya philosophy. This view of modern scholars has conditioned their treatment of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, giving it a particular slant and direction.

Here we do not propose to discuss the question of Sāṅkhya being Vedic or non-Vedic in all its fullness. We propose to concentrate only on one vital aspect of the problem relating to the Sāṅkhya position about God.

For a proper study of the question we have to analyse its different aspects and dimensions. We are required to begin with the views of modern authorities on Sāṅkhya and then to go on to the reference in the ancient works with a final scrutiny of the opinions expressed in Sāṅkhya texts. In the present paper we will restrict ourselves to an analysis of the interpratations and explanations offered by modern authorities on Sāṅkhya.[2]

Modern scholars are so much obsessed with the notion of Sāṅkhya being atheistic that, at times, they have failed to do justice to the references to the contrary in ancient texts. They would be inclined to explain such passages in a number of ways. They would not change their fixed view about the atheistic nature of Sāṅkhya even when faced with clear references opposing it. They postulate several stages in which Sāṅkhya has changed its stand on the question of God. According to them, Sāṅkhya before it acquired its classical atheistic form at the hands of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, underwent transformation from atheistic to theistic and theistic to atheistic. They suggest varying patterns according to their views about the original nature of Sāṅkhya.

Richard Garbe, among the earliest scholars to attempt a detailed study of Sāṅkhya, underlined its atheistic character. According to him, Sāṅkhya does not have any place for a god or gods.[3] Garbe holds that Sāṅkhya, in its principal features, is the work of one man, Kapila,[4] and that it has not undergone any

---

2. We have used with advantage G.J. Larson, *Classical Sāṃkhya*, pp. 16-72, 245-56 for his critical review of interpretations of Sāṅkhya by modern scholars.

3. *Die Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, pp. 253 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-50.

remarkable alteration in its history.[5] The denial of God was one of the main features of the original Sāṅkhya of Kapila.[6]

Garbe requires us to believe that Sāṅkhya emerges suddenly in its full-grown form without any antecedents. We will not discuss all the fallacies in his arguments. The basic defect in Garbe's interpretation of Sāṅkhya is his reliance mainly on the *Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra* as explained by Aniruddha and Vijñānabhikṣu. He ignores the other Sāṅkhya texts and references to Sāṅkhya in other ancient works and hence comes to a historically indefencible position. He fails to appreciate the historical significance of the testimony particularly of the Middle Upaniṣads (*Kaṭha* and *Śvetāśvatara*), the *Mokṣadharma* chapters in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata,* the *Gītā,* and the *Manusmṛti.* He does not recognise the possibility of Sāṅkhya acquiring its classical form in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* through a process of historical change and of there being an early Sāṅkhya or pre-classical Sāṅkhya which differed from the classical Sāṅkhya even in respect of certain vital points. Garbe could not give any place to the suggestion that Sāṅkhya was theistic at least in some quarters and at a certain stage of its history.

Later scholars, who were conscious of the historical argument and evidence, formulated several stages in the growth of Sāṅkhya philosophy, in which its view of God was a determining feature. One such early scholar was Joseph Dahlmann. He argues that the philosophical portions in the *Mahābhārata* contain the original form of Sāṅkhya.[7] In that stage Sāṅkhya and Yoga were not two separate systems.[8] As Sāṅkhyayoga they were one system which was theistic.[9] Dahlmann was still under the spell of Garbe's influence. He took the original Sāṅkhya, found in the Epic, to be identical with the classical Sāṅkhya with one or two exceptions.[10] Though the Epic Sāṅkhya has similarities with the classical Sāṅkhya, the differences, not many in nature, are significant. The theistic nature is one of these striking features of the Epic Sāṅkhya.

---

5. Garbe (ed.) *Sāṃkhya Sūtra Vṛtti*, Introduction, p. iv.
6. *Die Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, p. 26.
7. *Die Sāṃkhya Philosophie als Naturlehre und Erlösungslehre*, pp. 1-19.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

Paul Oltramare, like Garbe, interprets Sāṅkhya as a unified entity with little change in its long history from the earliest times to the *Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra* and its commentaries. But he shows a departure from Garbe in some important respects. According to him, the Sāṅkhya dualism is not in terms of matter and spirit but of Being and Becoming.[11] More importantly Oltramare offers a more rational explanation of the atheism of Sāṅkhya. The philosophy of dualism, of Being and Becoming, suits the atheistic nature of Sāṅkhya better than does the dualism of matter and spirit. The distinction between Becoming and Being does not admit the existence of a third entity as an all - encompassing god. But this does not rule out individual gods. According to Oltramare, the atheism of Sāṅkhya does not deny the existence of these gods. On the contrary he takes the concept of Becoming to include these gods appearing in the traditional Indian pantheon.[12] They do not clash with the formulation of Sāṅkhya principles. They do not have any relevance to the problems of creation and man's salvation. The merit of Oltramare's view is that he recognises that Sāṅkhya does not propound total atheism; its principles do not leave any place for a creator God who is also the ultimate refuge.

Hermann Oldenberg, with his sound knowledge of the Vedas and other Sanskrit texts, was in a position to reconstruct the origin and early history of Sāṅkhya. He distinguishes the Classical Sāṅkhya from its earlier formulation, which he terms as *vor Klassische Sāṃkhya* (pre-classical Sāṅkhya). This can be traced in the middle and Younger Upaniṣads (*Kaṭha, Śvetāśvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇīya*) and in the philosophical portions of the *Mahābhārata* (*Gītā* and *Mokṣadharma*).[13] The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* does not represent a fully theistic system. Its *puruṣa* is like Brahman.[14] The pre-Classical Sāṅkhya in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* and the *Bhagavad-gītā* acquires a more theistic form.[15]

---

11. *L. Histoire des Idees Theosophiques dans L' Inde*, Tome Premier : "La Theosophie Brahmanique", pp. 221-30.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-71.

13. "Zur Geschichte der Sāṃkhya-Philosophie", *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch - historische Klasse aus dem Jahre, 1917, p. 218.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 226 ff, 233 ff.

Though A.B. Keith interprets Sāṅkhya as derived out of the speculations in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads,[16] he does not think in terms of pre-classical Sāṅkhya formulations. He holds that Sāṅkhya as a system is not found much before some later portions of the Mokṣadharma.[17] He notices that the middle Upaniṣads (*Kaṭha, Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka, Īśa* etc.) tend to be theistic or even absolutistic. Keith, who considers the denial of the absolute and the emphasis on individual soul (*puruṣa*) as one of the two key notions of Sāṅkhya, does not take the formulations in the middle Upaniṣads to be Sāṅkhya at all. What he takes to be the characteristics of Sāṅkhya are actually features which were standardised by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. It is to be noted that the meaning of the term Sāṅkhya has changed in course of centuries and with it the characteristics and contents of Sāṅkhya principles have varied. There is a case for recognising the historical possibility of a growth and change in Sāṅkhya philosophy. The standardization of Sāṅkhya philosophy by Īśvarakṛṣṇa has overshadowed the earlier enunciations of Sāṅkhya principles. It will not be valid to equate Sāṅkhya only with what is generally described as the Classical Sāṅkhya. Considering the long history of Sāṅkhya, we will have to admit several stages in its evolution. If we cannot identify all these stages, we have to recognise at least two broad phases of pre-Classical Sāṅkhya and Classical Sāṅkhya.

These observations are applicable also to Keith's discussion of the testimony of the Epic. Keith holds that there are many kinds of speculations in the *Mokṣadharma* and other philosophical portions of the Epic.[18] He describes only a few passages,[19] which mention twenty-five principles and clearly deny God or an Absolute, as representing Sāṅkhya. He refuses to recognise the other passages as testifying to the Sāṅkhya system. But he does admit that all these passages have a dominant theistic tinge with many Vedantic ideas.[20] As Keith refuses to connect these passages with Sāṅkhya, there is no question of his admitting that Sāṅkhya had a theistic phase in its history. Like Garbe, he considers Sāṅkhya to be basically atheistic.

---

16. *The Sāṁkhya System*, p. 8.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 36 ff.
19. *Mbh.*, XII. 289. 1 ff; XII: 294. 297 ff.
20. *The Sāṁkhya System*, pp. 36-37.

F. Edgerton holds that originally the term Sāṅkhya signified a method of salvation by knowing, without any reference to the content of knowing.[21] According to him, in the Upaniṣads and the Epic Sāṅkhya has this meaning; it does not imply any system of metaphysical truth whatever.[22] It was only with the formulation in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* that the name Sāṅkhya came to be associated with a particular system of thought, "with the doctrines of plurality of souls and no world-soul".[23] Edgerton is among the few scholars who have controverted the popular view that Sāṅkhya was atheistic or non-absolutistic.

Though Edgerton is justified in suggesting that Sāṅkhya originally was a method of salvation by knowing, he shuts his eyes to the rich evidence, particularly in the Upaniṣads and the *Mokṣadharma* chapters of the *Mahābhārata*, about the circulation of Sāṅkhya as a philosophical system long before the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. Edgerton ignores the fact that the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* itself refers to a rich and long history of Sāṅkhya as a system before its own times.[24] By taking the fully developed formulation in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* to be the earliest form of Sāṅkhya he adopts a position which is similar to Garbe's presentation of Sāṅkhya as a monolithic system. Thus, he rules out the possibility of Sāṅkhya undergoing any significant transformation and fails to appreciate the Upaniṣadic and Epic passages with a theistic slant.

Edgerton's explanation of the term *anīśvara* in *Mahābhārata* XII. 289.3 as meaning "soul" or "highest self" and not "he who has no lord" is a valid objection to the view which sees in the *Mahābhārata* passage a reference to Sāṅkhya being atheistic. But what could not receive due attention from Edgerton is the fact that the question of Sāṅkhya being atheistic or not is to be discussed primarily on the basis of the reference in the specific texts of Sāṅkhya. It has to be admitted that the enunciation of Sāṅkhya principles in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* has no place for theism. Edgerton does not vindicate his view about Sāṅkhya not being atheistic by explaining the system as found in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* and other texts of Sāṅkhya.

---

21. *The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 24 ff, "The meaning of Sāṁkhya and Yoga", *op. cit.*, p. 16.

22. "The Meaning of Sāṁkhya and Yoga", *op. cit*, p 32.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

24. Kārikā 71-73.

Among the scholars, who have appreciated the historical value of the Upaniṣads, *Mokṣadharma*, *Gītā* and other early texts and have formulated several stages in the history of the growth of Sāṅkhya, the names of S.N. Dasgupta, E.H. Johnston and E. Frauwallner stand out prominent. Sometimes they define these stages in terms of their being theistic or atheistic. The sequential order of these phases varys on account of the differences in the chronological position of these texts and their relative importance as suggested by the scholars.

Dasgupta, envisages three stages. On the basis of the contents of the *Ṣaṣṭitantra,* as described in the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā,* he suggests that originally Sāṅkhya was theistic. The second stage, as represented in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the doctrines of Pañcaśikha in *Mahābhārata,* XII. 219, was atheistic. Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā* represents the third and final stage characterised by atheism.[25]

Johnston also identifies five phases which can be reduced to three prominent stages.[26] According to him, the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* gives the classical form of Sāṅkhya which represents the fifth phase. The first four phases are to be placed before the *Sāṅkhyakārikā.* Johnston changes the order of the first two stages describing the first as the early atheistic, the second an intermediate theistic, and the third a later atheistic. The first stage contains two phases and is represented by the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* recording an incomplete form of Sāṅkhya, and later by a more systematic form probably of the Vārṣagaṇya school. The second, theistic stage is found in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* and the *Bhagavad-gītā.* In the third stage, which occurred before the appearance of the classical Sāṅkhya, the atheistic schools formulated their principles in such a way as to reconcile the changes made in the preceding theistic phase. Some of this reformulation is attributed to the Pañcaśikha school. A serious difficulty with Johnaton's formulation is the larger use which he makes of imagination with very slender evidence in his support. His reconstruction of the history of Sāṅkhya is based on the study of certain key terms, their use and modification. He does not have definitive texts representing the various phases which he identifies. In his study Johnston has violenlly discarded the known chrono-

---

25. *A History of Indian Philosophy,* Vol. I, pp. 219-21.

26. *Early Sāṁkhya,* pp. 81-88.

logical indications. Thus, there is no valid argument in support of the association of the later school of Vārṣagaṇya with the second phase and of the earlier Pañcaśikha school with the fourth phase.

Frau Wallner[27] determines five stages in the development of Sāṅkhya. According to him, the original *Grundtext* of the three passages in the *Mokṣadharma* in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*[28] represents the first articulation of Sāṅkhya theory, being a further working out of the Upaniṣadic doctrine of the self. The second stage, associated with Pañcaśikha, witnessed the articulation of most of the later classical Sāṅkhya, including the introduction of the theory of evolution and other related doctrines. The third stage, associated with Vārṣagaṇya, witnessed the addition of further doctrines, particularly the introduction of the sixty topics (*ṣaṣṭitantra*). The classical formulation in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* is the final stage. Frauwallner does not mention the concept of God as the distinguishing feature of any of these four stages. His total refusal to see inthe Upaniṣads actual Sāṅkhya speculation, his limited use of the rich *Mokṣadharma* passages and his ignoring the theistic reference have pushed to the background this important aspect of Sāṅkhya.

In Indian tradition Sāṅkhya and Yoga are often bracketed together. They have much in common. Certain aspects are emphasised in one, while some others are detailed in the other. H. Zimmer does not take them to be two different systems. According to him, the two make up one system of theory and practice. The Sāṅkhya represents the theoretical dimension of the system and the Yoga its practical dimension.[29] One can easily visualise that from this it will be easy to connect the theistic view with the practice and the atheistic view with the theory of the system.

Two recent studies by J. W. Hauer[30] and Mircea Eliade[31] have a similar view on this question. Both have Yoga as their main concern. Naturally they

---

27. *History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 222-74.
28. XII. 194 = 247-49 = 287 (Critical edition XII, 187 = 239-40.
29. *Philosophies of India*, p. 280.
30. *Der Yoga* (Stutgart, 1958).
31. *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom*. Its English translation by Willard R. Trask (New York) also appeared in 1958.

approach Sāṅkhya from the side of Yoga. They over emphasise the Yoga connections and, thus, are not in a position to do justice to the independent elements in the nature and development of Sāṅkhya.

According to Hauer, a type of proto-Yoga circulating among the Vrātyas was taken over by Brahmanism. Sāṅkhya is a later development within that Yoga tradition which emphasized speculation and intuitive philosophical examination of the Yogic state of consciousness. Later there arose some other basic difference between Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Hauer notices this atheistic and dualistic character of Sāṅkhya as early as the times of *Mahābhārata* XII. 289.[32]

Eliade finds Yoga and Sāṅkhya to be very much alike. Among the very few essential differences between the two, one is that whereas Sāṅkhya is atheistic, Yoga is theistic.[33] Eliade fails to recognise any variation in this characteristic of Sāṅkhya, because he takes Sāṅkhya in the *Mokṣadharma* and other earlier works to refer not to any system, but to any kind of metaphysical knowledge.[34] Even at a very early stage in the history of modern Sāṅkhya scholarship there have been scholars critical of the characterisation of Sāṅkhya as an atheistic system. Some of them have pointed out that the early texts of the system do not make a clear denial of the existence of God; they are generally silent on this issue. Some scholars go on to offer a philosophical explanation of this silence. The Sāṅkhya texts do not explicitly mention God, not because they do not believe in His existence, but because they do not find a rationally justified role for Him in their philosophical system.

Max Müller[35] points out that the *Tattvasamāsa* and the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* do not explicitly subscribe to atheism. In neither of the two texts there is any specific denial of the existence of a god or gods.

With A.K. Mazumdar the attempt to explain the atheistic character of Sāṅkhya swings to another extreme. He does not find any conflict between the theistic passages in Sāṅkhya and the atheistic arguments advanced in the

---

32. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 208-9.
33. *Loc. cit.*, p. 7.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.
35. The six systems of Indian Philosophy, pp. 302 ff.

commentaries and other later Sāṅkhya texts. According to him,[36] the so-called atheistic arguments become really theistic when interpreted properly. But, this is overstretching the explanation. The fact remains that Classical Sāṅkhya is atheistic in expounding its principles. The atheistic character of Sāṅkhya is taken for granted by the commentaries. They are at pains to explain it as issuing out of the compulsions of the philosophical stand of Sāṅkhya and as not conflicting with the requirements of the religious sects to which they themselves belonged.

Modern scholarship generally speaking has been appreciative of the Sāṇkhya view on God. Sāṅkhya, as a philosophical system, does not have a place for God. Rational argument, when strictly applied to the Sāṅkhya principles, cannot justify a philosophical acceptance of God. Sāṅkhya is to be commended for rationally following its principles. It has been bold enough not to be swayed by other considerations in its philosophical exposition. It has extended its arguments to their logical ends.[37]

G.J. Larson has presented a very critical and convincing study of the history and meaning of Sāṅkhya. He takes into account the full range of the history of Sāṅkhya, though emphasising its classical formulation by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. He makes a judicious and critical use of the studies attempted by earlier scholars.[38] He is aware of the desirability of a historical study of the development of Sāṅkhya.[39] He himself attempts an interpretation of the historical development of Classical Sāṅkhya.[40] Before Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Classical Sāṅkhya he envisages only two phases. In the first, termed as Ancient Speculations and covering the Vedas and the oldest Upaniṣads, he traces many motifs, ideas and structures of thought which were later assimilated into Sāṅkhya contexts. The second phase of proto-Sāṅkhya speculations includes the *Kaṭha, Śvetāśvatara, Maitrī* and other later Upaniṣads, Caraka and Pañcaśikha, Aśvaghoṣaś *Buddhacarita, Mokṣadharma* and *Gītā.* He notices a variety of

---

36. *Sāṁkhya Conception of Personality*, p.1.

37. A critical study of the Sāmkhya system, p.4 : "There was no place for Him in the system and Indian thinkers and Indian followers were bold enough to carry their conclusions to the logical ends".

38. *Classical Sāṁkhya*, pp. 16-72, 245-56.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-163.

traditions, without attempting a chronological scheme. In the texts of this phase "monistic trends frequently parallel or subsume dualistic tendencies, and many passages are given a theistic emphasis".[41] According to Larson, in this phase we may place "the emergence of a specific doctrine of twenty-five principles, comprehended from an evolutionary perspective, basically dualistic, non-theistic and emphasizing salvation by knowing".[42]

Larson takes a mid way stand. He does not discuss the question of Sāṅkhya being theistic or atheistic. According to him, Sāṅkhya was non-theistic, and not atheistic. That is how he explains the term *anīśvara* in *Mahābhārata* XII. 289.3.[43] He translates the expression *anīśvaraḥ katham mucyet* as "how can he who has no lord be saved?" in the sense of "how can *puruṣa* be saved for whom an *īśvara* is irrelevant?" Larson is of the view that this approach explains the position of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* on the question of theism. The text does not deny the existence of gods; in Kārikā 53 and 54 they are mentioned, but within the realm of *prakṛti*. These gods are, thus, irrelevant from the point of view of salvation. This non-theistic stand seems to have characterised Sāṅkhya for a long period. According to Larson, the earliest attempt to set forth a clearly atheistic doctrine is to be seen in the *Sāṅkhyapravacansasūtra*.[44]

Larson is justified in hesitating to attempt a historical presentation of the development of Sāṅkhya principles. The paucity of relevant texts of the earlier periods and the uncertainty about the chronological position of the available reference will dater any such attempt. But, there are enough indications of a broad outline of the chronological sequence of development and, following the lead of some earlier scholars, Larson ought to have attempted it.

Larson's view that Sāṅkhya had a non-theistic stand is based mainly on the testimony of the *Mokṣadharma* verse. He does not discuss in any detail the evidence of other Sāṅkhya texts, making only a brief reference to Kārikās 53 and 54 of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*. His opinion that this non-theistic character of Sāṅkhya persisted from the times of the *Mokṣadharma* and was changed into an atheistic

41. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-35.
44. I. 92-84.

one only by the *Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra* cannot be upheld. Larson, places the *Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra* after the fourteenth century but before the sixteenth century.[45] A parusal of the commentaries on the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* will show that the current view was that Sāṅkhya was atheistic and that they considered all possible objections to the atheistic argument. As an illustration we may refer to the discussions in the *Yuktidīpikā*.[46] P. Chakravarti[47] is inclined to place the commentary not before the first half of the seventh century and not later than the eighth century.

Latika Chattopadhyaya has made a very reasonable and convincing analysis of God in the Sāṅkhya.[48] She does not restrict herself to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā,* but studies the other Sāṅkhya texts, commentaries and the relevant passages in the Upaniṣads, *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. She takes due cognisance of the fact that Sāṅkhya makes provision for the divine personality in some form or other.[49] Reconciling the theistic fragments of the Sāṅkhya with its atheistic arguments she says: "The bifurcation of the Sāṁkhya system into theism and atheism points respectively to the position of subordination in which either of the two, reasoning and belief, is put. The atheistic arguments discernible in Sāṁkhya cannot prove conclusively that their authors are necessarily without any belief in a divine being; what they prove in reality is that the Sāṁkhya, as a philosophy, cannot include within its fold anything like God that cannot be arrived at through a process of reasoning".[50] The Sāṅkhya explains the whole world process by means of two principles, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa.* Sāṅkhya, by substituting evolution for creation, dispenses with the creator God. The God does not have a function to justify his own existence in Sāṅkhya.[51] Sāṅkhya tries to deduce the various *tattvas* through the power of inference, which is applied for arriving at God also, "and herein lies the root of the

---

45. *Ibid.,* p. 164.
46. (Ed. P. Chakravarti), pages 84-88.
47. *Origin and development of the Sāṁkhya System of thought,* pp. 161-62.
48. *Self in Sāṁkhya Philosophy,* Calcutta, 1982, pp. 157-98. I am grateful to Dr. Smt. Chattopadhyaya for kindly presenting me a copy of this work.
49. *Ibid.* , pp. 166-72.
50. *Ibid.,* pp. 172-73.
51. *Ibid.,* pp. 157-63.

Sāṁkhya denial of God".[52] Dr. Chattopadhyaya stresses "the fact that God in the theistic philosophical systems enters through the passage of belief and not through that of reasoning. The fragments of the theistic Sāṁkhya, along with the treatment of God in the Yoga, mark also this dominance of belief over reasoning, although alien to the Sāṁkhya - Yoga structure".[53]

Chattopadhyaya brings out the relation and distinction between the Sāṅkhya and Yoga.[54] She criticises the common assumption that Yoga is the theistic counterpart of the atheistic Sāṅkhya. The real distinction between the two is that Yoga is based on practice, while Sāṅkhya is concerned mainly with theory. On account of its concern for practical attainments Yoga "has to include within its sphere some new elements which, although unamenable to logic, are indispensable for the Yoga practice. God is one such element in the Yoga".[55] Her final summing up offers the most convincing explanation of the apparently intriguing and conflicting Sāṅkhya standpoint and statements about God: "Contrary to the popular belief, we should rather note that in course of history the Sāṁkhya has relaxed at times its rationalistic vigour and adopted itself to the practical demand for a personal God."

Thus we see that the earlier studies on Sāṅkhya suffer from a number of fallacies and mistakes and hence could not arrive at an explanation which may be both philosophically valid and historically correct. Some scholars identify Sāṅkhya principles with the enunciation in a particular text. Some others dismiss the presentation of Sāṅkhya views in earlier texts, sometimes in non-Sāṅkhya associations, as not relevant for their study. The Yoga associations of Sāṅkhya also have sometimes coloured the interpretations advanced by modern scholars. Whereas some scholars consider Sāṅkhya philosophy to be fixed and unchanging, others postulate a unilinear development for it. The attempts at determining the stages in the development of Sāṅkhya, in terms of its views on God, are vitiated by the neglect of the chronological position of the sources and the thinkers involved.

---

52. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-82.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

But the most serious mistake arises out of a failure to appreciate that the Sāṅkhya system did not have a monolithic form in all the periods of its history. No doubt the standardisation effected by Īśvarakṛṣṇa provided a frame-work within which the later writers and commentators attempted minor variations or elaborations. It is to be realised that Sāṅkhya had a very rich and varied formulation in the pre-Īśvarakṛṣṇa period. It will not be correct to say that in this long period there were chronologically earlier or later phases of theistic and atheistic Sāṅkhya, one ousting and replacing the other completely. Theistic and atheistic traditions seem to have co-existed in different circles. Theistic views have been recorded in some of the Upaniṣads and in the *Mokṣadharma.* They also recur later in the Purāṇas and the commentaries on account of the sectarian involvements of their authors.

Sāṅkhya and Yoga are allied systems, which, at times, have been taken to form a unity. They, no doubt, have their differences as well. In Yoga the practical side is more pronounced. In Sāṅkhya the philosophical aspect is more prominent. As a system based on reason Sāṅkhya does not find any argument to support his existence; in the process of evolution the creator God does not have any role to play, and for salvation also he is not relevant. Hence Sāṅkhya does not mention God. But, when Sāṅkhya also partakes of the nature of a practical method, it refers to a god or gods.

Thus, Sāṅkhya is to be labelled as being theistic, non-theistic or atheistic according to the point of view from which we consider it. But, no one designation will hold good absolutely. It may vary with the text and the age concerned.



DISSENT WITHIN THE FOLD OF THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA TRADITION AS REFLECTED IN THE PARĀŚARA - SMṚTI

Prof. B.N.S. YADAVA

Allahabad

Parāśara is an ancient[1] name, and there is some evidence of an early tradition of Parāśara. But it is not certain whether and how far the extant *Parāśara-smṛti* was connected with that tradition. This smṛti was composed in Northern India, but the exact date of its composition is not known. In the second edition of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* P.V. Kane has assigned it to the period extending from c. 600 to 900 A.D.[2]

In the first chapter of this *smṛti* as many as 19 Dharmaśāstra works - those of Gautama, Āpastamba, Manu,Yājñavalkya, Śaṅkha Likhita, Hārīta, Uśanas, etc. - have been enumerated, but they have not been viewed as valid for the Kali Age. It has been proclaimed that the earlier Dharmaśāstra works of the Mānavas, Gautamas and Śaṅkha-Likhitas had acquired supremacy in the Kṛta Age, Tretā Age and Dvāpara Age, respectively, and that they had ceased to be valid for the Kali Age.[3] Parāśara asserted emphatically that only the Dharmaśāstra of his school was valid for the Kali Age.[4]

The term *Kaliyuga* (Kali Age) here cannot be taken literally for the fourth mythical *yuga* (Age). In fact this term has been used as a symbol of the state of so-called degenerations of the faculties and competence of human

---

1. *Ṛgveda*, VII. 18. 21.

2. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmśāstra*, Vol. V, Part II, Second Edition (Poona, 1977), Chronological Table, p. xiii.

3. *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. 24. (*Parāśara- smṛti* with the gloss of Mādhavācārya, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; *Parāśara-dharma-saṁhita* with the gloss of Mādhavācārya, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series). According to the *Bṛhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā*, the *dharmas* propounded by Manu and others in earlier Ages had become impracticable in the Kali Age; ibid, Bombay Edition, I. 4.

4. *ibid.*

beings in the comtemporary society.[5] The other *Yugas* broadly refer to the past ages.

It has been pointed out by Robert Lingat,[6] one of the authorities on ancient Indian Law, that the real issue involved here cannot be evaded by saying that Parāśara, the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti*, simply wanted to attribute more authority to his work. The real issue involved here was some social challenge in response to which Parāśara dissented from the dominant normative tradition of Dharmaśāstra on many points.

The aim of the present paper is just to touch on some main points on which Parāśara dissented from the dominant Dharmaśāstra ideology, the circumstances which were responsible for this dissent, and the nature and significance of the same.

One of the dissents of Parāśara was on the matter of the duties of the Brāhmaṇas. The traditional regular six-fold duty of the Brāhmaṇas comprised study, teaching, sacrificing, officiating as priests at sacrifices, acceptance of gifts (*praṭigraha*) from worthy persons, and making gifts.[7] Of these the second, fourth and the fifth were their means of livelihood. While accepting this ideal of the duties of Brāhmaṇas, Parāśara mentioned in the same context another set of six-fold duty - *svādhyāya*, bath, *japa*, *homa*, worship of gods, and Vaiśvadeva and honouring the guests.[8]

But he expressed[9] a significant dissent from the traditional normative order by recommending that in the Kali Age a Brāhmaṇa should practice agriculture through the labour of the Śūdras[10] attending upon him,

---

5. Cf. R.S. Sharma, "The Kali Age", *Feudal Social Formation in Early India*, ed. D.N. Jha, Delhi, 1987, pp. 45 ff.; R.K. Dwivedi, "Critical Study of the Changing Social Order at *Yugānta*, or the End of the Kali Age", *D.D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume*, ed. L. Gopal, Varanasi, 1977, p. 290.

6. *The Classical Law of India*, tr. J.D.M. Derrett, Indian Edition, 1973, p. 187.

7. E.G. *Manu-smṛti*, X. 75.

8. *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. 39.

9. *Ṣaṭkarmasahito vipraḥ kṛṣi-karma ca kārayet. Parāśara- smṛti*, II. 2. According to Manu, as expounded by Medhātithi, the occupations (teaching etc.) of the Brāhmaṇas were not to be combined with agriculture etc. (Medhātithi on Manu X. 82 - *Manu-smṛti*, ed. G. N. Jha, Allahabad, 1932).

10. *Śuśrūṣakaiḥ śūdriḥ kṛṣim kārayet.* Mādhavācārya on *Parāśara smṛti*, II. 2.

in addition to carrying on his traditional six-fold duty. The dominant normative ideology which we find in the *Manusmṛti* envisaged agriculture, which involved injury to sentient beings and was dependent on other, as only a duty in distress (*āpaddharma*) for a Brāhmaṇa when the occupations reserved for his *varṇa* or those of the *varṇa* next below his own (in distress) were not available to him. Moreover, it was enjoined upon a Brāhmaṇa to avoid agriculture even in the time of distress,[11] for it was regarded as a very contemptible[12] (*garhitatara*) occupation for him. Then again, *āpaddharma* was to be given up as well as the period of distress was over.[13]

But as against this, Parāśara proclaimed that agriculture was not an *āpaddharma* (duty or occupation) for a Brāhmaṇa at all times.[14] According to the commentator Mādhavācārya, the assertion of Parāśara was that *āpaddharma* became the principal duty, or occupation, in the Kali Age.[15] This was indeed tentamount to the reversal of the normative structure of the occupations of Brāhmaṇas. The gloss of Mādhavācārya indicates that it was a major dissent of Parāśara from the traditional normative order.[16]

In actual practice the vocations followed by the Brāhmaṇas were many and varied from very early times,[17] and there have always been gaps[18] of varying extent between theory and practice, necessitating attempts at modification of theory from time to time. The point at issue in the present context is the nature and extent of change in the traditional normative ideology and the factors responsible for it. According to Mādhavācārya,[19] Parāśara voiced

---

11. *Kṛṣiṁ Yatnena varjayet. Manu-smṛti*, X. 83.
12. Medhātithi on *Manu.*, X. 85. Medhātithi has mentioned cattle-rearing, trade and agriculture, in order of preference, in this connection.
13. *Yājñavkya-smṛti, III.35* Yājyavalkya (I. 96).
14. *Parāśara-smṛti*, II. 2.
15. *Yugāntareṣu kārayitṛvyamāpaddharmaḥ kalau mukhyadharmaḥ.* Mādhavācārya on *ibid.*, II. 2.
16. *sukaro yo dharmaḥ brāhmaṇa - kartṛkaḥ kṛṣyādiḥ so' tra prādhānyena pratipadyate.* Mādhavācārya on *ibid.*, I. 2.
17. Cf. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 130.
18. Cf. S.C. Bhattacharya, *Some Aspects of Indian Society* (from c. 2nd Century to 4th Century A.D.), Calcutta, 1978, pp. 36 f.
19. *On Parāśara-smṛti*, II. 2.

this dissent under the circumstances when the traditional regular sources of support often ceased to be available to each and every Brāhmaṇa. Thus, the new precept of Parāśara may have suited the needs of the common Brāhmaṇas who could not get the traditional regular sources of support. But this precept mainly suited the interests of the landowning section among the Brāhmaṇas, involved in direct cultivation. This is quite clear from a verse of the *Parāśara-smṛti*,[20] read with the gloss of Mādhavācārya, according to which the most advisable course for the Brāhmaṇa was to practice agriculture through the labour of the Śūdras attending upon him. The landowning section of the Brāhmaṇas appears to become sizable by the time of Parāśara (c. 600-900 A.D.) in the early medieval period : this is revealed by the epigraphic and literary evidence of numerous landgrants to Brāhmaṇas. However, there is evidence to think that some Brāhmaṇas who received landgrants would not have functioned as secular landlords.[21]

On the matter of the occupations of the Kṣatriytas as well, Parāśara dissented from the traditional normative ideology in so far as he allowed them agriculture also as their proper occupation.[22] Like the Brāhmaṇas, they may have practised agriculture through labour of the Śūdras. Thus, a support was given to the interests of the expanding section of landlords among the kṣatriyas also during the early medieval period.[23]

The Śūdras must have been required for the agricultural works of the landlords.[24] Under these circumstances, agriculture was allowed to them also as one of their proper occupations. Here also we find a departure from the traditional normative order.

---

20. Supra.

21. G.C. Pande, *Foundations of Indian Culture*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1984, p. 232; B.N.S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth Century*, Allahabad. 1973, p. 10.

22. *Kṣatriyo' pi kṛṣiṁ kṛtvā...........Parāśarasmṛti*, II. 18.

23. Cf. B.N.S. Yadava, op. cit., pp. 136 ff.

24. Some of the Śūdras may have been free peasants. But according to Alberuni (11th century), a Śūdra taking to agriculture, obviously as a free peasant, was considered as having committed "only a little less than the crime of theft". *Alberuni's India*, tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 137.

According to the traditional Dharmaśāstra ideology, agriculture was the proper occupation of only the Vaiśyas. But Parāśara sanctioned it for all the *varṇas.*[25] This may be taken to reflect, in addition to what has been noticed before, the comparatively increasing preponderance of agrarian concern during the early medieval period.

The dissent of Parāśara on the matter of the occupations of different *varṇas* is closely connected with his general theory about *yugadharma* of Kali Age, which also represents a marked dissent from the prevailing orthodox Dharmaśāstra ideology. According to Manu, as expounded by Medhātithi, in every Age, as also in the Kali Age, *dharma* acquired a different nature (*svabhāvabheda*). But Parāśara contended that in the Kali Age *dharma* became of a different kind (*prakārānyatvam*), involving some substantial change.

The germs of the idea of *Kali-varjya* (actions forbidden in the Kali Age), have been traced by Robert Lingat[26] to the theory about *yugadharma* of Kali Age in the *Parāśara-smṛti.* According to this, certain approved practices of earlier times were regarded as improper and, therefore, worthy of rejection in the Kali Age. This view was vehemently criticised by Medhātithi,[27] who declared that those were liars (*anṛtinaḥ*), who, in order to attract people, accepted some precepts of *dharma* and rejected others.

However, the theory of Parāśara relating to *yugadharma* of the Kali Age prepared the ground for legitimating the tendency of the rejection of many practices of earlier times, e.g. long journey, sea-voyage, inter-*varṇa* marriage, etc., in the early medieval period (c. 600-1200 A.D.). We find long lists of these *Kalivarjyas*[28] in some Dharmaśāstra works of the 12th and 13th centuries. The tradition of Parāśara thus tended here to accentuate localism, insularity and rigidity of caste in the early medieval period.

This tradition acquired considerable force in subsequent times. A number of works - *Vṛddha Parāśara-smṛti, Bṛhat-Parāśara-saṁhitā,* etc.-were

---

25. Medhātithi (on Manu X. 82) argued that agriculture could not be the regular occupation of all the *varṇas* in an equal manner (*samatvena*), as it was sanctioned only for the Vaiśyas.

26. Robert Lingat, op. cit., p. 188.

27. Medhātithi on Manu, I. 81.

28. *Smṛtyartha-sāra* of Śrīdhara, Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1912, p. 2.

composed on the lines of the *Parāśara-smṛti*. Several commentators of Dharmaśāstra works and writers of law-digests have quoted Parāśara with approval in different contexts. Mādhavācārya wrote his monumental gloss on the *Parāśara-smṛti* sometime in the 14th century.

It has been remarked that dissent often, though not always, "has strong elements of revivalism".[29] But the dissent which we find in the normative syndrome of Parāśara and his tradition was not characterized by revivalism. The aim was not to restore the normative order to its original shape. Parāśara accepted certain elements of the earlier normative order, e.g. the framework of the *cāturvarṇya* system and caste, and reinterpreted some others to suit the conditions of his age. In so far as he offered a different interpretations of *yugadharma* he posed some challenge to the traditional normative order. On the whole, his interpretation appears to have tended, to a considerable extent, to support the changing socio-economic set-up characterized inter alia, by the comparatively increasing preponderance of agrarian concern and to legitimate the agricultural pursuits of the emerging landed aristocracy during the early medieval period.



29. Cf. S.C. Misra, "Dissent, Protest and Reform" : A Note on Definitions", *Dissent, Protest and Reforms in Indian Civilization*, edited by S.C. Malik, Simla, 1977, p. 52.

THE CEREMONY OF PUṢYĀBHIṢEKA IN ORISSA

DR. G.C. TRIPATHI

Allahabad

Introduction

Priests and nobles were the two most important and powerful groups in all ancient structured societies. They were the people who practically controlled the society by virtue of the 'divine' and the 'worldly' authority vested in them (termed *brahman* and *kṣatram* respectively in Sanskrit) whereas the rest of the people were simply the 'common folk' (*viś/viśaḥ*). In some societies these two authorities vied with each other for supremacy and for getting better hold over the community whereas in some other they helped each other legitimise their respective position and somewhere (as in India) they acted as a check and balance for each other preventing the other group to become totally autocratic and dictatorial.

The group of Brahmins and Kṣatriyas in Indian society who wielded these powers were constantly apprehensive of losing their *Brahman* and *Kṣatram* respectively and hence ceremonies are prescribed in ancient Indian ritual texts for the annual rejuvenation or re-inforcement of these powers. The Brahmins refresh and strengthen their Brahmanic authority every year through the Upākarma ceremony which is performed with the help of Vedic Mantras on the full- moon day of the Śrāvaṇa month i.e. Srāvaṇa-pūrṇimā (July-August) preferably on river-banks or at other holy spots whereas a king is supposed to strengthen his royal authority on the full-moon day of the lunar month Pauṣa (December-January) which is usually conjoined with the constellation Puṣya. The main part of the ritual consists of a ceremonial bath (rather sprinkling, *abhiṣeka*) given by Brahmins to the king with holy waters drawn from various tīrthas etc., hence the designation of the ceremony : *Puṣyābhiṣeka*. It is thus a shortened version of the much bigger ceremony of Rajyābhiṣeka in which only the main and the substantial part of the ritual (viz. the abhiṣeka) is repeated whereas all other appurtenant rites and details are left out.

The rite of Puṣyābhṣeka is first described in detail by Varāhamihira (6th c.A.D.) in the 48th chapter of his *Bṛhastsaṃhitā*. He terms this rite as a *Śāntikarma* i.e. a rite which wards off evil, evil on the king and the kingdom cast by the malefic influence of demonic beings, evil spirts, planets, stars, bad times etc. It seems that though originally a *'Pauṣṭikam'* (i.e. a rite contributing to the enhancement of strength and well- being), the rite later also assumed the character of a *'Śāntikarma'* (a propitiatory rite) in addition to the previous function . The few texts which make a mention of it extol it as having both the functions. It destroys the evil spell on the king on the one hand, and on the other, enhances his royal authority. Varāhamihira remarks that it is the most auspicious of all the royal rites and there is no other rite which can match its efficacy in destroying the evil effects of the portents for the king :

पुष्यस्नानं नृपतेः कर्तव्यं दैववित्पुरोधाभ्याम्।
नातः परं पवित्रं सर्वोत्पातान्तकरमस्ति।। *बृहत्संहिता* ४८/३

The *Kālikāpurāṇa*, composed most probably in the 9th c.A.D. in Assam[1] observes that by having merely the knowledge of the procedure of Puṣyasnāna the obstacles and impediments in the execution of the royal function disappear; it bestwos upon the king good fortune, brings about the welfare of the ruler and the ruled and stops famine and deaths of the people under him:-

श्रृणु राजन् प्रवक्ष्यामि पुष्यस्नानविधिक्रमम्।
येन विज्ञातमात्रेण विघ्ना नश्यन्ति सत्वरम्।।
सौभाग्यकल्याणकरं दुर्भिक्षमरणापहम्।।

कालिकापुराण ८६/१,२ गद्य

In medieval ages it was perhaps only in the eastern part of the country especially in Assam and Orissa, where this custom seems to have been prevalent whereas it had become either obsolete or irrelevant in other parts of India in the past few hundred years.

In Orissa the rite is carried out not only on the king of this land (i.e. the Raja of Puri) but also on the image of Lord Jagannatha at Puri (and probably also elsewhere) since it is actually He (i.e. Jagannatha) who is considered to be

---

1. See *Kalikāpurāṇa* edited with Introduction Sanskrit text and English translation by Biswanarayan Shastri in 2 Parts, Delhi 1993 (Nag Publishers), Pt. I, Introduction Pp. 51-67

the real Overlord of Orissa whereas the ruler of Orissa is simply his Vassals or rāuttas.[2]

The rite of Puṣyābhiṣeka is not carried out concurrently on the same day in the Jagannātha temple and in the palace of the Raja of Puri. In the temple of Jagannātha it is carried out on the full-moon day (pūrṇimā) of the lunar month Pauṣa in conjunction with the star Puṣya whereas it is carried out after about one month in the same constellation falling in the bright fortnight of Māgha on the king.

Puṣya ("the noruisher") is popularly known as '*Dogstar*' in the English speaking countries which is a translation of the latin Canis Major (=big dog). Its astronomical designation, however, is Sirius (= hunter) which is derived from the Greek Seirios . It is today the 8th constellation in the series of the Nakṣatras starting from Aśvinī. However, it used to occupy the 6th place in the ancient lists found in the Vedic Saṃhitās (*Atharvaveda*, 19,7; *T.S.*IV 4.10.1-3; *MS* II 13.20; *KS* 39.13; TB I.5.1) when the counting started from the Kṛttikās (Pleiades). Its ancient name is *Tiṣya* and the personal names like Tiṣyarakṣitā (the wife of king Aśoka acc. to Buddhist sources) and Tiṣyagupta etc. demonstrate its importance and popularity during the Mauryan times. In later ages the word is replaced by Puṣya in personal names and we find the names like Puṣyamitra (the founder of Suṅga dynasty) and Puṣayabhūti etc.

The constellation *Tiṣya* has an Iranian counterpart too which it is known as Tiśtrya. It is a highly glorified star in ancient Iranian culture and has been deified in Avesta (cf. Yashta 8) where it is depicted as fighting with *Apaoṣā*, the domon of drought (cf. the Vedic *Vṛtra*) in the sea (=sky) of Vaurukaśa and letting the dried rivers flow in their course with the speed of horses. All human beings and animals look forward to the rise of Tiśtrya in the sky because it brings plenty of food for the humans and grass and fodder for the animals. The whole of the Yashta 8 containing 62 verses in 16 sections is dedicated to the glorification of Tiśtrya and his wonderful human-friendly exploits.[3]

---

2. cf. *Mādalā Pāñji* (the chronicle of Jagannātha Temple) Prāchi edition (ed. by A.B. mohanty), *Reprint*, Bhubaneswar, 1969,p. 27 ; H.Kulke, *Jagannātha-Kult und Gajapati Königtum* , Wiesbaden 1979 pp 51-53 et passim .

3. For further details and the translation of the whole hymn (Yasta 8) Avesta : *Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, by Fritz Wolff, Strassbung 1910 (Reprint, Berlin 1960 Pp. 185-194.

It is reported that the *Dogon* tribe of Sudan believed that they were civilised by visitors coming from Sirius, the brightest star in the sky. They had amazingly accurate knowledge of the movements and asociations of this star. It has further been convincingly shown by recent researches that the chamber in Egyptian pyramids containing coffins of the mumified royalties had a small window in its wall towards East which was made in such a way and at such a height that the first rays of the star Sirius on the day of its annual rise in the nocturnal sky should fall on the coffins.

The stellar picture produced by the constallations Rohiṇi-Mṛgaśiras-Ārdrā-Punarvasu and Puṣya in the nocturnal sky is unique in its shape and arrangement and has inspired the fantasy of a number of myth-makers of the ancient world. Along with a few other surrounding stars the Sirius (a Greek word *'the hunter'* cf. its Sanskrit byname *Mṛgavyādha*) in fact, looks like a hunter with a bow in his hand and a knife or dagger hanging down from the belt tied round his waist. The quadrangular stars of the constellation Orion (= field) may fancifully be conceived as the four legs of an animal which has an arrow shot in its belly in the form of the three stars of Ārdrā situated closely in a straight line with equal distance from each other.The *Brāhmaṇa* literature of Vedic times has associated this picture with the story of the forced love of god Prajāpati (or *Brahmā*) towards his daughter (Uṣas/Vāk/Sarasvatī) who tries to escape the incestual overtures of her father by assuming the shape of a Gazelle, (Rohit/Rohiṇī) but when she is still chased by Prajāpati in the form of a deer (Orion), Rudra as a hunter (*Mṛgavyādha*) punishes Prajāpati by shooting an arow (*iṣuḥ trikāṇḍā*, a three pronged arrow i.e.) *Ārdrā* through his belly.[4]

---

4. cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.33

प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरम् अभ्यध्यायद् दिवमित्यन्ये आहुः उषसमित्यन्ये। ताम् ऋष्यो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्यैत् ....। तं देवा अब्रुवन् अयं वै प्रजापतिः अकृतम् अकः, इमं विध्य इति .....। तम् अभ्यायत्य अविध्यत्। स विद्धः ऊर्ध्वम् उदप्रपतत्। तमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते। य उ एव मृगव्याधः स उ एव । स या रोहित् स रोहिणी। य एव इषुस्त्रिकाण्डा स एव इषुस्त्रिकाण्डा।

cf. also शिवमहिम्नःस्तव of पुष्पदन्त–

प्रजानाथं नाथ प्रसभमभिकं स्वां दुहितरं गतं रोहिद्भूतां रिरमयिषुमृष्यस्य वपुषा।
धनुष्पाणेर्यातं दिवमपि सपत्राकृतममुं त्रसन्तु तेद्यापि त्यजति न मृगव्याधरभसः।।

for discussion and interpretation of this myth see Tripathi, G.C. *Vaidika Devatā ; Udbhava aur Vikāsa*, 2 Vols. Delhi 1981,1982; Vol. p. 665-675. and Dange S.A. *Towards Understanding Hindu* Myths, New Delhi 1996, pp. 205-218.

In Indian astrology Tiṣya/Puṣya is supposed to have Bṛhaspati as its presiding deity. This association seems to be very old since it goes to Vedic times and is explicitly referred to in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* IV.4.10.

तिष्यो नक्षत्रम् बृहस्पतिर्देवता।

Further, this planet is also said to achieve its most exalted position (*ucca* or apex) in this very constellation in the zodiac sign of Cancer.

Bṛhaspati represents the priestly power and authority. He is the Chief priest of god Indra, the overlord of the heavens and the warrior god of ancient Aryans. The older designation of Bṛhaspati is Brahmaṇaspati in which form he is supposed to be the master or the lord of *brahmans* – the holy hymns and the spiritual wisdom enshrined in them. According to *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX.2.3.3. Bṛhaspati represents *brahman* (the pristly authority) whereas Indra represents *kṣatram* (the royal authority) : only when these two are combined, can Asuras (demonic forces) be destroyed:

ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन् त्वं वै नः श्रेष्ठो बलिष्ठो वीर्यवत्तमोऽसि। त्वमिमानि रक्षांसि प्रतियातयस्वेति। तस्य वै मे द्वितीयमस्त्विवति। तथेति। तस्य वै बृहस्पतिं द्वितीयमकुर्वन्। ब्रह्म वै बृहस्पतिः। इन्द्रियेण चैव बृहस्पतिना च दक्षिणतोऽसुरान् रक्षांसि अपहत्य अभयेऽनाष्ट्रे एतं यज्ञमतन्वत।

Cf. also *TB* 5.1.45 where the Ṛṣi prays that the *brahman* should enter god Bṛhaspati and the *kṣatram* god Indra :

अतो वै बृहस्पतिमेव ब्रह्म प्रविशतु, इन्द्रं क्षत्रम्। तथा वा इति।।४।।
अतो वै बृहस्पतिमेव ब्रह्म प्राविशद् इन्द्रं क्षत्रम् ।।५।।

The identification of Indra with royal authority (kṣatram) and of Bṛhaspati with priestly authority(brahman) is quite common in the Vedic Texts and examples may be multiplied. The worldly power strengthened and reinforced with spiritual or divine power thus becomes successful in conquering the enemies and the evil forces. All along the Indian history it has been the duty of the royal priest to weaken the enemies of his patron king by performing sacrifices and by uttering magical spells and formulae taken from the Atharvaveda.[5] *Brahman and Kṣatram* both are needed for conquering the foes.

---

5. See the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautalya which has a long section *('Aupaniṣadika')* on such acts towards the end of the work.

Not only for vanquishing the enemies, these two forces in fact have to act in close cooperation with each other and have to go hand in hand for carrying out a proper administration of the kingdom too. Manu makes it very clear when he writes in his Smṛti (Manu 7.2):

ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि।
सर्वस्यैव यथान्यायं कर्तव्यं परिरक्षणम्।।

"Having reeived spiritual faculty (lit. endowed with Brahmic Saṃskāra) the Kṣatriya should provide protection to his subject according to the rules of the law, meting out justice to everyone".

Thus according to Manu a Kṣatriya king must be endowed first with the pious, spiritual Saṃskāras so that he attains a proper mental set-up to protect the poor and the needy and becomes capable of upholding the religious traditions of his country. Manu further remarks (9.322) that the *Kṣatram* does not prosper without the *Brahman* and the Brahman does not prosper without the Kṣatram. Only when the two closely cooperate with each other, can they prosper together :

नाब्रह्म क्षत्रमृध्नोति नाक्षत्रं ब्रह्म वर्धते।
ब्रह्म क्षत्रं च संपृक्तमिह चामुत्र वर्धते।।

Further, if the Kṣatram crosses limits, it is the Brahman which checks it and keeps it under control because, after all, the Kṣatram (royal authouity) has its origin in Brahman (the spiritual suthority), remarks Manu (9.320):

क्षत्रस्यातिप्रवृद्धस्य ब्राह्मणान् प्रति सर्वशः।
ब्रह्मैव संनियन्तृ स्यात् क्षत्रं हि ब्रह्मसंभवम्।।[6]

This phenomenon may be compared with the phenomenon of Pope bestowing upon the kings of medieval Europe authority to rule and with the royal consecration ceremony taking place in a church (e.g. of British kings in the Westminster Abbey and of Napoleon in the Notre Dame etc.)

In the ceremony of Puṣyābhiṣeka it is the priest (s) (*brahman*) of the king who performs the act of sprinkling holy water with Mantras on the king

6. cf. also *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparvan,
अद्भ्योऽग्निर्ब्रह्मणः क्षत्रमश्मनो लोहमुत्थितम्।
तेषामात्मगतं तेजः स्वासु योनिषु शाम्यति।।

(*kṣatraṁ*), charging him with *brahmic* faculties. According to Varāhamihira the ceremony was first conceived and described by god Brahmā (Prajāpati) to Bṛhaspati for the sake of Indra. Bṛhaspati then narrated it further to Vṛddhagarga from whom Bhāguri obtained it and popularised it in this world :

या व्याख्याता शान्तिः स्वयंभुवा सुरगुरोर्महेन्द्रार्थे ।
तां प्राप्य वृद्धगर्गः प्राह यथा भागुरेः शृणुत।। *बृहत्संहिता* ४८/२

The commentrator *Utapala* explaining the above quoted verse from the Bṛhatsamhitā quotes a passage from some unnamed work of Vṛddhagarga which says that once in a battle between Davas and Asuras, the Devas had to suffer great losses. Thereupon the sage Aṅgirā (an ancester of Bṛhaspati) conceived and developed the ceremony of Puṣyābhiṣeka and taught it to Bṛhaspati. Bṛahaspati performed this ceremony on Indra during the constellation Tiṣya of which he (Bṛahaspati) is the lord and annointed Indra with holy waters to the utterance of Mantras so that he recovered his lost powers and vanquished the Asuras. From that time onward this rite came to be practised on the earthtoo for the kings by their priests, where Indra is represented by Narendra(king) and Bṛhaspati by his Chief priest.[7]

The Puṣyasnāna has survived. to my knowledge, till modern times only in the traditional society of Orissa, whereas in early medieval ages it seems to have been fairly common at least in the eastern part of India as attested by the Kālikāpurāṇa. Perhaps one of the reasons for its survival in Orissa is its early integration in the annual ritual cycle of Jagannātha temple. On the basis of many external and internal evidences it is my conviction that the major part of the temple rites and the nature of annual festivals in the Jagannātha temple was fixed and codified during the 12th country by the Gaṅga rulers after the construction of the great temple. Since the Puṣyasnāna is performed with the purpose of enhancing the royal authority of earthly ruler it is first performed on Jagannātha, the overlord of Orissa and subsequently on his earthly representative, the Rājā (s) of Puri and elsewhere.

---

7. देवाश्च दितिजैः सार्द्धं स्पर्द्धमाना हि मानिनः। परस्परं महद् युद्धं चक्रुः सर्वे सुरासुराः।।
तत्र दैत्यगणैः क्रुद्धैर्देवाः सर्वे विनिर्जिताः। ततोऽङ्गिराः सुरगुरुर्ध्यानसक्तोऽभवत् पुरा।।
पुरन्दराभिषेकार्थं बृहस्पतिमकल्पयत्। तिष्यमात्मीयनक्षत्रं यस्य देवो बृहस्पतिः।।
तेन चैवाभिषिक्तश्च देवराजो पुरन्दरः। ततो बलसमारूढो नाशयामास दानवान्।।
पुष्यस्नानं बलकरं तदारभ्य प्रवर्तितम्।।

The Ceremony as described in the Bṛhatsamhitā (BS)

The site

Puṣyābhiṣeka is usually performed outdoors. Both Varāhamihira and the Kālikāpurāna recommend as the best sites for its performance either pleasant beautiful river banks or picturesque sylvanic spots surrounded by auspicious trees and nice looking plants wiṭh fragrant flowers. Other alternative sites are : a sea shore, the appurtenant land of a lake or a pond, a confluence of rivers, a large and pleasent garden, a cowpen, a hermitage, a spot where even a deer would overpower a lion, a temple compound or even the precincts of ones own palace rendered pleasent due to the presence of charming ledies moving around (BS. 48.5-14).

The site chosen most not be saline in nature; it should be sweet smelling, even, smooth and glossy with enclivity towards East or North. It must also lie free from mud, ashes, charcoals, bones, husk, hair or anthills as well as from pits and burrows of porcupines and rats etc.; in short, it should have features similar to those which are taken into consideration while chosing a place for eracting camps and tents of the armies.[8]

Preliminaries (Pre-rites)

After having chosen such a spot for bathing, an advance party consisting of the court astrologer, the officer-in-charge of the ceremony (amātya) and the priests should proceed to the site on the previous night. Reaching the site, the chief priest (purohita) should first render offerings of perched rice, curd and flowers to the protectors of the cosmic directions (dikpālas) either collectively at a spot in the eastern or northern direction of the site or individually in their own specific directions. He should therefter utter a Mantra invoking all the divine and semi-divine forces which are to receive worship the next morning. He should offer a small worship to them, request them to be present on the site overnight and to depart only the next day after receiving a proper worship and after imparting their blessings (śānti, lit. peace) to the king[9]. The party is then to

8. Bṛhatsaṃhitā 48.16,17.

9. आगच्छन्तु सुराः सर्वे येऽत्र पूजाभिलाषिणः।
दिशो नागा द्विजाश्चैव ये चाप्यन्येंऽशभागिनः।।
आवाह्यैवं ततः सर्वानेवं ब्रूयात् पुरोहितः।
श्वः पूजां प्राप्य यास्यन्ति दत्त्वा शान्तिं महीपतेः।।
बृहत्संहिता ४८.२०,२१

spend the night on the site itself (which is probably covered with a cloth canopy). According to the Kālikāpurāna the dreams occuring to the chief priest this night are of special importance. They would foretell the fate of the king for the coming year and may be indications of the coming events in future. Therefore they must be carefully remembered and interpreted. If the chief priest or the king have inauspicious dreams that night the king should grant one hundred cows to Brahmins and the priest should increase the amount of *homa* fourfold. (Kālikā-P. 86. 23-25ab).

The Ritual

The next morning the servents of the king should bring to the site all the articles which are needed for carrying out the worship and the rite of Abhiṣeka. The priests are first to draw a Maṇḍala (diagram) on the ground with various colour powders (or coloured rice) assigning prescribed number of square(s) to gods, serpents, constellations, Rudra with Mothers, protectors of the world, goddesses and the gods Viṣṇu, Skanda and Viśākha. According to the Kālikā-P.(86.37) this Maṇdala should have a length and breadth of 4 cubits (*hastas*). Worship is offered to all deities with meat and wine. Giving the details of offerings, the *Bṛhatsaṃitā* says that the Piśācas are to be worshipped with meat and rice, the Pitaras (manes) with the offerings of recitation of Mantras from the Vedas, the Nāgas (serpents) with colour powders and sweets, the Gandharvas and Apsarases with flowers and perfumes and finally the gods with incense, oblations of clarified butter, flowers and jewels etc. (40.29-32). The Kālikā-P. ordains that the Maṇḍala worship should be preceded by the acts of *Matṛkāpūjā* (worshipping of mothers), Vasordhārā and *Vṛddhi śrāddha* (86.38,39) whereas the BS makes no mention of these rites of later Hinduism.

Two platforms (Vedīs) are constructed according to the Bṛhatsaṃhita (48.34) as seats for the king on the western and southern sides of the Maṇḍala respectively. The western platform serves the purpose of carrying out the bathing ceremony proper aftar which the king changes his clothes and moves to the southern platform where he sits (looking towards north) while a fire secrifice is being performed at the altar located centrally on the site. Auspicious articles like Kuśa grass, perched rice, raw rice, curd, honey, flowers, sandal, incense and perfumes, *gorocanā* (a kind of red powder), sesame and seasonal fruits, clarified butter and milk rice etc. are to be kept in earthen cups near the *Snānavedī*. Many

of these articles are meant to be dropped in the eight pitchers containing water for bathing the king; the rest of the articles (e.g. incense, lamps etc.) form parts of the ritual.

The pitchers containing bathing water are mixed with auspicious and fragrant substances and, with jewels and pieces of gold dropped into them are placed in the four corners of the Vedī (bathing platform) with white strings tied around their necks. They are covered with leaves of milky trees and seasonal fruits (or coconuts). Twenty different kinds of herbs are meant to be dropped in these pitchers according to the BS(48.39,42) which have the names like *Jyotiṣmatī* (luminous), *Trāyamāṇā* (protecting), *Abhayā* (fearless), *Aparājitā* (invincible), *jīvantī* (living, lifegiving), *Pūrṇakośā* (fill-treasury, in the context of the herb, fortunate), *Bhadrā* (auspicious), *Vijayā* (victorious), *Śatavīryā* (also called *śatāvarī*, hundred powers) *Kṣemā* (ensuring welfare) and *Kāñcanī* (the golden one, i.e. turmeric) etc. The symbolic (or magical) significance of these herbs derived from their names is too obvious to be gone into detail.

On the Vedī meant for bathing the king, a hide of bull died of old age shonld first be spread with its head pointing towards East On it should be spread the hide of a fighting bull, a lion and a tigar in this very order. A seat (*bhadrāsana*) fashioned of gold, silver, copper or of the wood of some milky tree is placed on these hides. The height of the seat ought to be either one, one-and-a-quarter or one-and-a-half cubit, since only as such it proves to be auspicious not only to the king but also to his governors and other officers. Having put on fresh silken garments and offered obeisance to the deities, the king should mount the seat placed on the Snānavedī with some gold in his folded hands (or tied to his clothes) when the exact auspicious moment of the bathing arrives. The ministers, officers, priests, astrologers and chief representatives of the citizen are to surround the king while the Brahmins recite Mantras from the Vedas. The priests cover the king with a woolen blanket and sprinkle him with droplets of clarified butter taken out with the help of Dūrvagrass out of eight, twentyeight or one handred-and-eight pitchers. While sprinkling with clarified butter (*ājyam*) the priests chant two verses (ascribed to *Vṛddha-garga*) which say that "ājyam is splendour, it is the destroyer of all sins and evils, it is the food of gods and in it are established the three worlds. Whatever evil has fallen upon you, O king

whether emerging from the earth, the mid-region or the heaven, let that be destroyed by the touch of this ājya."[10]

The blanket must thereafter be removed and the bathing of the king should now be conducted with the pious and holy water kept in the pitchers. While carrying out the rite of bathing, the Brahmin priests are required to chant aloud and in chours a group of sixteen verses especially composed for this purpose and occasion (cf. BS. 48. 55-70)[11] A large number of divine and semi-divine beings, goddesses, Nāgas (serpents) Yakṣas, Rakṣasas, Ṛṣis (sages), constellations, fractions of time, rivers, holy places and cows etc. are requested in these verses to come forward and give a ceremonial bath to the king with waters capable of destroying all *utpātas* (calamities, portends) and to bless him. The list incorporates all gods, Siddhas, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Sārasvatī, Kīrti, Lakṣmī, Dhṛti, Sinīvālī, Danu, Surasa, Vinatā, Kadru, wives of gods, the Apsarases, Gandharvas, Vaikhānasas, the seven sages(saptarṣi) Vyāsa, Durvāsas, Bhṛgu, Sanatkumāra etc, in fact all such cosmic, celestial and terrestrial forces as well as beings which can cause damage to the king and all those who could protect the king and relieve him of his misfortunes.

After completing Abhiṣeka with the above-named group of sixteen verses, ceremonial bath is carried on with certain groups of Vedic Mantras prescribed in the Atharvakalpa (i.e. *Atharvana-pariśiṣta*, cf. V. 3.4-5) which have the purpose of warding off ill-luck (ariṣṭaśanti) to the king. These groups of Mantras (*gaṇas*) are *Rudrādhyaya* of the Yajurveda (Vaj.S.Adh.16) *Kauṣmāṇda* (Vaj 5.20 14-16), *Mahārauhiṇa* Riks RV. 103. 1-5 ?) *Kuberahṛdaya* (*rājādhirājāya*.......etc., (T.A.II.3.1) and *Samṛddhi* (*svasti sāmrājyam....etc.*)[12] The *Kuberahṛdaya* contains a prayer unto *Vaiśravaṇa* to fulfil all material

---

10. आज्यं तेजः समुद्दिष्टमाज्यं पापहरं परम्। आज्यं सुराणामाहार आज्ये लोकाः प्रतिष्ठिताः।।
भौमान्तरिक्षं दिव्यं वा यत्ते कल्मषमागतम्। सर्वं तदाज्यसंस्पर्शात् प्रणाशमुपगच्छतु।।

बृहत्संहिता ४८.५२,५३

11. The verses seem to have come down traditionally since older time and were not composed by Varāhmihira. They have a different metre (Anuṣṭubh) than the one used by Varāhamihira in the BS (*Āryā*) and have been quoted in this very from or with slight variations in various Purāṇās (e.g. Varāhā 55.70) Viṣṇudharmottara 2.22 and Matsya 93.51-56) and Dharmaśāstra works. They are also used for the rite of Abhiṣeka at the Coronation ceremony (Rājyābhiṣeka) of a king in Orissa.

12. *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol V, Pt. 2.p. 796 and footnote 1289.

desires of the king and to grant him prosperity whereas the *Samṛaddhi* formula is a sort of benediction of the priests to the king which contains blessings for the enhancement of his royal authouity and the extension of the limits of his territoy upto the ocean.[13] These last two hymns are recited by the priests as benedictions for their Yajamānas at the end of almost every religious ceremony even today and mark the rite of Puṣpāñjali after the lustration (*ārattrikam*).

After the ceremonial bath is over, the king puts on a pair of cotton clothes to the recitation of three special Mantras dedicated to goddess Āpas (RV X.9.1-3) for purification of the garments and the first four Mantras of the Śrīsūkta (*hiranyavarṇām* etc., RV Khila No 11 *hariṇīm*......... for bringing about prosperety.

The bathing ceremony being over, the people blow conches etc. and make tumultous music while the king sips some water (*ācamana*) for internal purification and pays reverence to his preceptors, priests and respectable Brahmins. He then offers worship to the articles connected with his royal authority like the parasole, fly-whisk, royal staff (dhvaja) and weapons (*sword*) etc. The priests now utter a set of Mantras from RV 10.17 (4-9) meant to bring about longevity (*āyuṣam*), glory (*varcasvam*) and prosperity (*rāyaspoṣam*). The king then puts on his ornaments.

He now moves on to the second (*i.e.* Southern) Vedī (*platform*) and sits on a set of skins placed one upon another, the lowermost of them being the skin of a bull died of old age, followed by the skins of a wild cat, an antelope, a spotted deer, a lion and finally a tigar. The chief priest of the king now drops oblations in the sacrificial fire consisting of prescribed fire-sticks, sesame and clarified butter etc. Offerings are made on this occesion to the deities Rudra, Indra, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati with appropriate Mantras taken from the Ṛgveda. The court astrologer carefully and

---

13. राजाधिराजाय प्रसह्यसाहिने नमो वयं वैश्रवणाय कुर्महे।
स मे कामान् कामकामाय मह्यं कामेश्वरो वैश्रवणो ददातु।।
स्वस्ति साम्राज्यं भौज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठ्यं
राज्यं महाराज्यम् आधिपत्यं समन्तात् पर्यायी
स्यात् सार्वभौमः सार्वायुषः आन्ताद् आपरार्द्धात्
पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्यन्ताया एकराडिति.......................।

intently watches the nature of the flames of the sacrificial fire on this occasion and predicts the course of coming events for the king and the kingdom. If , for example, the fire flares up instantly, it is smokeless, smooth, solid (without holes), fragrant, reddish-orange in colour and its flames are tilted towards the right of the king it is considered to be auspicious, and so on.[14]

At the end of the fire sacrifice chief priest bids farewell with folded hands to the deities invited for this ceremony. He requests them to depart after bestowing prosperity upon the king and to bless him with success in his endeavours.

The ceremony being over, the king grants liberal *dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fees) to his priests and gives gifts to the Brahmins well-versed in the Vadas as well as to the others. On this day the king order release of all animals taken to slaughter houses as also prisoners form jails except those who threaten the internal security of the kingdom.

According to the ancient authorities like Varāhamihira there is no ill-luck looming upon the king and his kingdom which cannot be warded off or prevented by Puṣyābhiṣeka and there is nothing more auspicious to a king than this cermony.[15] It is the best and the most efficacious religious rite for king aspiring for sovereignity and progeny. If the elephants and horses etc. of the king are suffering from some desease, they can also be cured of their ailments if the rite of Puṣyābhiṣeka is carried on them in this very manner.

Varāhamihira's detailed description of the Puṣyābhiṣeka records the ritual of this ceremony in its prestine from, in which it developed from its rudimentary Vedic origins (cf. Āit. Br. Śatapatha Br.) in the classical age of Indian culture (i.e. 4th-6th c.A.D.) In the Bṛhatsaṃhita composed in the first half of the 6th c. probably around Ujjayini, we find a fine blending of its Vedic roots with the classical Hinduism which was taking a definite form and shape during

---

14. इष्टद्रव्याकार सुरभिः स्निग्धो घनोऽनलोऽर्चिष्मान्।
शुभकृदतोऽन्योऽनिष्टो, यात्रायां विस्तरोऽभिहितः।।
स्वाहावसानसमये स्वयमुज्ज्वलार्चिः स्निग्धः प्रदक्षिणशिखो हुतभुग् नृपस्य।
गङ्गादिवाकरसुताजलचारुहारां धात्रीं समुद्ररशनां वशगां करोति।।
बृहत्संहिता ५३. ३१.३२

15. Cf. Bṛhatsaṃhitā 48. 84,85

the Gupta period. We have here the Brahmanic-Hinduistic worship of various folk-deities in a Maṇḍala (Vāstumaṇḍala), an Abhiṣeka with Puraṇic and Vedic Mantras and finally a fire sacrifice with Vedic Mantras taken from the various Saṃhitās.

Puṣyābhiṣeka in the Kālikapurāṇa

Our next source of information about the ritual of Puṣyābhiṣeka is the Kālikā-Parāṇa composed most probably in Assam around the Nīlācala Kṣetra of Kāmākhyā in Gauhati. In his recent critical editiouns of this work (Delhi 1993) Dr. Biswanarayan Shastri has strongly advocated the date of the composition of this Purāṇa as being 9th century A.D. on some very convincing grounds.[16] The earlier assigned date for the present version of this Purāṇa was a century later (10th c.A.D.). In the 86th Adhy. of this Purāṇa, the rite of Puṣyābhiṣeka is mentioned in detail. An analysis of the contents of this chapter shows that not much fundamental change had occured in the main rites of the Puṣyābhiṣeka in the intervening three or four hundred years except for some regional vaariations of which the following may be highlighted:

1. The king is to accompany the advance party of the priests which proceeds to the venue of Puṣyābhiṣeka on the previous evening for making preliminary arrangements for the ceremony of the next day. But the worship of Vāstudevatās is not mentioned and, instead of it, stress is laid on the worship of Gaṇeśa, Vināyakas, the sixteen Mothers, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra. This worship takes place in the Northern quarter of the site (and not in the NE as in the BS.). All Kalaśas (pitchers) are arranged in proper order with prescribed articles dropped into them to the recitation of the proper Mantras.

2. A sacrificial Maṇḍapa with a cloth-roof and having a length of 20x16 cubits is erected in the centre of the venue of Puṣyābhiṣeka. The king passes his night under this Maṇḍapa along with his chief priest (86.22 ततस्तां नृपती रात्रिं नयेत् तु सपुरोहितः) and it is king's dreams which are interpreted by the astrologers.

3. Kālikā-Purāṇa lays stress on the formation a number of Maṇḍalas (it mentions 12 Maṇḍalas, 86.56,57). In the centre of the venue a Svastika-Maṇḍala is drawn the squares of which are filled up with coloured powder.

---

16. cf. Footnote 1 above

4. There are only nine main pitchers[17] (नवैव तत्र पूर्वोक्ताः स्मृता मुख्यतया नृप, 86.85 cd) with which bathing is to be carried out. One of them with five mouths is placed in the centre and the rest eight at the four cardinal points as well as in the intermediate directions on the Svastika-Maṇḍala.

5. There are thirtyfive (35) smaller pitchers arranged on the northern side of the Svastika-Maṇḍala in which 9 planets, 10 Dikpālas and 16 Mothers are invoked and requested to reside overnight.

6. Eight of the nine main pitchers are indentified with the eight forms (mūrtis) of Lord Śiva and the ninth one (in the centre) with five mouths is considered to be Śiva himself in his five aspects (Tatpuruṣa, Aghora. Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva and Īśāna). Fouther two Mantras Belonging to Śiva (हौं शम्भवे नमः) and the other to (his ?) Astra (अस्त्राय हुं फट्) are written in the centre of the Svastika-Maṇḍala. This lends the whole Puṣyābhiṣeka ceremony a Śāivite character.

7. The ceremony starts next morning with a fire sacrifice (homa) performed on an altar for which a pit is dug on the southern side of the Svastika-Maṇḍala. Homa is conducted with fire-woods (samidh-s), rice, mustard seeds, dūrvāgrass and milk-rice or only with ghee. However, the Kālika P. does not specify with what Mantras or for whom this homa is made. It simply says that all worshipable gods are to be gratified with this homa.

(............पूजितान् सकलान् सुरान् । होमेन तोषयेद् वृद्ध्यै नृपः सर्त्विक्पुरोहितः)

कालिका पु० ८६.८६

8. After performing the Homa in which the king takes an active part, the king proceeds to the Snānavedī situated on the northern side of the Svastika-Maṇḍala (i.e. on the western side of the spot where on the previous night Dikpāla etc. were offered worship He sits on a wooden seat having a height of

---

17. There is an interesting explanation of the importance of the pitchers (Kalaśas) based on their etymological interpretation in the Kalika P. which is not found elsewhere:

सागरे मथ्यमाने तु पीयूषार्थं सुरोत्करैः ।
पीयूषधारणार्थाय निर्मिता विश्वकर्मणा।।
कलां कलां तु देवानामशित्वा ते पृथक् पृथक्।
यतः कृतास्तु कलशास्ततस्ते परिकीर्तिताः।।

कालिका पु० ८६. ५८,५६

one cubit, a breadth of 1 1/2 cubits and a length of 2 cubits and which is again placed on a Maṇḍala containing figures/sketches of a lotus, Svastika, Śrīphala (representing Lakṣmī) and goddess Umā (represented symbolically with a diagram). The back-rest of the seat has auspicious figures like Gaja-siṃha carved on it. Skins of a bull followed by that of a lamb or goat, a lion and a tiger are to be placed on this seat one upon another and soft cushions are to be provided to the king so that he may sit confortably. His weapons and articles signifying royal authority are placed by his side on the left.

9. The king is covered with a woolen blanket to the resounding music and is purified with the drops of clarified butter to the chanting of Mantras imparting victory and welfare to the king (Mantras not specified *"Jayakalyānadair mantraih"*). The ghee-bath ends with the Mantras glorifying Śiva, Viṣṇu, Dikpālas and the planets.

10. The blanket is now removed and the king is given a proper bath with the waters of the nine main pitchers (starting with the 9th one) to the loud recitation of those 16 tradititonal verses (*surās tvam abhiṣiñcantu..........* etc. which are mentioned in the Bṛhtsaṃhita (BS 48.55-70) and perhaps also taken. from there Thereafter [Vedic] Mantras glorifying Surya, Rudra, Nārāyaṇa, Brahm and Indra are chanted and the bath continued. The bath concludes with an assortment of Mantras and verses in the praise of Āpas. Lakṣmī and Goddess Durgā etc. and with a request unto them to protect the king from all evils and to grant him favour. The royal insignia of the king like umbrella, chowrite-whisk as well as his weapons are also sprinkled with sanctified waters. With the rest of the waters the ministers and officers of the royal court are besprinkled.

11. The king changes his clothes, ditstibutes liberal dakṣiṇā to his priests and to ht eaccompaniment of loud music comes to the sacrificial altar to have a darśaṇa of the sacrifical fire which is still burning on the Vedī. The nature and the look of the fire at this moment becomes subject of interpretation by soothsayers.

12. The king leaves the place and observes total adstinance from meat and women for three days. The whole city is ceremoniously decorated on this occasion.

13. The Kālikā P. attaches special importance to the Tṛtīyā (Third lunar day) connected with Puṣya constellation which usually falls in the begining of Pauṣa month and enjoins that on this day one should perform (i.e. play) the marriage ceremony of Caṇḍika with Lord Śiva with the help of dolls or puppets (pāñcālikā). All the temples in the city must be decorated with flowers and new flags be hoisted on this occasion.

It may further be noted that in the Kālikā P. the Homa (fire sacrifice precedes the bathing ceremony (abhiṣeka) of the king whereas in the BS, it is carried out after the royal bath is over. In the BS, consequently, the fire that the king does not take part in it but sits passively on his Vedī looking at the fire whereas the Homa is carried out by the priests. However in the KP, the Homa is an important and integral part of the ceremony. The gradual Hinduisation of the ceremony of Puṣābhiṣeka is also very clearly visible in the KP which enjoins performing of such rites as Vasordhārā, Śrāddha, Worship of nine planets and sixteen Monthers as well as drawing of various kinds of Maṇḍalas on different spots at the site. The Śaivite-śaktistic leanings of the KP are further discernible in its identification of the eight water-pots with the Aṣṭamūrtis of Śiva and of the ninth one with the five-headed Śiva. The tiger skin (Śārdūlacarman) mentioned in the context of Rājasūya in the ŚB on which the king in made to take three steps, has grown sevenfold in the BS by addition of six more varieties of skin, but is again reduced to four in the KP to vanish ultimately altogether later in Orissa.

The Puṣyābhiṣeka in Orissa

It is not only strange but also remarkable that the ceremony of Puṣyābhṣeka has preserved itself by and large only in Orissa and nowhere else in India. None of the extensive Pāñcarātra texts composed mostly in sourth India which give even minutest details of the temple festivals connected with Visnuism, makes even a passing reference to it. The reason perhaps is that the Puṣyābhṣeka is basically a rite prescribed for a king and not for a deity. It is carried out on Lord Jagannātha obviously because it is He who is considered to be the overlord of Orissa; the king of Puri receives it only as a representative of Lord Jagannātha. It is Jagannātha who is anointed on the proper day of the ceremony, the Pauṣa-Purṇimā, whereas the king is anointed on a less important day about a month later. Whether this ceremony was ever carried out on the deity Virūpākṣa in the Vijayanagar empire or Śrī Ekaliṅgajī in Mewar, both of

whom enjoyed the status of overlords over their kingdoms, we cannot say because of the non-availability of taxtual traditions of these temples.

Puṣyābhṣeka of the Raja of Puri

We shall first describe in short the rite as it is performed on the king(s) of Orissa on the basis of a manuscript preserved in the Keonjhar state Library titled *Puṣyābhṣeka-vidhiḥ*. It is a very small work consisting of merely six pages in Nāgarī transcript and contains only the essentials of the ceremony. It is obvious that the ceremony, though observed almost till today, has lost its original lustre and pomp and has been curtailed to a great extent. It does not take place now amidst sylvanic surroundings as in older times, nor even outside the palace. Confined to the precincts of the royal palace, it has hardly any public participation in it.

I have been told by the late Pt. K.C. Rājguru that on his occesion representatives of all the sixteen (or more) Śāsana Brahmins are invited to the places to bless the king and to present him a golden Yajñopavīta (i.e. a golden chain with three strings) each at the end of the ceremony. The king sits on his throne especially meant for his purpose and used year after year. The bathing ceremony is carried our with a chandowā held over the head of the king by four *Brahmins* on which waters and other liquids are dropped. The provision of woolen blanket is not there.

The ceremony as it is observed in the royal palace has a distinctly Āgamic character highly influenced by the ritual of Hinduistic image worship, except for the rite of Abhiṣeka proper. For all these *Āgamic* rites, however, Vedic Mantras are not only preferred but almost exclusively used whereas for *Abhiṣeka* the traditional, *laukika* or *purāṇic* Mantras are used. We have thus the interesting situation that for the rite of Abhiṣeka which goes back nearly to Vedic times, *laukika* Mantras composed in classical Sanskrit are used, whereas the rites introduced later in the ceremony are carried out to the recitation of the Vedic Mantras. A perusal of the Ritual taxts composed in Sanskrit during the medieval ages in Orissa unmistakaly points towards the fact theat there has been a constant and perhaps an ever-increasing effort on the part of Brahmin priests in Orissa right upto the end of 18th c. to lend a Vedic character to their temple and personal rituals, the best example of which is furnished perhaps by the *Yātrāpaddhati* of Sadāśiva (end of 18th c.) a taxt which describes

in detail the ritual of all main and sulsidiary annual festivals of the Jagannath temple.[18]

The caremony of the Puṣyābhiṣeka of the king starts with the worship of god Varuṇa in a special Kalaśa placed in the centre of a Maṇḍala. The Kalaśa plays the major role later in the anointment of the king.

Invocation of Varuṇa and other worshipable deities in a pitcher filled with waters is quite a common feature of Hindustic Puja on all ceremonial occasions. This dates back to the early Hindustic period when deities were invited in the waters of a covered jar and were offered worship. The practice is still followed in the Hinduistic worship of Bali island where the Hindu religion is known as *Āgamatīrtha* (i.e. the religion of holy water).

Varuṇa is invoked with a Vedic Mantra and placed in the water of the pitcher. Thereafter Gaṇeśa is invoked and is requested to take seat either in an image or in an areca-nut wrapped with coloured threads. The nine planets are then invoked on their respective seats marked with different colours. The ten Dikpālas are then invoked on a diagram and therafter the goddess Stambheśvarī as the tutelar or protective deity of the village or the city (i.e. the *Grāmadevatā*). The deities Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Mother goddess are then invoked who take seat in their respective metallic images or symbols (e.g. Śāligrāma, Liṅgam etc.).

Worshop is then offered to all of them with sandal-paste, flowers, incense, lights and foodstuff (i.e. Pañcopacāra) individually for single gods and collectively for groups of gods (like Navagrahas and Dikpālas) to the utterence of *laukika* Mantras. Goddess Stambheśvarī is addressed and praisd as bestower of all comforts, one who fulfills all desires and grants all *maṅgalas* (auspiciousness, well being). After these auspicious preliminaries are over, the king utters a *Saṃkalpavākya* (a sentence expressing intention to perform something, erspecially a religious rite) and requests the Brahmins to perform Svastivācana (prayer for welfare). Therefter the king in the same manner requests them to utter Karma-ṛddhi (efficacy of the performed act for producing the desired effect) and *Puṇyāha* (the Mantras which makes the day merit-

18. Not yet published till now but available in manuscript form writh the Arcakas of the Jagannath temple at Puri and elsewhere. A Devanāgari transcript of this work exists the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg and a critical edition on the basis of the same is being prepared by the present author.

yielding for the *Yajamāna* by making all the astral combinations and the moments auspicious). .

The king then takes some water in a copper vessel together with a few flowers, three blades of Kuśa grass, sandal-paste, a betal-nut and rice dropped into it and invokes the seven most holy rivers of India into the water by uttering the Mantra *gaṅge ca yamune caiva........* etc.[19] Holding the vessel in his hand he thereafter meditates upon Viṣṇu and utters three verses in his praise. Having thus fixed his thoughts on Viṣnu he utters a *Saṅkalpavākya* expressing his desire to let the *Puṣyābhiṣeka* be performed upon himself by the Brahmins. The Brahmins also give their consent through another Vākya to perform the ceremony for the king.

The actual ceremony of Abhiṣeka now starts. The queen who has been standing by the side of the king all along now has a role to perform and she, as well as the king, proceed together towards a throne and take seat there. Four Brahmins come forward and hold a chandowā over the head of the royal pair. Bath is first given with the five ingredients or Pañcāmṛta, i.e. milk, curd, ghee, sugar and honey one by one to the utterance of proper Vedic Mantras. According to our MS, the amount of each ingredient ought to be seven palas or some 350 grams. The Pancāmṛta is a substitute of the older ghee (clarified butter) with which the first bath was given to the king during *Varāhamihira's* times. All the Mantras which are uttered while giving the bath with milk and curd etc. have been taken from the Vedic *Saṃhitās* and they are used in Hinduistic Pūjā as well as while giving a *pañcāmṛtasnāna* to a deity in her image. The king and the queen thereafter change their clothes.

The main cermony of Abhiṣeka is carried out with the waters of 9 (nine) pitchers (cf. the ritual of Kālika Purāṇa) which have remained placed on heaps of paddy overnight. There is a big pitcher in the centre surrounded by eight smaller pitchers placed in all the four main and the four intermediate directions. The central pitcher is the one which contains many auspicious articles and water,

---

19. The full varse is as follows :
गंगे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति।
नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु।।
(The verse is uttered every day by pious Hindus while taking their daily bath in order to sanctify their bathing waters).

highly sanctified on account of invocation of Varuṇa etc. into it. Five of the eight surrounding pitchers contains ingredients of Pancāmṛta (milk, curd, ghee, honey and sugar) mixed with water whereas the remaining there contain pure waters drawn from oceans, holy ponds and holy rivers respectively.

The Abhiṣeka is performed with *laukika* Mantras found in the *Purāṇas* (esp. Matsya, Varāha and Viṣṇudharmottara) and differ slightly from the verses of the BS. The verse which is uttered while bathing the king with the waters of the first pitcher mixed with milk invokes Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva and requests them to anoint the king. The prayer accompanying the second one (Water+Curd) is directed towards Maruts; the third one (Water + ghee) towards Sarasvatī and Vidyādharas; the forth one (Water+Honey) towards the Dikpālas headed by Indra; the fifth one (Water+Sugar) towards the Mountains and Nāgas (*serpents*); the sixth (*Oceanic* water) towards all goddesses, the seventh (holy ponds) towards all gods and the eighth one towards all Sages and Seers.

The ninth and the main Kalaśa is now lifted and the king is given a bath with it to the utterance of a group of twelve verses. On this occasion a vessel having a large number of holes in it (*sahasradhāra*) is held over the head of the king and the water is poured into the vessel so that it flows down on the king in a number of streams (*sahasradhāram*). The verses invoke Varuṇa the ancientmost king of the Vedie antiquity, to impart royal splendour to the king. The same request is made unto gods Sūrya, Bṛhaspati, Indra and Vāyu as well. It is not only interesting but also quite natural to find the names of Lord Jagannātha, Vāsudeva, Saṃkarsaṇa (*Baladeva*) as well as Pradyumna and Aniruddha (i.e.the *Caturvyūha*) among the deities thus invoked to bless the king. All main gods, the Dikpālas, the Wives of gods (*devapatnyaḥ*) like Kīrti and Lakṣmī, the planets, the Gods, Demons, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Rakṣas, Manus, Nāgas, as well as Mountains, Oceans, Rivers, all herbs and jewels etc. are invoked to anoint the king and to bless him. There is also one verse (taken from the Mānava Gṛhyasūtra 2.14,26 also Yājñavalkya Smṛti 1,282) which says that let these waters destroy all your ill-luck which might be lurking and hiding in your hair, parting line of your hair, your head, your forehead, your ears or your eyes:

यत् ते केशेषु दौर्भाग्यं सीमन्ते यच्च मूर्धनि।
ललाटे कर्णयोरक्ष्णोरापस्तद् घ्नन्तु सर्वतः।।

The concluding section of the incantation is a short prose piece taken from the Rājasūya section of the Śatapatha-Br. (5.3.3-4) and says: I anoint you with the medicinal faculities of Aśvins for achieving Vigour (*tejas*) and brahmanic splendour, with the faculties of Sarasvati for achieving bodily strength and food, with the faculities of Indra for attaining strength, glory and fame".

ॐ अश्विनोर्भैषज्येन तेजसे ब्रह्मवर्चसायाभिषिञ्चामि।
सरस्वत्यै भैषज्येन वीर्यायान्नाद्यायाभिषिञ्चामि।
इन्द्रस्येन्द्रियेण बलाय श्रियै यशसेऽभिषिञ्चामि।।

Three commonly used Mantras from the RV containing prayers unto waters (Āpas) are then uttered requesting waters to provide energy (*ūrjam*), welfare (*mayas*), sap of life (*rasa*), and happy disposition to the king. Thereafter the king utters the Gāyatrī Mantra for three times which marks the end of the bathing ceremony.

The ceremony ends with the Brahmins blessing the king with benedictory verses and cursing his enemies. A feast for Brahmins is then arranged.

The Puşyabhişeka in the Jagannātha Temple

The ceremony of Puşyābhişeka is performed with great fanfare in the temple of Jagannātha in the morning hours of the Pūrṇimā of Pauşa. On this day it replaces the rite of regular bath given to the deities everyday in the mirrors placed in the sanctum in front of the deities on wooden stools. The details of the ritual as contained in the *Yātrāpaddhati* of Sadāśiva are given below.

The preparations for the Puşyābhişeka start already on the Ekādaśī day i.e. five days in advance. On this day in the morning a Maṇḍala of 64 squares is drawn on the ground in the space between Jagamohana (andience hall) and the sanctum. The central point of this Maṇḍala consisting of four squares is occupied by the figure of a lotus which is surrounded by a parapet (paridhi) of floral designs occupying 12 squares. Four Śālās ('halls', rectangular in shape) occupying eight squares each are drawn in the four main directions whereas the corners or the intermediate directions have four Koşthas ('rooms' square in shape) each of which is made up of four squares. The whole Maṇḍala is covered with rice tinted in different colours. The Śālas starting from the East clock-wise

are covered with rice coloured in yellow, black, white and red, respectively whereas the Koṣthas are coloured with Red (SE). Blue (SW), Gray (NW), and White (NE) respectively. Nine earthan pots of three varieties filled with a mixture of sand, earth and compost are placed on this Maṇḍala in the centre in the Śālās and in the Koṣṭhas. Ten (10) varieties of seeds, mostly foodgrains (like Śyāmaka, Mudga and Māṣa etc.) are thereafter sown in these earthen pots, after they have been washed in milk, to the utterance of the Bijamantra of Pṛthivi *laṃ*. They are sqrinkled with water to the utterance of the Bījāmantra of water (vaṃ) and then covered with a piece of cloth to keep them warm so that they are germinated till the Pūrṇimā day.

After the Aṅkurāropaṇa rite is over, a Homa (fire sacrifice) is conducted in the ante-room of the sanctum in which 108 oblations are dropped in the fire with fire-sticks dipped in ghee to the chanting of the last portion of the Rājasūya sacrifice of the Vedic times (cf. Śatapatha Br.) which introduces the new king to the public and contains benediction for him. On this occasion Soma is also declared as the real king of the Brāhmaṇas. After the Homa is over, offerings are given to the Dikpālas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Pitaras, Nāgas, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Candra (Soma) around the Maṇḍala. The practice of offering *bali* around the Maṇḍala is carried out everyday till Pūrṇimā.

On the 14th lunar day, 108 Kumbhas (pitchers) are placed in the *Adhivāsagṛha* (ante-room between Jagamohana and the sanctum), 84 of these pitcher contain common water and the remaining 24 clarified butter. The distribution of the Kumbhas is as follows : For Jagannātha there are thirtyfive Kumbhas, 27 filled with water and the rest 8 with ghee. For Balabhadra there are thirtythree pitchers, 26 containing water and 7 containing ghee. For Subhadrā there are twentytwo pitcher, 16 containing water and 6 containing ghee. Eighteen pitchers are meant for Sudarśana, 15 of which contain water and only 3 the ghee.

Fragrant substances like sandal-paste and flowers etc. are dropped in all the 48 pitchers to the utterance of two Mantras : *gandhadvārām durādharṣām .....and śrīṣ ca te lakṣmīśca.....*taken from the Śrīṣūkta of the RV (Khila or Pariśiṣṭa, No 11, verse 9) and the Puruṣasūkta of the VS (31.22) respectively.

In the morning hours of the Pauṣa Pūrṇimā day after the morning-bhoga (food-offerings) of the Daity of over, a Maṇḍala called Sarvatobhadra is drawn

in the sanctum in front of the Ratnavedī and on the Maṇḍala a wooden stool is placed which is then covered with flowers and a coloured cloth.

In the Adhivāsa Maṇḍapa where 108 Kumbhas have remained placed overninght, a fire-sacrifice (homa) is carried out before the bathing ceremony starts. Sankalpa on behalf of Lord Jagannatha, selection of Ācarya, Brahmā etc. are done as usual and the fire is kindled. One hundred and eight oblations are offered in fire for gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva each with specific Vedic Mantras (i.e. VS 22.23, Kaṇva 24,30, RV I.20.22; RV I. 89.5) after which three hundred Āhutis (oblations) are given with the Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha.[20]

The pitchers are then brought into the sanctum to the accompaniment of music and placed before the Rantavedī in four rows of 27 each. The golden figure of Lakṣmī is placed in front of the image of lord Jagannātha (for a combined bath of the King and the Queen of Orissa) and the image of Jagannātha is wrapped with cotton shawls. It is then imagined that all the other six Mūrtis (e.g. of Balabhardra, Subhadra, Sudarśana etc.) are totally indentical with the Mūrti of Jagannātha and this one Mūrti contains in it all the other six Mūrtis.

The Mūrti of Jagannātha gets reflected in the mirror placed in front of the image on the stool. The reflected emage is worshipped with Pañcopacāras and the chief priest taking flowers in his hand requests the Lord to permit him to proceed with the rite of bathing Him in form of his reflection as a part of the ceremony of Puṣyābhiṣeka.

Bathing is now carried out in slow pace to the utterance of the Mantras of Puruṣasūkta (RV X.90), Śrisūkta (RV Khila No 11), Pavamānasūkta (RV IX.67.21-32 and RV Khila No 18) and Devīsūkta (RV X. 125). After the bath with waters is over, bathing with ghee is carried out to the utterance of the Gāyatri Mantra and the Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha. In the last the Brahmā priest of the ceremony holds a vessel containing numerous holes over the mirror and the Ācārya (the chief priest) pours water into it which comes out in countless streams on the reflected image. This marks the end of the bathing rite.

---

20. उग्रं वीरं महाविष्णुं ज्वलन्तं सर्वतोमुखम् ।
नृसिंहं भीषणं भीमं मृत्योर्मृत्युं नमाम्यहम् ।।
- cf. Nṛsiṃha pūrvatāpanī- upaniṣad, Sections 1-4.

The Ācārya then wipes off the water from the mirror contemplating that he is doing so on the person of Lord Jagannātha. Clothes are now removed from the statue of Jagannātha, sandal-paste is applied on his body and new garments as well as ornaments are put on him. After this the mid-day worship of the deity is carried out.

An analysis of the rites of this ceremony as carried out in the Jagannātha temple shall show that there is a marked effort to lend it a Vedic character. The bathing ceremony is not carried out to the utterance of *laukika* Mantras (i.e. non-Vedie Mantras composed in Epic Sanskrit) taken from the Purāṇas or the Bṛhatsaṃhitā which has been the practice for more than two thousand years. Sadāśiva, the auther of Yātrāpaddhati, recommends the use of solely Vedic Mantras for Jagannātha's Abhiṣeka although for the Abhiṣeka of the Rājā of Puri almost exclusively the *laukika* Mantras are used.

The fire sacrifice which does not play any role in the Abhiṣeka of the king and the practice of which was perhaps already discontinued during the time of the composition of the Kalikā P., finds mention here twice. It is carried out first on the Ekādaśī day at the time of Aṅkurāropaṇa and then on the Pūrṇimā day before the actual bathing ceremony takes place. It has become an almost integral part of the ceremony though even in the BS it looks like an appendix carried out without the participation of the king after the bathing ceremony is over.

The ceremony as it takes place in the Jagannātha temple is very precise and very systematic. The total number of pitchers represent the holy number 108, the same number which is used for the Snānayātrā (Bathing festival) of the deities on the Jyeṣtha Pūrṇimā. The total number of water pitchers (84) and the ghee pitchers (24) have also symbolic significance and the distribution the each deity is quite logical.

The procedure of bathing has been modified to suit the given conditions in the Temple and has been brought in line with the usual practice of giving bath to the deities in a mirror. (except on the occasion of the Snānayātrā, when the deities are brought out of the sanctum and are given an actual bath on the Snānavedī).

The ceremony as it is observed in the Jagannātha temple may be described as a very fine blending of the Āgamic and Vedic forms of Hindu

ritual. It is wonderful that Orissa which has all along been a stronghold of traditional Hinduism, has not only preserved as the only state in India the age-old ceremony of the Puṣyabhiṣeka which goes back to the Vedic times but has also excellenty and independently developed its ritual by prescribing Vedic Mantras for the various rites on the one hand and, on the other, by taking into consideration the basic elements of Āgamic ceremonial worship like the formation of Maṇḍalas, offering of Balis to Yakṣas, Nāgas and other semidivine beings, Aṅkurāropaṇa, Adhivāsa and by incorporating the use of Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṃha who is considered to be the original form or the 'Ādyamurti' of the statues of Jagannātha according to the Puruṣottama Māhātmya of Skand. Pur.[21] and with whose Mantra the new wooden statues are consecrated on the occasion of the *Navakalevara* (fashioning of new images) ceremony.[22]

Whereas the execution of the ceremony of Puṣyābhisaka at the Jagannātha Temple exhibits and firmly establishes Lord Jagannātha as the chief Ruler of Orissa and strengthens his *royal authority* year after year, it also shows that this authority is ultimately dependent upon and is derived from the *spiritual authority* which is represented by the priests of the Temple.



21. cf. Adh. 27.98 to Adh. 29.4 of the Vaisnava-khanda, section 2 of the Skanda Purāṇa (especially the verse 28.34 ab: आद्या मूर्तिर्भगवतो नरसिंहाकृतिर्नृप ....); also Eschmann, Kulke, Tripathi : *The Formation of Jagannatha Triad* in The Cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, Delhi 1978, Reprint 1988,p. 170).

22 G.C. Tripathi, *Navakalevera* : Unique Ceremony of the Birth and the Death of the Lord of the World, *ibid*, pp 257-258.

THE VEDIC KUMBHAMUṢKA AND THE KŪṢMĀṆḌA CONCEPT

Dr. PRITHVI K. AGRAWALA

Varanasi

The Kumbhāṇḍa, variant Kūṣmāṇḍa, is the name of a class of demoniac beings or demigods who were once reckoned in the list of Four Mahārājika gods, mentioned quite frequently in the Pali canons, later Buddhist works and also in the Brahmanical literary tradition. The Cāturmahārājika group of deities is constituted by Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa, Virūpākṣa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūḍhaka as the overlords of the four hosts of semi-divines, namely the Yakṣas, Nāgas, Gandharvas and Kumbhāṇḍas respectively, and their mythical concept seems to represent the collective belief in four kindred folk-culture of antiquity that enjoyed wide popularity in the indigenous tradition. The inclusion of the Kumbhāṇḍas in this list of Four Regents of Directions apparently testifies to their specific familiarity and ranking in early Indian pantheon and religious tradition. The same is quite true in case of the Yakṣas, Nāgas and Gandharvas also in the later tradition but the Kumbhāṇḍas appear to have subsequently lost their quondam favour and are, at the present showing, rather obscure deity-names in comparison to the other members of the semi-divine clan. Anyway, the Kumbhāṇḍa theme has not been given proper attention by the modern scholars in their studies so far. Only recently, we have attempted to enquire into their independent character and role in myths and iconography in the light of certain little known evidence collected from the literary and archaeological sources.[1]

---

1. See my studies, e.g. "Some Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Early Stūpa Art", International Seminar on the Buddhist Stūpa in India & South-East Asia, March 1985, B.H.U.; "The Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Sanchi Sculpture;" *East And West*, Rome, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-4, Dec. 1987; "The Kumbhāṇḍa Overlord Virūḍhaka,"

As has been shown, the compound word Kumbhāṇḍa consists of the phrases *kumbha* (a pot) and *aṇḍa* (the testicles), and thus denotes a male being having his testicles shaped like a water-pitcher i.e., "pot-testicle........It significantly came to imply a mythical ....has his generative parts un-proportionately shaped in an exaggerated manner.[2] However, the word *aṇḍa* as part of their name signified not their testicles alone but also their ithyphallio aspect. This particular point appears to have been essentially understood in the very word, as we have another demon-name *kumbhamuṣka,* with the element *muṣka* in place of the expression *aṇḍa* , occurring as early as the *Atharvaveda.* There can be no doubt that in the earlier epithet *kumbha-muṣka* we have the same idea of a being characterised by an unshapely attribute of pitcher-like scrotum. Both the words *muṣka* and *aṇḍa* have in general a similar or identical meaning. As we have discussed the point earlier,[3] the word *muṣka,* though primarily denoting testicles or scrotum, has been widely used in Vedic texts to refer to the male's or even female's genital organ; for example, such phrases as *sahasra-muṣka, ṛju-muṣka, asyā* or *amuṣyā muṣka,* and the legend of Sumitra with multi-penis and the demoness Dīrghajihvī with multi-cunni in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 162); a transference of meaning from testicles to the "generative organ" is quite normal and obvious in the language. A similar expansion or generalisation in denotation appears plausible for *aṇḍa* in the very name Kumbhāṇḍa itself and presumably suggested the ithyphallic character of

---

Ratna-Chandrika : R.C. Agrawala Festschrift, New Delhi, 1989; "The Kumbhāṇḍas : Their Identification and Names," *Bhāratī : R.C. Majumdar Volume,* B.H.U., No. 16, 1985-86; "The Kumbhāṇḍas in Indian Art & Literature,"*J.of the Bihar Research Society* (forthcoming issue : Prof. Choudhury Commemoration Volume), Patna; "Identification of Kumbhāṇḍa Figures in Early Terracottas," National Seminar on Indian Terracottas, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, Feb. 1988; "Some Kumbhāṇḍa Figures on Mathura Railing-pillars," *Makaranda : Prof. J.C. Harle Felicitaion Volume,* Delhi-Berlin (Forthcoming); "A Note on the Obscure Deity-Name Kusmandarajaputra," etc.

The present paper, as also the above listed papers, represents in part the results of my work during 1984-85 at the Department of Oriental Art (Seminar für Orientalische Kunstgeschichte), University of Bonn, sponsored by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, West Germany. I am particularly grateful to Prof. Klaus Fischer for his keen intersest and valuable comments.

2. See P.K. Agrawala, "The Kumbhāṇḍas : Their Personification and Names," *Bhāratī : R.C. Majumdar Volume,* pp. 353 ff.

3. Ibid., pp. 353-54.

this class of genii. Thus, the modern scholars writing in English are more or less justified when at times they have rendered the word Kumbhāṇḍa in its general connotational reference by the expression ithyphallus, ithyphallic being, or ithyphallic dwarf.

It is more than certain that both the names Kumbhamuṣka and Kumbhāṇḍa were taken as synonyms, denoting the same class of ithyphallic nude beings. It is further curious that in the later tradition another word such as the *Kūṣmāṇḍa* came to refer to this kindred class of divinity or evil spirit.[4]

At the earliest, it is the *Atharvaveda* which mentions twice a class of personified evil-beings of the name *Kumbhamuṣka*. Once they occur in the hymn (8.6.15) employed, according to the ritual tradition, in the Sīmantonnayana ceremony to guard a pregnant woman in her eighth month against evil spirits and various inflicting disease-demons. The concerned stanza can be rendered literally as follows :-- "Of whom the front feet are backward, dung-smoke-born, who are *uruṇḍas* and *maṭmaṭas,* pot-testicled (*kumbhamuṣka-*), *ayāśus* (impotent?)-- these from her, O Brahmaṇaspati, do thou make to disappear by attention".[5]

The above verse, as is the entire hymn, is full of several obscure words, namely, *uruṇḍa, maṭmaṭa, ayāśu,* which are presumably certain epithets connected with the Kumbhamuṣka beings. *Ayāśu*[6] has been tentatively explained by Monnier-Williams and others as "unfit for copulation", "impotent", which appears to be a befitting adjective of the Kumbhamuṣka class as we shall note below. Likewise, *Maṭmaṭa*[7] may perhaps be satisfactorily connected by us with onomatopoetic Hindi verb '*maṭaknā*' as denoting one "who is coquetting or dallying". Likewise, *uruṇḍa* can be well explained as semantically equated with *uru+aṇḍa,* " one having large testicles"; the great

---

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 355-57.

5. AV. 8.6.15.
Kumbhamuṣka is explained by Sāyaṇa as follows : कुम्भमुष्काः कुम्भोपमेन मुष्केन उपेताः ।

6. Commentary of Sāyaṇa : अयो वायुः, वायुवद् आशुगामिनः ।

7. The commentary of Sāyaṇa takes *maṭmaṭāḥ* as *muṭmuṭāḥ* and explain it thus :मुट्मुट् इति शब्दं कुर्वन्तः, छिन्नसर्वावयवा इव वर्तमाना वा ।
(i.e. those who produce 'muṭmuṭ' sound, or who exist with all their limbs mutilated).

Vedic commentator Sāyaṇa,[8] however, takes *uruṇḍa* as *aruṇḍa,* i.e. "without (proper) trunk or lower body", this last explanation may also go to suggest the deformed or exaggerated torso of the Kumbhamuṣkas.

The other Atharvāṇic passage (11.9. 16-17) is part of a hymn purported as a charm for aid in battle-field. It is prayed that the enemy be crushed in various manners and made to see the ill-omened beings and injury-causing spectres. The two verses are relevant here can be translated as follows :-- "(And also make them see forth) the dwarfish female who stays in the parade-ground (*khaḍūra-*),[9] that who dwells with the dumpy, the vapoury spectres that are hidden, and the Gandharvas and Apsarases, the Serpents, the Itarajanas (Literally, "other folks", i.e. Yakṣa) and the Rakṣas."

"(And also) the four-tusked ones, the black-toothed, the pot-testicled,[10] the blood-faced; they who are self-frightening and terrifying."[11]

From the above passages it is conceivable that the Kumbhamuṣkas were a class of evil-doing spirits associated with similar other hosts of dwarf females and males (cp. later Vāmanaka, Pramatha), concealed or concealing ghosts (cp. later Guhyaka), Gandharvas, Apsarases, Nāgas (Sarpas), Yakṣas and Rakṣas (Rākṣasas).[12] If the three expressions of *caturdaṃṣṭrān, śyāvadataḥ* and *asṛṁmukhān* are taken to qualify the *Kumbhamuṣkān,* which is quite plausible, the form of the Kumbhamuṣkas can be well characterised further by their having fourfold fangs, black-teeth and blood-tainted faces, the features that can be said to have a partial parallelism in the representational traits of these beings in some of the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa period sculptures and terracottas.[13]

---

8. Commentary of Sāyaṇa : अरुण्डाः रुण्डरहिता अशिरस्काः।

9. Variously explained by scholars; but see T.P. Choudhury, who equates *khaḍūra* to *khalūrikā,* meaning 'place of excercise for soldiers'---thus *khaḍūre' dhicaṅkamām* would mean, according to him, "her who haunts the place of excercise for soldiers". His paper, "On the Interpretation of some doubtful words in the Atharva-Veda," *JBORS.,* vol. XVII, pt. 1, 1930-31, p. 66.

10. Commentary of Sāyaṇa : "काकुम्भमुन् कुम्भाकृति–मुष्क–युक्तान्।

11. A. V. 11.9. 16-17.

12. See, for example, such later lists of demi-gods as in the *Nāvanītakam* (ed. Kaviraja Balavanta Singh Mohan, Lahore, 1925, pp. 144, 65.

13. See my papers in *East And West,* Vol. 37; *Harle Felicitation Volume; R.K. Choudhury Commemoration Volume, JBRS.;* etc.

It may not be out of place here to refer to certain other names of demigods occurring in the Vedic texts that are perhaps connected in some way or the other from the point of their appealative character and rudimentary personification with the Kumbhamuṣkas and Kūṣmāṇḍas :--

Kumbhin Pāraskara GS. 1.16.23; Āpastamba GS. 18.1; Hiraṇyakeśī GS. 2.16.1; ....Jaiminīya GS. 1.8: 16; Mantra-pāṭha 2.16.1ff.; also see Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads,* p. 240.

Kumbha Kāṭhaka GS. 21.2.

Kumbhi (*kumbhiḥ*) Kāṭhaka GS. 35.1.

Kūśma or Kūṣma Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā 25.7; Kaṇva Saṃhitā 27.7.1; Taittirīya S. 5.7.23.1; Kāṭhaka S. 53.13; Maitrayaṇī S. 3.15.9.

In Kūśma or Kūṣma we have presumably an abbreviated word-form for Kūṣmāṇḍa and the same may also be the case with the name Kumbha or Kumbhin for Kumbhāṇḍa. It is noteworthy that Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara have explained Kūśma as certain divinity name to whom the offering of dung-balls was made.[14]

The most important expiation-rites detailed in the Vedic texts are named as the *Kūṣmāṇḍa-homa* and *Kūṣmāṇḍa-dīkṣā.*[15] It is presently altogether unknown if these widely prescribed purificatory fire-oblations with the Kūṣmāṇḍa-verses had anything to do with the Kūṣmāṇḍa class of demigods under study. It is strange that the specific verses and the procedure details thereof occur only in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and the *Kāṭhaka-saṃkalana,*[16] although most of the ancient ritual texts prescribe the Kūṣmāṇḍa oblations for

14. On *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* 25.7 :शकस्य विष्ठायाः पिण्डैः कूश्मान् देवान् प्रीणामि।
Also Sāyaṇa on *Kāṇva Saṃhitā* 27.7.1. : कूश्मान् कूष्माण्डाख्यान देवजातिविशेषान्, शकपिण्डैः अश्वशकृत्पिण्डैः प्रीणयामि।

15. See P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Vol. IV, pp. 43-4; A.B. Keith, *The Religion & Philosophy of the Veda & Upaniṣads,* p. 356; Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda & the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa,* pp. 85-6, note 3; C.G. Kashikar, ed., *Śrautakośa,* Vol. I, Skt Sec. Poona, 1958, pp. 133 ff. : English Sec., p. 200. The Gṛhyasūtras of Baudhāyana, Agniveśa, Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa; the Dharmasūtras of Baudhāyana, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Śaṅkhalikhita; the Śrautasūtras of Varāha, Baudhāyana, Vaikhānasa, etc.

16. *Tait. Āra.* II. 7-8; *Kāṭhaka Saṃkalana* (ed. Suryakant, reprint Delhi), pp. 87-91 : the particular text is called the *Kūṣmāṇḍa Brāhmaṇa* in a significant manner.

a person considering himself impure and wanting to free himself from any impurity or grave sin that is indeed less than the Brahma-hatyā.

Curiously enough, the passage compiled in the *Kāṭhaka-saṅkalana* gives the class-name *Kūṣma* or *Kūṣmarṣi* (*Kūṣma + ṛṣi*) for the Vātaraśana ("wind-girt", i.e. nude) sages, who saw the Kūṣmāṇḍa-verses while staying concealed in the *aṇḍas* (*āṇḍasthaḥ*).[17] The Vātaraśana Ṛṣis or Munis, an obscure group of long-haired naked ascetics, "soiled brown due to bodily filth" and possessed of great mystic powers (*Ṛgveda* X. 136), are styled here as *ūrdhvamanthin*, i.e. "having upward churning-flow" (or, *mantha*, meaning "churning stick", mortar, being a metaphor for phallus; cp. *ūrdhvameḍhra*, *ūrdhvaretas*). In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* they are elsewhere said to have originated from the flesh of Prajāpati (1.23.2; cp. the abounding "flesh" of all-pulpy kūṣmāṇḍa or pumpkin-fruit).

The origins of the Kumbhāṇḍa or Kūṣmāṇḍa type of semi-divine personification are perhaps to be looked into the age-old particular disease of Muṣkaśotha, Koṣavṛddhi or Aṇḍavṛddhi (hydrocele), still widely known in the country, causing the swelling of the scrotum, in cases to the enormous size. As disease-demons the Kumbhāṇḍas appear to have presided over this affliction and their embodiment as a natural corollary was conceived of in primitive beliefs to be of the deformed person with pitcher-like enlarged testicles. It is further likely that the name Kūṣmāṇḍa for this same class of demigods was evolved owing to a similar parallelism between their characteristic enormous parts and the pumpkin-ground or *kūṣmāṇḍa*-fruit. It is interesting to note in this regard that the particular diseased parts of a person are commonly styled even to-day though euphemistically by the village folk in eastern India as *konhaḍā* (Skt Kūṣmāṇḍa), *kaddū* (Persian), *pehaṭā* or *peṭhā*, *tumbā* (a kind of bitter gourd), *tarbūjā* (Water-melon) - all these words or "names" being vernacular designations for various kinds of pumpkin-gourd. It is further remarkable a fact that women are tabooed in the folk tradition from touching or cutting most of the varieties of pumpkin-gourd before the fruits are first knifed by a male person. This deep-rooted belief[18] no doubt goes to indicate that the intact fruit

---

17. *Tait. Āra.* तेऽनु प्राविष्णुः कूष्माण्डानि, "They next entered the kūṣmāṇḍas."

18. The Tantrik texts record this tradition with approval; for example, see *Siṁhasiddhāntasindhu*, IV. 159, p. 180, citing the *Rudrayāmala* as follows :

of pumpkin-gourd is primarily a dominant male-symbol being identified with the specific enlarged condition of the male genitilia.

The enlargement of testicles to great size was most probably attributed in primitive beliefs, side by side its disease-demon notion, to the accumulation of semen therein, and presumably with this trait was associated the ambivalent symbol of ascetic impotency as well as great virility, the same sexo-mythical motif of energy-preservation in its two paradoxical aspects or variants rooted in the ambivalence of seminal retention.[19] Hence we can recapitulate that nudity with the pot-testicled condition was a dominant trait of Kumbhāṇḍism. In an easy elucidation of iconological evolution, it seems reasonable to find that the pot-testicled feature was partially assimilated with the "pot-bellied" nature of these personifications. Likewise, ithyphallism also came to be an additional or alternative attribute of their physical specification being a manifest emblem of identical symbolism (Cp. *ūrdhvamanthin,* etc. mentioned above and cited). Phallism, one of the most primitive notions of fertility cultus, epitomised the male power in its inexaustible fertility-source through the *liṅga* symbol, which was conceived essentially in the image of an erect *liṅga* or ithyphallus. But, it is noteworthy that in the Kumbhāṇḍa representations of later art, the phallic symbol appears to have been basically reduced to a secondary significance and we find it often rendered in a "castrated" condition in contradistinction to the abnormally amplified abdomen and scrotum region.



19. Cp. *śamanīcameḍhra,* a division of the Vrātyas, "who have by continence their *meḍhra* hanging low", *Tāṇḍya Br.* 17.4.3.

THE CONCEPT OF THE MOTHER GODDESS IN THE VIṢṆU PURĀṆA

Dr. SUSHIL MADAVA PATHAK

Ranchi

The *Vishnupurāṇa* (*V.P.*) is one of the eighteen Mahapurāṇas and is one of the best representatives of the Vaishnavite religion in India. The text of this purāṇa has been retouched and modified several times. It seems that this Purāṇa was written for the masses. At one place we read in the *V.P.* that "women & Śūdras are fortunate in the Kaliyuga".[1] The *Devī Bhāgavata* also says "Women, Śūdras and the mean twice-born have no access to the Vedas : it is only for their good that the Purāṇas have been written".

Scholars hold different opinions on the date of the *V.P.* Wilson opines that it was composed about 1045 A.D., while Farquhar believes that it was composed not later that 400 A.D. According to Pargiter, it can not be placed earlier than 500 A.D. Winternitz agrees with Pargiter & says that it cannot be placed later than fifth century A. D.[2] P.C. Bagchi also agrees with the view. Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar believes that the *V.P.* is contemporaneous with the *Atharvaveda Samhita* & therefore, places it in the 5th century B.C. Hazra has endeavoured to place the *VP.* not later than the fourth century A.D. After analysing the internal evidence as well as the style and language of the *V.P.* it appears safe to conclude that the final redaction of the *VP.* might have taken place in the last quarter of the third century A.D. or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., and not later. The composition of the *V.P.* began in the beginning of the Christian era under the influence of the Bhakti movement. The

---

1. The Visnu Purāṇa, p. 510-11. (Gorakhpur-Geeta Press, 1966) Parashara's son Vyāsa, after bathing in the Ganga said-Sudras are for function in Kali age & so are women." 6.2.8

2. M. Winternitz - *History of Indian Literature. pp.* 544- (New Delhi : Oriental Book Reprint Corporation, Second edn. 1972).

V.P. is therefore, the main work of the Vaisnavas, and has been frequently quoted as an authority by the philosopher Ramanuja, the founder of the Ramanuja sect of the Visnu-worshippers in his commentary on the Bhagavad Gitā and the Vedānta-sūtras.[3] In the *VP.* Visnu is praised and glorified as the highest being, as the one and only god, with whom Brahma and Siva are one as the Creator and preserver of the world. Yet it is precisely this Purana which lacks all references to special feasts, sacrifices and ceremonies dedicated to Visnu : not even Visnu temples are mentioned, nor places sacred to Visnu. This leads to an assumption of the great antiquity of the work. Its character is more that of a unified composition than of a mere compilation, which is the case with most of the other Puranas. The fact that the title "*V.P.*" was hardly adopted at all for later works, Mahatmyas as such, likewise indicate that the *V.P.* is a work of the earlier Purana literature which, on the whole, at least, has been preserved in its original form.[4] There is a poetical description of the goddess of fortune and Beauty, Sri, arising in radiant beauty out of the twirled milk ocean (*Kshirodadhi manthana*) and throwing herself on Visnu's breast:[5]

"Then in radiant beauty, sitting on a full blown lotus, having a lotus in her hand, Sri Devi arose from that twirled milk ocean and threw herself on the breast of Lord Visnu in the presence of all gods" (1.9.100,105.). In a splendid hymn, she was glorified and invoked by Indra as the mother of all beings, as the source of all that is good and beautiful, and as the giver of all happiness. He says :

"O Goddess of fortune ! We bow to thee. People enjoy pleasures of wife, son, home, riches, wealth and friends due to your kindness and merciful glances. You are the mother of the entire universe - just arisen from the lotus and with your lotus eyes, you are adorning the breast of Lord Visnu".[6] 1.9.117, 124. In the eight subchapter of chapter VIII of the *V.P.* the omnipresence of Goddess Lakshmi has been beautifully described by Rishi Parashar. Just as Lord Visnu is Omnipresent, similarly Goddess Lakshmi too is omnipresent. Lord Visnu is meaning and Goddess Lakshmi is speech, Lord Visnu is justice and she is ethics.

---

3. Ramanujacharya - *Bhagavad Gita* (Gorakhpur - Gita Press, 1976). pp. 63-93.
4. M. Winternitz - *Indian Literature*, p. 545.
5. *The Visnu Purana.*
6. The *Visnu Purana*, 1.9.117-124.

Lord Visnu is Dharma (Duty) and she is good work. Lord Visnu is the Creator, she is the creation. Lord Visnu is mountain or king of the earth, while Goddess Sri is earth. Lord Visnu is contentment and Goddess Sri is permanent contentment. Lord Visnu is Yajna (Sacrifice) and Goddess Lakshmi is Dakshina (Gift of Brahmanas). Lord Visnu is *Samaveda* and Goddess Lakshmi is Onkar or Pranava. Lord Visnu is sacrificial fire and Goddess Lakshmi is Swaha". Lord Visnu is God Shiva and Goddess Lakshmi is Gauri or the consort of Shiva. Lord Visnu is the Sun-God and Goddess Lakshmi is his effulgence. Lord Visnu is the sky while Goddess Lakshmi is the heaven. Lord Visnu is the moon-god and Goddess Lakshmi is his soothing rays. Lord Visnu is the Wind-God and Goddess Lakshmi is the movement as well as the basis of the earth. Lord Visnu is the ocean and Goddess Lakshmi is the waves of that ocean. Lord Visnu is the refuge of the world & Goddess Lakshmi is the energy behind the Universe. Lord Visnu is the tree and Goddess Lakshmi is the Creeper around that tree. Lord Visnu is the day and she is the night. In short, Lord Visnu is the Supreme Being who possesses infinite power in the form of knowledge, will and activity. This all-pervading power of the all-pervading Lord is Lakshmi. Though ultimately one and same with the Lord, she presents a semblance of duality in non-duality. In the Puranic literature we have a mass of legends and speculations concerning the origin of the Goddess which resemble the story of her origin in the *VP*. She has been conceived of as the power and consort of Lord Vishnu.

In the chapter-eleven of the Second Part of the *VP*. the mother- Goddess has been conceived of as the power of the Sun-God known as Visnu. She is, therefore, the Surya-Sakti and the Vaisnavi-Shakti in one.From the 6th Sloka of Chapter-XI, this power behind the Sun-God has been defined and explained.

The all powerful higher nature of Visnu contained in the *Rig-Veda, Yajurveda* and *Samveda* known as *Veda-Trayī* gives energy, heat and power to the Sun-God. When this energy is worshipped, it destroys all the sins of the world. Lord Viṣṇu in the form of *Rigveda, Yajurveda* and *Samaveda*, resides as the energy and power in the Sun-God. This is the unmanifested power of Visnu which always resides in the Sun-God. As a matter of fact, the Trinity in the Hindu Pantheon - Brahma, Visnu and Siva are also the manifestations of the triple energy of the *Rigveda, Yajurveda* and *Samaveda*. It is the pure and divine energy of Visnu which enables the Sun-God to destroy entire darkness through his effulgent rays :-

एवं सा सात्त्विकी शक्तिर्वैष्णवी या त्रयीमयी।।
आत्मसप्तगणस्थं तं भास्वन्तमधितिष्ठति।। 2.11.14
तथा चाधिष्ठितः सोऽपि जाज्वलीति स्वरश्मिभिः।
तमः समस्तजगतां नाशं नयति चाऽखिलम्।। 2.11.15

VP. 2.11.14-15.

Translation : "This is the divine power of Visnu which resides in the Sun in its effulgent form of seven aspects. The Sun-god with the help of that divine energy, destroys entire darkness of the world".

Therefore, the Sun-God is praised, worshipped and adored by Gandharvas, Apsaras, Rakshasas (demons), and Rishis like. Lord Visnu residing in the Sun-God as the power of the three Vedas never arises or sets. He is ever- present and resplendent in all his glory and power in the Universe. The Vaisnavite energy is the real power and energy of the Sun-God which does not move with the Chariot of the Sun. It is manifested in every month as the different aspects of the Sun-God and is the real energy of the sun.

The Sun-God endowed with the Vaisnavite energy is enabled to satisfy and energise the manes (Pitrigana), the Gods and the human beings. The particular rays of the Sun known as Susumna strengthen and nourish the Moon-God in the Sukla Paksha-the fortnight of light and whiteness. In the krishna Paksha-the fortnight of darkness, the Gods are nourished by the rays and power of the moon-god. On the fourteenth day of the Krishnapaksha, the manes are nourished by the rays of the moon which is really an oblation to the manes by the Sun-God through the moon-God.

The splendour of the Sun-God which illumines the whole world & causes the rain to descend upon the earth is the miracle of the Vaisnavite energy which enables the Sun to evaporate the water to form clouds for the nourishment of human beings through agriculture and horticulture. Lord Visnu in the form of the Moon-God nourishes all herbs & plants. The *Bhagavad Gita* also says in the verses 12 & 13 of the 15th Chapter - "That splendour of the Sun that illumines this whole world, that which is in the moon, that which is in the fire, that splendour know as Mine.

"And entering the earth, - I support all beings by My Vital energy, and becoming the Sapful moon I nourish all herbs and plants.In sloka - 19of the 9th chapter of the Gita, Lord Krishna says :-"I give heat, I withhold and send forth the rain. I am immortality and also death. I am being as well as non-being, O Arjuna!"

Thus the Vaisnavite energy is the cause of the rise, sustenance and destruction of the Universe. The Sun-God satisfies the gods in a fortnight, the manes in a month and the human beings daily through this Vaisnavite energy.

Thus, the Puranas explain the power of the mother goddess through a mass of legends and speculations concerning her origin and her exact nature as the consort of Visnu. The *VP.* contains a very sublime and enchanting description of the mother goddess as the source of Vaisnavite energy sustaining the entire creation.

There is also a synthesis in the worship of the mother goddess as she has been conceived of as the energy of every powerful God of the Hindu pantheon. She has been described as Brahmani, Lakshmi and Gauri, consorts of Brahma, Visnu and Siva. She has also been depicted as Indrani, consort of Kartikeya as well as the consort of Nrisingh - (Visnu as man & lion). In the Narayana aspect of Visnu, the Lord of the Cosmos tests on the Sesa snake in the ocean of causal potency and Lakshmi is ever present with him.

Lakshmi or Sri as the mother Goddess played a very important part in some of the Vaishnavite sects of India, particularly in the Vaisnavism of the South. The Sri Sect of Vaisnavism laid great stress on this mother aspect of the Visnu-Sakti. Just as in our domestic life the mother stands somewhat like an intermediary between the father and the son, so does Goddess Lakshmi stand as an intermediary between God and the Jivas (beings). She makes Lord Visnu compassionate and merciful to the Jivas and the Jivas more dutiful and devoted to Lord Visnu.

The *VP.* as one of the earliest Puranas of the Vaisnava sect, played a very important role in popularising the sublime aspects and lofty conceptions of

the mother Goddess as the Goddess Lakshmi. It also laid stress on the fact that in reality, Lakshmi and Visnu are the different aspects of the ultimate reality pervading this Universe and therefore, they are one and the same. Just as speech and its meaning or the ocean and its waves cannot be seen or conceived of separately, similarly Lord Visnu & Goddess lakshmi are the supreme power governing this universe and do not exist separately.



DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO MĪMĀṀSĀS AS ONE SCIENCE

Dr. UMA PANDEY

Bhopal

Though all the Six systems of Indian philosophy are closely related to Vedic religion, yet they are free in interpreting it in their own way. Differences in approach to Vedic religion is responsible for their distinction. Here one thing is worth mentioning. The Vedic literature is in the form of various kinds of texts dealing with numerous subjects. Hence to find out the purport of a text is not an easy task. The Pūrva Mīmāṁsā therefore, developed a method for this purpose, which was not only acceptable to all the six systems of Indian philosophy, but also earned for it name as *Vākya Śāstra.* This method has remained the measuring standard not only for philosophical texts but for the entire scientific literature. According to it five things should be taken into account while determining the purport of a written text. They are (i) *Viṣaya* - presentation of the subject; (ii) *Saṁśaya* - expressions of doubt; (iii) *Pūrvapakṣa* -standpoint of the opponent; (iv) *Uttarapakṣa* - Standpoint of the propounder, and (v) *Saṁgati* - Consisting in all related sentences or statements.

The Uttara Mīmāṁsā also accepts the said method as authoritative for determining the purport of a Vedic text. Since all the Vedas, including the Upaniṣads consist of sentences, they come under the domain of the rules of the Pūrva Mīmāṁā. Mastery over this method was regarded as essential for scholarship. Even great poets like Bhavabhūti took pride in calling himself as *Padavākyapramāṇajñaḥ* or the master of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṁsā.

Though Uttara Mīmāṁsā accepts the authority of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā while determining the meaning of Vedic texts, including the Upaniṣads, on which it is based, yet, it did not regard itself as a part of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā. Pre-Śaṅkara writers such as Bhartṛprapañca and upavarṣa who wrote expositions on both the Mīmāṁsās regard both the systems as one compact

science. Śabarswāmin, the well known commentator on the *jaiminisūtra* and the famous Vedic scholar Kumārila Bhaṭṭa do not regard the Uttara-Mīmāṁsā, also known as Vedānta system, as an independent and separate branch of study. A controversy was going on among the Vedic scholars regarding the independence of both the systems. It was Śaṅkara who very aptly put an end to this controversy while commenting on the *Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras.* Here an attempt has been made on the basis of arguments put forward by Śaṅkara and his followers to show that Uttara Mīmāṁsā is a compact study in itself and therefore, is an independent science.

The mendatory prescription in the Veda is *svādhyāya* adhyetavyaḥ, i.e. a Brahmin has to study the Vedas. Now the subject matter of the Veda is divided into three parts : (i) *Karmakāṇḍa,* dealing with different kinds of sacrifices, (ii) *Upāsanākāṇḍa,* dealing with the meditation of different gods, and (iii) Jñānakāṇḍa, dealing with the knowledge of Ātman or Brahman. The first two are the subject matter of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, while the third falls under the purview of Uttara Mīmāṁsā. The two aphoristic texts, known as the *Dharmasūtra* and the *Brahmasūtra* written by Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa respectively, are representatives of the two systems. Now the first aphorism of the *Brahmasūtra* begins with the word *atha* which has a number of meanings such as *adhikāra* or beginning, *maṅgala* or auspeciousness and *ānantarya* or succession. The question is in what sense the word *atha* be taken. According to Śaṅkara, the commentator of the *Bādarāyaṇa sūtra* the word *atha* here means 'succession' and not 'beginning' as acceptable by Upavarṣa and others. He further says that something is to be mentioned after which the desire for the knowledge of Brahman is enjoined. But Upavarṣa and others who commented on the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā took the word *atha* in the sense of 'succession' and tried to interpret it saying that after the study of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā i.e. *Dharmajijñāsā,*. one should commence the study of Uttara Mīmāṁsā, consequently, these two sciences are not two independent disciplines but form one compact whole for study under the mendatory sentence - *Svādhyāyo adhyetavyaḥ* - of the Veda. The earliest opponent of Śaṅkara that is Bhāskara, who propounded the doctrine of *jñāna karma sammuccaya* as the means of achieving salvation and all succeeding Vaiṣṇava commentators of the Vedānta, vehemently, rejected the meaning of the word *atha* as accepted by Śaṅkara and tried to prove that

Pūrva Mīmāṁsā and Uttara Mīmāṁsā are not two independent disciplines but one. They even tried to show that Uttara Mīmāṁsā is secondary to Pūrva Mīmāṁsā.

Bhāskara in his commentary on the first *sūtra* of the *Brahmasūtra* takes the word *atha* in the sense of succession and says that it implies its relation with the consideration of *karma,* which precedes the desire to know Brahman. He says "The consideration of Karma has been done, now the desire to Brahman begins".

Following Bhāskara, Rāmānuja also considers the knowledge of *karma* as pre-requisite to Brahman knowledge. He supports his view by quoting Vṛttikāra. Even Jaimini has proved the compositeness of these disciplines by sixteen means . He, therefore, does not see any contradiction in the knowledge of *karma* and *Brahman* and regards both the Mīmāṁsā as one discipline.[1]

Śaṅkara vehemently refutes these views of his predecessors who regard dharma Śāstra and Brahma Śāstra as one discipline. He says that though the study of the Vedas is a pre-requisite before one commences the study of Dharma Śāstra or Brahma Śāstra, yet one is competent to have the desire to know Brahman if he has already studied the Vedānta or the Upanishadas, even though he has not considered the nature of *Dharma.* Here the word *atha* does not imply the precedence of the consideration of *Dharma* to that of *Brahman,* as the two disciplines does not stand in relation of whole and part. Even the results and objects of study in two disciplines are quite different. The knowledge of *Dharma* results in prosperity - *abhyudaya* , and it requires the performance of prescribed actions, while the result of the knowledge of *Brahman* is salvation -*niḥśreyas* and does not require any action to be performed. Moreover,*Dharma* the subject matter of knowledge is absent at the time of its knowledge and will occur after the performance of prescribed actions such as sacrifices. Thus the existence of *Dharma* depends on the action of a man. But in Brahma Mīmāṁsā, the object of knowledge is *Brahman* or *Ātman* which is a pre-established fact and thus is independent of the performance of a man.

1. *Śri Bhāṣya pp.* 49-50.

Moreover, mendatory statements in Pūrva Mīmāṁsā impart not only the knowledge of *Dharma* but instigate a person to perform prescribed actions. But mendate about *Brahman* in Vedānta, simply impart knowledge of *Brahman*, barring any action on the part of a knower, since knowledge is not produced by any kind of command. Considering these facts it is clear that both the Mīmāṁsā are independent disciplines.

Bhāskara, the great opponent of Śaṅkara, believes in the doctrine of *jñānakarmasammuccaya.* According to it knowledge and action combined together are means to liberation. He agrees with Śaṅkara in sharing the views of the Śruti that fruits of actions are ephemeral. But he maintains that actions when combined with knowledge, become quite powerful to produce eternal results like salvation. Hence the two disciplines be regarded as components of a single discipline.[2]

Other Mīmāṁsakas also attack on the views of Śaṅkara with regard to the independence of Brahma Śāstra. They maintain that the Vedas, keeping in view the nature of sentences, can be divided into two categories; mendatory sentences - *vidhi vākya* prescribing some action and prohibitory sentences - *niṣedha vākyas,* prohibiting from particular actions. Under the second category fall those sentences which are neither *vidhi vākyas nor niṣedha vākyas.* They are known as laudatory sentences *artha-vāda vākya.* Such sentences have no purport of their own hence they can not be regarded as authoritative. By praising or criticising they serve as subordinate when joined with the main mendatory sentences. Sūtrakāra Jaimini therefore, has pronounced in his *Dharmasūtra* that the purpose of the Vedas is to prescribe some action and laudatory sentences, since they do not prescribe any action, have no meaning of their own independently. To avoid their meaninglessness, they must depend on and join with the mandatory sentences - *āmnāyasya kriyārthatvāt anarthakyam atadarthānām.* All the Upaniṣadas describe the nature of Ātman and established reality, hence they should be treated as laudatory sentences and to save them from being meaningless, they must depend on and join with some mendatory sentences.

---

2. *The Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* 1.1.1.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa for this very reason calls the Upaniṣadas as 'barren track' - *vedosara,* of the Vedas.

The authoritativeness of the Upaniṣadas can only be saved by joining them with mendatory sentences. Even the difference of the object of *jijñāsā* i.e. *Dharma* and *Brahman,* does not help Śaṁkara to regard Uttara Mīmāṁsā as an independent discipline. According to Jaimini when the *Brahman* becomes an object of kriyā vidhi, only then such sentences of Upaniṣadas 'Ātman must be seen', 'It should be searched and known' etc. have got some meaning. Because here the question arises as to what is this *Ātman,* and in answer to this question all the Upaniṣadas, which discuss an established reality,become meaningful. Without enjoining the Upaniṣadas with mendatory sentences, they will be as meaningless as those sentences which like 'the earth consists of seven islands' state only an established fact, because here is no scope to take or reject the earth. Even the use of transitive verbs such as 'to see' 'to search' etc. in the above sentences of the Upaniṣadas make *Brahman* an object of action. The use of '*mantavyaḥ*' and '*nididhyāsitavyaḥ*' often '*Śrotavyaḥ*' clearly indicate that Brahman is an object of *pratipatti vidhi* or *jñāna vidhi.*[3]

To refute the arguments of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsakas, Śaṅkara draws their attention to the nature and result of *karma* or action and *Brahman.* Three kinds of actions are recognised in *Śruti* and *Smṛti* and they result in the form of happiness and sorrow which are enjoyed by body and mind by a person.Even there is gradation in happiness and sorrow in accordance with *dharma.* While realisation of *Brahman* is an state of bodilessness when happiness and sorrow does not exist. The Upaniṣadas also describe it as a bodiless state which is eternal. If the realisation of Brahman be an object of action, it will become ephemeral like the results of action, and there will be gradation in it too. Moreover, when one realises *Brahman* he becomes liberated, in the contrary, knowing of *dharma* and reaping its fruits require performance of action in between.

Realisation of identity between *Brahman* and *Ātman* is not a kind of meditation or *Upāsanā,* because meditation is possible where there is duality. But the realisation of *Brahman* excludes all kinds of duality. All the great

---

3. *The Brahma Sūtra Śāṅkara Bhāṣya.* 1.1.1.

sentences are proof of it. Such sentences also imply that after the eradication of ignorance, which is the cause of duality, *Brahman* is realised. Hence Uttara Mīmāṁsā which discusses *Brahma - vidyā* is an independent discipline. It is not subordinate to Pūrva Mīmāṁsā.

Śaṅkara also refutes the claim of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā that it considers the meaning of complete Veda. According to him it considers *Dharma* alone. Now that part of the Veda which has its subject-matter *Brahman* as an existent fact remains to be considered and in order to consider such *Brahman* a separate discipline i.e. Uttara Mīmāṁsā is to be commenced.[4]

Such statements like 'Ātman should be seen, heard' etc. no doubt appear to have a shade of command. But the purpose here is not to command a man to act. The main purpose here is to dissuade a person from worldly objects to which he is naturally prone. *Brahman* or *Ātman* being the very self of a person can neither be abundant nor can be acquired. Hence it is transaction. It is the beauty of the doctrine of Uttara Mīmāṁsā that when a man realises his self or Ātman, he transcends the sphere of duties. The knowledge of such *Ātman* can only be obtained from the Upaniṣadas. Śaṅkara, thus refutes all the arguments of the Mīmāṁsakas to drag *Brahman* as the subject matter of their discipline. On the basis of scriptural evidence and individual experience, he has proved that *Ātman* or *Brahman* is neither an object of prescription, *vidhi,* nor of prohibition, *niṣedha.* Consideration of Brahman, therefore, does not come under the purview of pūrva Mīmāṁsā. Consequently, Uttara-Mīmāṁsā should be regarded as an independent discipline.



---

4. *Ibid.,* 1.1.1.

सावर्ण-केन्द्र : मध्यदेश

डॉ० गौरीशंकर तिवारी

फैजाबाद

ब्राह्मणों का बहिर्गमन तथा वास्तव्य मध्ययुग की एक सामाजिक प्रक्रिया थी। मध्यदेश (उत्तर प्रदेश) से सावर्ण गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण बंगाल में गये थे। ग्यारहवीं एवं बारहवीं शताब्दी के लगभग मध्यदेश के सुप्रसिद्ध सावर्णगोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों के बर्हिगमन, वास्तव्य एवं तत्सम्बन्धी प्रभाव के विषय में सूचनार्थ भुवनेश्वर–प्रशस्ति[१] एवं बेलवा–दानपत्र[२] द्रष्टव्य हैं।

बेलवा–दानपत्र के आधार पर स्पष्ट रूप से ज्ञात होता है कि सिद्धल ग्राम (उत्तर राढ़ा) के सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण अपने आद्यस्थान मध्यदेश से बहिर्गत[३] हुये थे जबकि भुवनेश्वर–प्रशस्ति में उनके विनिर्गत होने का उल्लेख नहीं है, किन्तु सिद्धल ग्राम[४] (राढ़ा) के सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण–परिवार की कृतियों[५] आदि का सन्दर्भ मिलता है। ऐसा ज्ञात होता है कि दोनों (प्रशस्ति एवं दानपत्र में उल्लिखित) सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण या तो एक ही परिवार के थे या एक दूसरे के निकटवर्ती थे। अतः ऐसी स्थिति में अधिक सम्भावना यह है कि भुवनेश्वर–प्रशस्ति में उल्लिखित सावर्ण–गोत्र के ब्राह्मणों का बहिर्गमन मध्यदेश से बहुत पहले ही हुआ था। साधारणतया भुवनेश्वर–प्रशस्ति का समय करीब ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरादर्ध से लेकर बारहवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वादर्ध तक माना जाता है, किन्तु प्रशस्ति में विख्यात ब्राह्मण भट्टभवदेव के सातवें आद्य–पुरुष(पूर्व–पुरुष) भवदेव, महादेव एवं अट्टहास (तीनों भाई हैं)[६] का उल्लेख हुआ है जिनका सम्भावित समय लगभग छठवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरादर्ध से लेकर सातवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वादर्ध तक रहा होगा। ऐसा संभव है कि मध्यदेश से सावर्ण गोत्र के ब्राह्मणों का बहिर्गमन छठवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध या सातवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में हुआ होगा।

---

१. भट्टभवदेव का भुवनेश्वर–अभिलेख, इंस्क्रिप्शन्स आफ बंगाल, ३, पृ० ३२–२५

२. भोजवर्मन् का बेलवा–ताम्रपत्र, इ०ब० ३, पृ० ४१,४५

३. "सावर्णसगोत्रस्य" ——मध्यदेशविनिर्गत (स्य) उत्तरराढायां सिद्धल–ग्रामीय——तत्रैव।

४. "सावर्णस्य मुनेर्म्महीयसि कुले ग्रामाः शतं सन्तु ते। ग्राम–सिद्धल इ०ब० ३,पृ० ३३,पं० २,३."

५. तत्रैव, पृ० ३३–३५

६. तत्रैव, पृ० ३३, पं० ४

मध्यदेश से सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों के विनिर्गत होने का समय एवं कारण निश्चित रूप से नहीं दिया जा सकता, किन्तु दानपत्रों में उल्लिखित तथ्यों पर आधारित समय की राजनीतिक स्थिति पर तर्क के साथ विचार किया जा सकता है।

महान् शक्तिशाली गुप्त राजवंश का पतन हूणों के आक्रमण के कारण हुआ एवं बाद में भी हर्ष (६०६–६४८–४६ ई०) के पहले भी उत्तरी भारत, विशेषकर मध्यदेश, हूणों से प्रभावित रहा[७] जिसके कारण तत्कालीन राजनीतिक वातावरण में सदा भय की स्थिति उत्पन्न होने से विघटनकारी शक्तियों को बल मिलता रहा यद्यपि प्रभाकरवद्र्धन (वद्र्धन–नरेश) ने अपने पुत्र राज्यवद्र्धन की सहायता से उन्हें दबाने का प्रयत्न किया था।[८]

प्रभाकरवर्द्धन की मृत्यु के बाद हर्षवद्र्धन के उत्तरी भाग में विशाल राज्य स्थापित एवं बौद्ध–धर्म–प्रचार करने की नीति का विरोध तत्कालीन गौडाधिप शशांक ने किया था।[९] वह उत्तरी भारत में अपना प्रभुत्व रखना चाहता था जिसका विरोध हर्ष ने किया था। दोनों की भयानक दुश्मनी का उल्लेख बाण के "हर्षचरित" में हुआ है[१०]। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि ब्राह्मण–धर्मावलम्बी शशांक के यहाँ मध्यदेशीय सावर्णगोत्र के ब्राह्मण गये थे। भुवनेश्वर–प्रशस्ति में उल्लिखित भट्टभवदेव के सातवें आद्य–पुरुष अट्टहास[११] (छठवीं शताब्दी का उत्तरार्द्ध एवं सातवीं शताब्दी पूर्वाद्र्ध) को तत्कालीन "गौड़नृप[१२]" (सम्भवतः शशांक, जिसका अभ्युदयकाल ६१६ ई० के पहले माना जाता है) ने विख्यात ग्राम हस्तिनीभिट्ट[१३] दान में दिया था।उपरिवर्णित तथ्यों से ज्ञात होता है कि मध्यदेश से सावर्णगोत्र के ब्राह्मणों का देशान्तरगमन करीब छठवीं शताब्दी के उत्तराद्र्ध या सातवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वाद्र्ध से प्रारम्भ हुआ था एवं इनका प्रसार तथा प्रभाव बंगाल में द्वादश शताब्दी के पूर्वाद्र्ध तक चलता रहा।

सावर्णगोत्र के विद्वान् ब्राह्मणों के केन्द्र सिद्धल ने तत्कालीन युग में लोगों को आकर्षित किया था। सिद्धल ग्राम एक दीप्तिमान् आभूषण–सदृश है जिसकी शोभा से आर्यावर्त देश चमत्कृत होता है एवं उसे बंगाल में (राढ़ा का श्री) "राढ़ाश्रियः" कहा जाता है।[१४]

---

७. आर० के० मुकर्जी, एन्शियेन्ट इंडिया, पृ० ३४७

८. तत्रैव

९. तत्रैव, पृ० ३४८

१०. तत्रैव, पृ० ३४९–५०

11. "भव इव विद्यातत्त्वप्रभवः प्रबभूव"। अग्रजानुजयोर्म्मध्ये महादेवाट्टहासयोः। स जज्ञे यज्ञपुरुषो विरिंचिहरयोरिव।।

(६) "स शासनं गौडनृपादवाप श्रीहस्तिनीभिट्टमभीष्टभूमि–"तत्रैव, पृ० ३३

१२. तत्रैव

१३. तत्रैव

१४. आर्यावर्त्तभुवाम्विभूषणमिह ख्यातस्तु सर्व्वाग्रिमो। ग्रामः सिद्धल एव केवलमलंकारोऽस्ति राढाश्रियः।। तत्रैव, प० ३३, पृ० २–३

सिद्धल ग्राम उत्तरी राढ़ा में स्थित[१५] था। मनमोहन चक्रवर्ती सिद्धल ग्राम को बर्दवान जिले के कालना में स्थित मानते हैं।[१६] बंगाल की कुल-पंजिकाओं के अनुसार सिद्धल राढ़ीया ब्राह्मणों के ५६ ग्रामों में से एक था जो सावर्णगोत्रीय ब्राह्मण वसिष्ठ को दान में मिला था।[१७]

उपर्युक्त तथ्य से ज्ञात होता है कि सिद्धल ग्राम राढ़ा या उत्तर राढ़ा में स्थित था जो मध्यदेशीय सावर्णगोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों का प्रमुख केन्द्र था। भुवनेश्वर-प्रशस्ति से भी ज्ञात होता है कि सिद्धल ग्राम में सावर्णमुनि के वंशज रहते थे[१८] ऐसी स्थिति में यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि मध्यदेशीय सावर्ण-गोत्र के ब्राह्मणों का प्रमुख केन्द्र सिद्धल था जिनका विस्तार समूचे बंगाल में हुआ था।

सिद्धल ग्राम-निवासी सावर्ण ब्राह्मण आदिदेव (भट्टभवदेव का पितामह) बंगराज का विश्रामसचिव, महामंत्री एवं सान्धिविग्रहिक था[१९]। अभिलेख में बंगराज के नाम का उल्लेख तो नहीं है किन्तु इसका तादात्म्य वज्र वर्मन् (वर्मन् या यादव नरेश) से किया गया है।[२०]

प्रो० मुकर्जी ने भट्टभवदेव के पिता गोवर्द्धन को भुवनेश्वर-प्रशस्ति में उल्लिखित तथ्य के आधार पर बंगराज का मंत्री माना है[२१]। उनके मत से बंगराज को राज्य से च्युत जाटवर्मन् ने किया था[२२]। गोवर्द्धन युद्ध एवं सभा-स्थल का प्रभावशाली वीर पुरुष था।[२३] सम्भवतः यह उच्च सैनिक-अधिकारी था।

भट्टभवदेव पूर्वी बंगाल (सिंहपुर, पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन, विक्रमपुर) के यादव या वर्मन् शासक हरिवर्म्मदेव (हरिवर्मन्) का सान्धिविग्रहिक था।[२४] उसकी सुनियोजित बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण मन्त्रणा के

---

१५. "उत्तरराढायां सिद्धलग्रामीय" इ०ब० ३ पृ० २१, पं० ४३

१६. जर्नल एण्ड प्रोसीडिंग्स आफ द एशियटिक सोसाइटी आफ बंगाल, न्यू सीरीज, भाग ८,१६१२ पृ० ३६६ गौड़ ब्राह्मण, पृ० १६४ (इ०ब० ३, पृ० ३१ से उद्धृत)

१७. "सावर्णसगोत्राय भृगु-च्यवन-आप्रुवान-आर्व्व-जगदग्नि-प्रवराय वाजसनेयचरणाययजुर्व्वेदकाण्वशाखाध्यापिनो मध्यदेश-विनिर्गत(स्य)उत्तरराढायां" इ०ब० ३, पृ० २१,पं० ४१-४३

१८. "सावर्णस्य मुनेर्म्महीयसि कुले ये जज्ञिरे श्रोत्रियास्तेषां शासनभूमयो जनिगृहंग्रामाः शतं सन्तु ते। आर्यावर्त्तभुवाम्विभूषणमिह ख्यातस्तु सर्व्वाग्रिमो । ग्रामः सिद्धल एव केवलमलंकारोऽस्ति राढाश्रियः।। इ०ब० ३, पृ० श्लोक ३,

१६. "श्री आदिदेव इति देव इवादिमूर्त्तिर्म्म (र्त्या) त्मना भुवनमेतदलंकारिषुणुः।।" यो बंगराज-राज्य-श्री-विश्राम-सचिवः शुचिः। महामंत्री महापात्रमभूदयः सन्धिविग्रही।। तत्रैव, श्लोक, ६-१०,

२०. आर० सी० मजूमदार, ए०डी० पुशालकर, ए०के० मजूमदार, - द स्ट्रगल फार एम्पायर, पृ० ३४

२१. मुकर्जी, एन्शियेंट इण्डिया, पृ० ३८६ तत्रैव,

२२. तत्रैव

२३. "वीरस्थलीषु च सभासु तीर्थिकानां दो (र्ल्ली)-लया च कलया च वचस्वितायाः। यो वर्द्धयन्वसुमतीं च सरस्वतीं च द्वेधा व्यधत्त निजनामपदं सदर्थम्।।" इ०ब० ३, पृ० ३३, श्लोक १२,

२४. "यन्मंत्र-शक्ति-सचिवः सुचिरं चकार राज्यं स धर्म्मविजयी हरिवर्म्मदेवः। तन्नन्दने वलति यस्य च दण्डनीतिवर्त्मानुगा बहुकल्पलतेव लक्ष्मीः। तत्रैव, पृ० ३४, श्लोक १६,

फलस्वरूप हरिवर्मन् को अधिक दिन तक राज्य करने का शुभ अवसर मिला था।[२५]हरिवर्मन् का अन्तिम समय बारहवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वाद्र्ध का प्रथम भाग (१२२५ ई०) था। उसने ४६ वर्ष तक शासन किया था।[२६]

राज्य के प्रशासन में उच्चाधिकार के अतिरिक्त, धार्मिक क्षेत्र में भी मध्य-देशीय सावर्णगोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों को बंगाल में राजपुरोहित, महापुरोहित, धर्माधिकारी, धर्ममहामात्र आदि का पद प्रदान किया गया था। भोजवर्मन् के समय सावर्ण ब्राह्मण श्री रामदेव शर्मा शान्त्यागाराधिकृत[२७] के पद पर नियुक्त था। शान्त्यागाराधिकृत पूजन-गृह में कुपित देवी-देवताओं की आराधना करने एवं कराने का एक विशिष्ट अधिकारी हुआ करता था। इसी तरह का अधिकारी (राजपुरोहित या राजा-ज्योतिषी) रामदेव शर्मा था। भुवनेश्वर-प्रशस्ति से ज्ञात है कि गौड़-नृप (जिसका नाम उल्लिखित नहीं है) ने भट्टभवदेव के सातवें आद्य-पुरुष को हस्तिनीभिट्ट ग्राम दान में दिया था[२८]। ऐसा संभाव्य है कि दानग्रहीता, गौड़-नृप के समय विशिष्ट प्रभावशाली महापुरोहित या कुल-पुरोहित ब्राह्मण के रूप में था, क्योंकि प्रशस्ति में गौड़-नृप द्वारा भूमिदान स्पष्ट रूप से उक्त ब्राह्मण के नाम से उल्लिखित है जो किसी विशेष रहस्य का द्योतक हो सकता है।

सावर्ण गोत्र के ब्राह्मण देवी-देवताओं के मन्दिरों के पुजारी होते थे जो पूजा के अतिरिक्त मन्दिर से सम्बन्धित अन्य कार्य भी करते थे। सिद्धल ग्राम के सावर्ण ब्राह्मण वैष्णव-धर्मानुयायी थे। उन्होंने वैष्णव-मन्दिरों की देख-रेख के लिये देव-दासियों का भी प्रबन्ध किया था।[२६] सिद्धल ग्राम में विष्णु की मूर्ति का अभिषेक भवदेव ने स्वयं किया था।[३०]

भट्ट भवदेव ने नारायण की मूर्ति का अभिषेक किया था। इसके अतिरिक्त उसने एक मन्दिर में त्रिमूर्ति (नारायण-अनन्त एवं नृसिंह) की स्थापना करायी थी।[३१]

---

२५. **तत्रैव,**

२६. कुशालकर मजुमदार-**द स्ट्रगल फार एम्पायर**, पृ० ३५।

२७. (अ) "शान्त्यागाराधिकृत-श्री-रामदेवशर्म्मणे" **इ०ब०** ३, पृ० २१, पं० ४५ (ब) "शान्त्यागाराधिकृत" पद-विशेष पर अधिष्ठित व्यक्ति शान्तिक क्रिया सम्पन्न करते थे। वस्तुतः वैदिक-कर्मकाण्डीय याज्ञिक-क्रियाओं के सम्पादनार्थ तीन प्रकार की परम्पराएं विहित हैं :-

(क) शान्तिक (ख) पौष्टिक एवं (ग) आभिचारिक। प्रथम क्रिया का सम्पादन अनिष्टकारी ग्रहों के उपशमन के लिये होता था, द्वितीय क्रिया सम्वद्र्धन के निमित्त सम्पादित की जाती थी तथा तृतीय में मारण, उच्चाटन तथा वशीकरण आदि आभिचारिक क्रियाओं का सम्पादन होता था।

२८. "अग्रजानुजयोर्म्मध्ये महादेवाट्टहासयोः। स जज्ञे यज्ञपुरुषो विरिंचिहरयोखि।।" "स शासनं गौडनृपादवाप श्रीहस्तिनीभिट्टमभीष्टमूमिम् ।" **इ०ब०** ३, पृ० ३२ पं० ४-५,

२६. "एतस्मै हरिमेधसे वसुमती विश्रान्तविद्याधरी विभ्रान्तिं दधतीः शतं स हि दौ शारंगशावीदृशः।" तत्रैव, पृ० ३५, पं० २१-२२,

३०. **तत्रैव**, पं० २१,

३१. "नारायणानन्तनृसिंहमूर्तीर्विधातृवक्त्रेष्विव वेदविद्याः।" **तत्रैव,**

सावर्ण गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों के नामों के साथ "देव" उपपद लगाने की पद्धति बंगाल में प्रचलित थी। भुवनेश्वर–प्रशस्ति के उल्लिखित "देव" उपपदधारी ब्राह्मणों के नाम भवदेव (प्रथम,) महादेव, आदिदेव एवं भट्टभवदेव हैं।[३२] जबकि बेलवा–दानपत्र में प्रपितामह पीताम्बरदेव, पितामहजगन्नाथदेव, पिता विश्वरूपदेव एवं पुत्र रामदेव[३३] का नाम उल्लिखित है। सिद्धल ग्राम के ब्राह्मण–परिवारों में दो नाम रखने की भी परम्परा प्रचलित थी । भवदेव के छठवें आद्य पुरुष अत्यंग का दूसरा नाम स्फुरित[३४] था जबकि भवदेव का दूसरा नाम बालवलभीभुजंग[३५]. भट्ट भवदेव एक सुप्रसिद्ध तांत्रिक एवं मीमांसा–शास्त्री था, कुमारिलभट्ट के तन्त्रवार्त्तिक का सुविख्यात ज्ञाता था क्योंकि उसने इस पर भाष्य लिखा था[३६] । फलसंहिता, होराशास्त्र एवं गणित या गणना–विज्ञान[३७] का ज्ञाता होने के कारण ज्योतिषी के रूप में भवदेव जाना जाता था। होरा–शास्त्र में अगाध पांडित्य प्राप्त करने के कारण द्वितीय वराह[३८] के सदृश समझा जाता था।भवदेव वैदिक मंत्रों एवं स्तुतियों को जानने एवं क्रमबद्ध रूप से कहने की क्षमता रखता था। वह एक अर्थशास्त्री, चिकित्सक (आयुर्वेदज्ञ) अस्त्रशास्त्र एवं आगम–विद्या का विद्वान्[३९] होने के अतिरिक्त कविता करने की क्षमता रखता था। वह ब्रह्म के अद्वैत रूप को ठीक से समझता था।[४०]

सिद्धल ग्राम के मध्यदेशीय सावर्ण ब्राह्मणों का वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध बंगाल के प्रसिद्ध ब्राह्मण–ग्राम वंद्यघटीया–ब्राह्मणों से था। भट्टभवदेव की माँ सांगोका वंद्यघटीय–ब्राह्मण परिवार की थी जिसका विवाह गोवर्द्धन (भवदेव के पिता) से हुआ था।[४१]

भट्टभवदेव द्वारा राढ़ा के सिद्धल ग्राम के निकट एवं त्रिमूर्ति–मन्दिर के सामने जलाशयों का निर्माण किया गया।[४२] मन्दिर के निकट सुरम्य उपवन या वाटिका की भी व्यवस्था

---

३२. भवदेवः महादेवः, श्री–आदिदेवः, भट्टभवदेवः, तत्रैव पृ० ३३.

३३. "मध्यदेश–विनिर्गत (स्य) उत्तरराढ़ायां सिद्धलग्रामीय–पीताम्बरदेवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय जगन्नाथदेव–शर्म्मणः पौत्राय विश्वरूपदेवशर्म्मणः पुत्राय शान्त्यागाराधिकृत–श्री रामदेवशर्म्मणे।" इ०ब० ३, पृ० २१, पृ० ४३–४५

३४. "रथांगादत्यंगः समजनि जनानन्दजननः शशीव क्षीरोदादविकलकलाकेलिनिलयः। स्फुरत्त्यात्मज्योतिः स्फुरित इति नाम्ना दिशि दिशि।।" इ०ब० ३, पृ० ३३, पं० ५–६

३५. "प्रशस्तिरियं बालवलभी–भुजंगापरनाम्नो भट्टश्रीभवदेवस्य।" तत्रैव; पृ० ३५, पं० २५

३६. "मीमांसायामुपायः स खलु विरचितो येन भट्टोक्तनीत्या। यत्र न्यायाः सहस्त्रं रविकिरणसमा न क्षमन्ते तमांसि।।" तत्रैव, पृ० ३४, श्लोक २३

३७. सिद्धान्ततन्त्र–गणितार्णवपारदृश्या विश्वाद्भुतप्रसविता फलसंहितासु। कर्त्ता स्वयं प्रथयिता च नवीनहोराशास्त्रस्य यः स्फुटमभूदपरो वराहः।। तत्रैव श्लोक २१

३८. तत्रैव,

३९. "किं भूम्ना सीम्नि साम्नां सकलकविकलास्वागमेष्वर्थशास्त्रेष्वायु (र्व्वे) दास्त्रवेदप्रभृतिषु कृतधीरद्वितीयोऽयमेव।।" तत्रैव, श्लोक २३.

४०. "ब्रह्माद्वैतविदामुदारहरणभूः" तत्रैव, श्लोक २०,

४१. "वन्द्यां वन्द्यघटीयस्य ब्रह्मणः प्रयतां सुताम्। सांगोकामंगनारत्नम्पत्नीं स परिणीतवान् ।।" तत्रैव, ३३, श्लोक १३

की गयी।उपरिवर्णित तथ्यों के आधार पर ज्ञात होता है कि मध्यदेश के वाजसनेय–चरण, यजुर्वेदीय–काण्व–शाखानुयायी एवं पंचप्रवर (भृगु, च्यवन, आपवान, और्व्व एवं जामदग्नि) के सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों का प्रसार एवं प्रभाव बंगाल में, विशेष रूप से बंग–राजा, गौड़नृप एवं पूर्वी बंगाल के यादव या वर्मन् राजाओं के राज्यों में हुआ।

सावर्ण–गोत्र के ब्राह्मणों को मंत्री, महामंत्री, सान्धिविग्रहिक, विश्रामसचिव आदि पद प्राप्त थे। सम्भवतः अन्य प्रशासकीय पद भी मिले थे। ऐसा संकेत मिलता है कि बंगाल में बंग, गौड़, पूर्वी बंगाल एवं बंगाल के अन्य भागों में सावर्ण ब्राह्मणों का राजनीतिक एवं कूटनीतिक प्रभाव था। वे राज्य के विशिष्ट प्रशासकीय अधिकार को प्राप्त कर राज्य की स्थिति एवं गतिविधि से सुपरिचित थे। इससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि सावर्ण ब्राह्मणों को राज्य–स्तर के राजपुरुषों के समान महती प्रतिष्ठा दी गयी थी।

राजनीतिक प्रभाव के अतिरिक्त मध्यदेशीय सावर्ण ब्राह्मणों का धार्मिक प्रभाव भी बंगाल में व्याप्त था। सावर्ण ब्राह्मणों को राजपुरोहित, शान्त्यागाराधिकृत एवं विशिष्ट प्रभावशाली दानग्रहीता का स्थान मिला था।

शान्त्यागाराधिकृत पद–विशेष के सम्पादक शान्तिक क्रिया सम्पन्न करते थे। इस क्रिया का सम्पादन अनिष्टकारी ग्रहों के उपशमन के लिये होता था। भोजवर्मन् के राज्य में शान्त्यागाराधिकृत के पद पर रामदेव शर्मा नियुक्त था। गौड़–नृप ने "अट्टहास" (दानग्रहीता) को प्रमुख प्रभावशाली सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मण समझ कर हस्तिनीभिट्ट ग्राम दान में दिया था। ऐसा ज्ञात होता है कि महान् राजनीतिज्ञ, विद्वान् एवं प्रख्यात सावर्ण– ब्राह्मण भवदेव के पहले से ही भवदेव के पूर्वज अपने पवित्र धार्मिक एवं अन्य प्रभावशाली कृत्यों के फलस्वरूप राज्य में मर्यादित स्थान प्राप्त होने पर दान आदि ले लेते थे। ऐसा संभाव्य है कि बंगाल में मध्यदेशीय सावर्ण– ब्राह्मण अपने पौरोहित्य–कर्म करके जीविकोपार्जन करते थे।

सिद्धल ग्राम के सावर्ण ब्राह्मण वैष्णव–सम्प्रदाय के थे। वैष्णव ब्राह्मणों का प्रभाव नारायण–मूर्ति एवं त्रिमूर्ति (अनन्त, नारायण एवं नरसिंह) की स्थापना एवं अभिषेक से ज्ञात होता है। संभवतः वैष्णव ब्राह्मणों का प्रभाव बंगाल में दूर तक फैला हुआ था।[४३]

भट्ट भवदेव बौद्ध–धर्म का विरोधी था एवं उसने बंग में ब्राह्मण–धर्म के उत्थान एवं प्रसार के लिए वैष्णव मन्दिरों से सम्बन्धित सक्रिय कार्य किया। इस धारणा की पुष्टि पुशालकर एवं मजुमदार के मत से भी हो जाती है।[४४]

---

४२. "राढ़ायामजलासु जांगलपथप्रायासु राठस्थलीसीमासु श्रममग्नपान्थपरिषत्प्राणाशय–प्रीणनः।येनाकारि जलाशयः परिसरस्रोतोऽभिजातांगना वक्त्राणां–प्रतिबिम्बमुग्धमधुपीशून्याटवीकाननः।।" तत्रैव, श्लोक २६, श्लोक ३१–३२ भी द्रष्टव्य।

४३. "बौद्धाम्भोनिधिकुम्भसम्भवमुनिः, पाषण्डवैतण्डिकप्रज्ञाखंडनपण्डितोऽयमवनौ सर्व्वज्ञलीलामतिः।" तत्रैव, पृ० ३४, श्लोक २०

४४. पुशालकर मजुमदार, "द स्ट्रगल फार एम्पायर" पृ० ३४–३५

सिद्धल ग्राम में रहने वाले मध्यदेशीय सावर्ण ब्राह्मण परिवारों में "देव" नामान्त उपपद परम्परागत ज्ञात होता है। उपपद "देव" का प्रयोग सावर्ण – गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों के धार्मिक विश्वास का द्योतक है।

सावर्ण– ब्राह्मण–परिवारो में एक आदमी के दो–दो नाम हुआ करते थे। बहुत संभवतः एक प्रचलित नाम हुआ करता था और द्वितीय पारिवारिक नाम अथवा गुण या योग्यता के ऊपर आधारित नाम होता था। सावर्ण ब्राह्मण तांत्रिक एवं ज्योतिषी भी होते थे।

सावर्ण परिवारों में ब्राह्मण चिकित्सक (आयुर्वेदज्ञ) एवं अस्त्रविद्याविद् तथा अर्थशास्त्री होते थे। ऐसा संभाव्य है कि वे चिकित्साकार्य, अस्त्रों की सहायता से सैनिकों एवं राजकुमारों को सैनिक–शिक्षा देना एवं देश की अर्थ–व्यवस्था को एक सच्चे अर्थशास्त्री के रूप में समझना आदि कार्यों की सहायता से अपनी जीविका चलाने के लिये किसी न किसी रूप में अर्थोपार्जन करने के साथ साथ बंगाल में अपना प्रभाव जमाये हुए थे।

सामाजिक दृष्टि से राढ़ा–स्थित सिद्धल ग्राम के मध्यदेशीय सावर्ण ब्राह्मणों का विशिष्ट महत्त्व बंगाल में था, विशेषकर भवदेव ब्राह्मण–परिवार के गौरवपूर्ण महान् कार्यों से प्रभावित होकर लोग उनसे सम्पर्क रखने में अपना उच्च स्तर समझते थे। इसका ज्वलन्त उदाहरण गोवर्द्धन (भवदेव के पिता) का विवाह वंद्यग्राम के वंद्यघटीया ब्राह्मणों के परिवार की लड़की सांगोका के साथ होना है। आज भी वंद्यघटीया ब्राह्मण राढ़ा के तीन कुलीन ब्राह्मणों में से जाने जाते हैं। प्रशस्ति में सांगोक के पिता (भट्टभवदेव के नाना "मातृमह") का नाम उल्लिखित नहीं है ऐसी स्थिति में ज्ञात होता है कि वह संभवतः छोटे स्तर का व्यक्ति था। राढ़ा के सावर्ण गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों से वैवाहिक सम्बन्ध से ऐसा आभास मिलता है कि बहुत पहले से ही संद्यघटीया ब्राह्मणों का समाज में उच्च स्तर था।

उपरिवर्णित ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी की प्रशस्ति से ज्ञात होता है कि बंगाल में सावर्ण–गोत्रीय एवं वंद्यघटीया ब्राह्मणों का अस्तित्व पहले से ही था। इस विचारधारा की पुष्टि मनमोहन चक्रवर्ती के मत से भी होती है। उन्होंने बंगाल में दोनों प्रकार के ब्राह्मणों के अस्तित्व के होने से बंगाल में प्रचलित कुल – पंजिकाओं पर आधारित कन्नौज से राढ़ी ब्राह्मणों के ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में आगमन पर सन्देह किया है।[४५]

उपर्युक्त तथ्यों के ऊपर विचार करने से ज्ञात होता है कि ग्यारहवीं एवं बारहवीं शताब्दी में मध्यदेश से बहिर्गत सिद्धल ग्राम के सावर्ण–गोत्रीय ब्राह्मणों का प्रसार एवं प्रभाव करीब सम्पूर्ण बंगाल में था, विशेषकर गौड़, राढा एवं पूर्वी बंगाल (सिंहपुर, विक्रमपुर एवं पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन) में व्याप्त था।



४५. "जर्नल एण्ड प्रोसीडिंग्स आफ द एशियाटिक सोसाइटी आफ–बंगाल, न्यू सीरीज".३. (१९१२) पृ० ३४१

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RITUAL BATH AT PRAYĀGA

Dr. D.P. DUBEY
Allahabad

INTRODUCTION

Pilgrimage is considered as an alternative to religious practice by means of vedic sacrifices. It is held even more excellent than sacrifice because it may be performed by anyone, be he rich or poor, brāhmaṇa or śūdra.[1] An inseparable relation binds *tīrtha* to *tīrthayātrā,* because to go on pilgrimage means to enjoy the sacredness of the *tīrtha.* Therefore, the Purāṇic *māhātmyas* not only describe religious observances that are to be fulfilled at the beginning and during the *tīrthayātrā,*[2] but also that which are to be fulfilled in the sacred place. A *tīrtha* is considered especially appropriate for the performance of such religious rites as *home* (fire oblation). *pūjā* (worship of dieties), *vrata* (vows), *upavāsa* (fast), *dāna* (charity), *snāna* (bath), *tarpaṇa* (satiation of gods, sages and ancestors), *piṇḍa-dāna* (offering funeral cakes), *Śrāddha* (ancestral rite), *tapas* (austerities), chanting of hymns, listening to religious discourses, study of scriptures, etc. The performance of rituals are commended at *tīrthas* as infinitely more effective than when done in one's own home. On the rationale of the commendation of such holy

---

1. *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.* ed. V.S. Sukthankar et al, Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933-59, 19 Vols.), III. 80. 34-38; *Matsyapurāṇa* (*MP,* Gurumandala Granthamala No. XIII, Calcutta : Mora Prachya Shodha Sansthan, 1954), 111. 12-15 = *Tristhalīsetu Sāmānya-praghaṭṭaka* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (*TSSP,* Critically edited & translated by Richard Salomon under the title *The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities,* Delhi : Motilal Banrasidass, 1985), 38.

2. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Poona : Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1968-77, 5 Vols., second edn.), vol. IV, pp. 572-578, 583-584 ; K.D. Nambiar, *Nārada Purāṇa - A Critical Study* (Varanasi : All-India Kashiraja Trust, 1979), pp. 352-353.

performances K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar comments : "None of these rites will ordinarily be approached in one's own home with that feeling of ecstasy and devotion with which the pilgrim, who has made the long tour, after undergoing the rigour of the *yātrā,* will bring it about at a *tīrtha.* The magic which multiplies the efficacy of the rites lies less in the waters of the *tīrtha* than upon the moral discipline which the pilgrim has undergone before reaching it and his mental state after he does so."[3] It may be noted that pilgrimage affords an opportunity for an ascent to spiritual perfection; and the efficacy of a religious observance at the *tīrtha* depends on the mental and physical purity with which it is done.

Tīrthas vary widely not only in degree of spiritual efficacy, but also in the rites considered especially appropriate to them. Thus, the *Mahābhārata* advises, "One should perform *tapas* in Puṣkara, give gifts on Mahālaya, should enter fire in Malaya *tīrtha* and should embrace death on the Bhṛgutuṅga mountain."[4] The *Nāradīyapurāṇa* says that one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer *piṇḍas* at Gayā, make gifts in Kurukṣetra and should commit religious suicide in Kāśī. But these acts become useless when one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga.[5] Gayā is considered an especially auspicious place for the performance of *śrāddha*[6], but the tonsure rite is prohibited there.[7] Tonsure is believed to be more meritorious at Prayāga than

---

3. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (ed.) *Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa* (TUK), vol. VIII of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣamīdhara (Gaekwad Oriental Series Vol. XCVIII, Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1942), Introduction, p. XXXV.

4. *Mbh.,* III. 85; 91.

5. *Nāradīyapurāṇa* (*NP*) Bombay : Venkateshvara Steam Press, 1933), II. 63, 103-104 = *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of Viśvāsadevī (ed. J.B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta : Federation Street, 1940), p. 298 = *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra (*TC,* ed. Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha, Bibliotheca Indica New Series No. 1256, Calcutta : The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912), p. 32 = *Tristhalīsetu* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (*TS,* ed. Ganesh Shastri Gokhale, Anandashrama Sanskrit Series No. 78, Poona : Anandasharma Press, 1915), p. 17 = *Tīrthaprakāśa* (*TP*), Vol. X of the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra (ed. Pandit Vishnu Prasad, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series No. 239, Benares : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1917), p. 335.

6. *Vāyupurāṇa* (Bombay : Venkateshvara Steam. Press, 1933), II. 43. 14-15, *Agnipurāṇa* (*AgP,* ed. Baladeva Upadhyaya, Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966), 115. 3-4.

7. *Vāyupurāṇa,* II. 43. 22; *NP*, II. 62. 45; *TC*(*SkP*), p. 14, *TP*(*SkP*), p. 50.

done at any other *tīrtha.* Mere residence in Kāśī is so much lauded that the Purāṇas say that after repairing to Kāśī one should smash one's feet with a stone and stay on there forever.[8] Therefore, Dhairyabala P. Vora has rightly observed: 'The religious merit acquired by the visit to various holy places of pilgrimage and the performance of the various meritorious acts, also differs according to the importance attached to the place and the action performed therein. Thus, if a bath would obtain heaven in one place, at another place it would fetch a celestial plane, or a company of *apsarās* or simply a merit equal to the performance of *aśvamedha.* Again, if it is specially meritorious to take a bath in one place, in the other fasting would be more important and oblations to ancestors in the third.'[9]

The extravagant praises of *tīrtha* rituals may not be dismissed as mere hyperbole in the light of the fact that pilgrimage is superior to Vedic sacrifices because of its simplicity and availability to all. They also serve a magico-religious function where they are symbolic of communion with the supernatural power. Rituals have their definite and particular forms and their indigenously, historically and locally defined elements. They are not meaningless symbols. R.S. Sharma rightly puts it : 'Rituals have their origin and growth in reality. Even the wild growth of plant and vegetation is governed by certain laws. Rituals therefore do not grow in a vacuum. They owe their origin to certain material and social environments which they subserve and perpetuate. Even those who suspect their historical value consider many rituals as symbols of fertility. And fertility represents production and reproduction without which human society can not continue.'[10] However, the details of such rituals are described and analysed by the Dharmaśāstra writers at great length, often to the point of legalism and pedantry. Though most frequently we meet with the prescription of ablutions, the ancestral rites - *tarpaṇa, piṇḍa-dāna* and *śrāddha* - are possibly the first to become connected with the cult of sacred places. This connection may have

---

8. *MP,* 180.23 = *TvK,* 16; *AgP,* 112.3; *Kūrmapurāṇa* (ed. A.S. Gupta, Varanasi : All India Kashiraja Trust, 1972), I. 29.35 = *TP,* p. 140.

9. Dhairyabala P. Vora, *Evolution of Morals in the Epics* (Bombay : Popular Book Depot, 1959), p. 245.

10. R.S. Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in Ancient India* (Delhi : Macmillan India Ltd., 1985, repr.) p. 8.

lain close at hand because the libations of water are preferably made in a river. Bath, tonsure and fast are acts of self-purification. The rhyme *snāna-dāna* has become current in the *tīrtha-māhātmyas,* as has *bhukti-mukti* (happiness and release from rebirth). When the pilgrims participate in rituals, they inforce holy beliefs about the sacredness of the *tīrtha.* The spiritual and religious practices at *tīrthas* are one of the most important factors that have substantially contributed to the strengthening of cultural unity in the country. The solemnity of pilgrimage and the sanctity of a *tīrtha* are enforced by these rites and rituals which are considered as especially auspicious there. However, the real point is not forgotten ; namely that, just as a *tīrtha* is ultimately an internal quality rather than a physical place so too the pilgrimage symbolised by the essential rituals is ultimately an internal spiritual experience.

RITUALS PRESCRIBED AT PRAYĀGA :

Among the sacred places suggested to the pilgrims, Prayāga, also called Tīrtharāja, at the confluence (*Saṅgama*) of the rivers Gaṅgā, Yamunā and the invisible Sarasvatī, is one of the most important. The pilgrim, who full of devotion undertakes the pilgrimage to Prayāga, once arrived has to follow certain rituals and observance which range from simple salutation to offering of flowers and from devoted meditation to elaborate observances. He has not gone to Prayāga as a tourist but as a hankerer after purification and salvation. The Dharmaśāstric texts give the details of what rituals a devotee should perform in the sacred space. This may be a sacrifice, but often it is tonsure[11] and fast, bath, worship of the dieties, charity[12], ancestral rites (*tarpaṇa* and *śrāddha*), and sometimes religious suicide.[13] Immediately upon arrival, the pilgrim is advised to prostrate completely, then he is required to take a preliminary bath in the *saṅgama* and has to undergo tonsure in his wet clothing. After shaving he should bathe according to the rules prescribed in

11. *cf.* D.P. Dubey, 'The Religious Practice of Muṇḍana at Prayāga', *Bhartiya Itihasa Sankalan Samiti Patrika,* Vol. 2, 1984, pp. 82-85.
12. *Cf.* D.P. Dubey, 'Glorification of Dāna at Prayāga', *Bhartiya Itihasa Sankalan Samiti Patrika,* vol. 2, 1984, pp. 76-81.
13. *Cf.* D.P. Dubey, 'The Religious Practice of Suicides at Prayāga', *Archiv Orientalni,* vol. 55(4), 1987, pp. 355-369.

the śāstras.[14] Then other observances follow. At present three rituals are mainly kept : shaving, bathing and giving gifts. Even these practices are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. The inhabitants of Prayāga need not have their heads shaved and Sikhs have only a symbolical little piece of hair cut off as do married women; widows and south Indian women, however, are as a rule shaved entirely. The vast majority of pilgrims simply bathe, giving a fee to their paṇḍās. *Go-dāna* (gift of cow) is simply reduced to a nomial ceremony. But the ardent pilgrims and *kalpavāsīs* (those who vow to reside throughout the month of Māgha in Prayāga) generally perform the prescribed rituals properly. Such are the prominent features of religious life in Prayāga. No *tīrtha* presents a more interesting field of observations or more startling diversities of beliefs as Prayāga does. Many rituals and devotional activities carried on there substantially contribute to its glory. The tract of land between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā is personified as the symbol of fertility, the nerve centre of which is Prayāga.[15] The various rituals commended for observance at Prayāga serve as an indispensable guide to both social and economic developments in the region in historical perspectives.

SNĀNA AND PILGRIMAGE :

Purification by bathing is one of the most universal religious practices in Hinduism. The question whether a bath, considered as a rite that absolves sins, was already known to the authors of the Vedic literature is discussed by Ensink.[16] The merit of religious bath continued in later periods also. The *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇic tradition are well acquainted with ritual

---

14. *TSSP*, 204-211.

15. *Mbh.* III. 83.71 = *TP*, p. 321 ; *KP*, I. 35.11; *AgP*, 111.4; *MP*, 105.19, 109.6 = *TvK*, pp. 142, 151 = *TC* = p. 24 = *TS*, p. 6 = *TP*, pp. 324-325; *Padmapurāṇa* (*PdP*, Gurumandala Granthamala No. XVIII, Calcutta : More Prachya Shodha Sansthan, 1957-59, 5 vols.), III. 39.71b - 72a, 43.19b - 20a, 47.6; *Svayambhūpurāṇa* (ed. Haraprasad Shastri, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta : The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900), 7.386; G.P. Upadhyaya, 'The Origins and Functions of the Tīrthas : Some Epic - Purāṇic Testimonies', *Indian History Congress Proceedings* of the 47th session, Calicut, 1976, p. 127.

16. J. Ensink, 'Problem of the Study of Pilgrimage in India', *Indologica Taurinensia*, vol. II, 1974, pp. 64-71; and 'Hindu Pilgrimage and Vedic Sacrifice', *Ludwik Sternbach Felicitation Volume* (ed. J.P. Sinha, Lucknow : Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1979), Part I, pp. 111-113.

ablutions at different sacred places. Most of the *tīrthas* in India lie on the banks of a river and a bath is at least recommended to the pilgrim. It appears that bathing has been the central rite in pilgrimage from the very beginning. In a general way the use of the word *tīrtha* pleads for this hypothesis. Its current acceptance of 'place of pilgrimage in general' has developed from the meaning 'a way down to the level of the water'.[17] Moreover, most of the oldest places of pilgrimage are either rivers or places on the banks of rivers or tanks. The procedure of bathing at the *tīrtha* is laid down in the Purāṇas[18], which has been taken over by several digests. The procedure of a ritual bath is described and illustrated by Kane[19] and Amado[20]; the latter also tries to explain the implicit symbolism. Bath is, in fact, a symbol of the entering into the Reality in order to get rid of whatever is attached to one's skin, the veil of ones ignorance, laziness, passions, temporality and life itself. When a pilgrim comes out of the waters he is a 'reborn' man, if he is full of faith and understanding; he is really a man who has entered the Reality (*Jīvana-mukta*), even if still walking in the Unreal to complete his *karman*. Bath is therefore particularly meaningful. It is one of the means of earning merits, easy for everybody and fitting the little time one has for religious purpose in this modern age.

Sojourn to holy waters is fraught with merit; ablutions in such waters is meritorious. Bathing at sacred places is an act of physical purification. It is an act of symbolic purification of soul. More than the impurities of the outer body it is the impurities of the mind that are thus washed away. Cleanliness of the body and pure thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore, bathing is first prescribed for keeping the mind refreshed.[21] Bath is taken at the *tīrtha* for the purpose of observing holy and religious rites and not merely for the sake of purity and cleanliness of the limbs.[22] Without a change of heart, a mere physical act of bath in holy waters would not be enough. It is the pure

---

17. J. Ensink, 'Problems of the Study of Pilgrimage in India', *Indologica Taurinensia,* vol. II, 1974, p. 64.

18. *MP,* 101.2-30; *PdP,* I, 20. 145-176, V. 89. 12-42, VI. 126. 12-24.

19. P.V. Kane, *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, pp. 591-594.

20. Pierre Amado, 'Le Bain dans le Gange - sa signification', *Bull. de 1' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme - Orient,* Tome LVIII, 1971, pp. 197-216.

21. *MP,* 101.1.

22. *NP,* II. 31. 13.

mind that makes a bath success. It has been aptly stated in the *Mahābhārata* that bathing does not refer to a body immersed in water; he is bathed, who bathes in selfcontrol and washes away with faith the impurities of his mind.[23] The *Skandapurāṇa* has almost the same words.[24] This Purāṇa further says that removal of mere physical dirt does not make a person pure. It is only on washing away one's mental impurity that one becomes immaculate.[25] The *Skandapurāṇa* adds that the watery creatures like fish, etc., are born and die in the waters of *tīrthas*; but they do not go to heaven because the impurities of their minds are not removed.[26] The *Brahmapurāṇa* states that a wicked heart is not purified by bathing at sacred places; though washed with water a hundred times he remains, like a wine vessel, impure.[27] Thus, external cleanliness alone is ineffective without internal purity.

PERSONS ENTITLED TO BATHE :

Persons of all the four *āśramas* and *varṇas* are entitled to bathe in the *tīrtha*.[28] There is no question of untouchability when bathing in holy waters.[29] But it is said in the *Mahābhārata* that the dishonest man, the man of uncontrolled spirit, the ignorant, the impure man, the evil-doer, and the false-minded man are unworthy of bathing in *tīrthas*.[30] According to the *Skandapurāṇa* , a man who is avaricious, slanderous, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses, though bathed in all the *tīrthas* remains sinful and impure.[31] The *Matsya, Padma,* and *Nāradīya* Purāṇas state that he who speaks the truth, has subdued his anger and the vice of causing pain to living beings, follows *dharma,* knows the *tattva,* and is devoted to the welfare of cows and brāhmaṇas, is freed from his sins and attains the desired fruits by bathing at

---

23. *Mbh.* XIII. 111.9.
24. *Skandapurāṇa* (*SkP,* Delhi : Nag Publishers, 1982, 7 vols.), IV. 6.33 = *TSSP,* 69.
25. *SkP,* IV. 6.35 = *TSSP,* 69.
26. *SkP,* IV. 6.36 = *TSSP,* 69; *NP,* II. 62. 19.
27. *Brahmapurāṇa* (*BP,* Gurumandala Granthamala No. XI, Calcutta : Mora Prachya Shodha Sansthan, 1954), 25.4; *SkP,* 6.38 = *TSSP,* 69.
28. *Mbh.* III. 80.51 = *TP,* p. 19; *Vāmanapurāṇa* (text & trans., ed. A.S. Gupta, Varanasi : All - India Kashiraja Trust, 1968), 36.78-79.
29. P.V. Kane, *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, p. 569.
30. *Mbh.* III. 83. 90, 90.11 = *TSSP,* 300-301.
31. *SkP,* IV. 6.34 = *TSSP,* 69.

the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.[32] The custom is also discussed critically in the Pāli texts : whoever is inwardly pure does not need bath in a *tīrtha* , and who is not so will not be cleansed by all rivers together. In this connection several rivers and sacred places like Gayā, Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī and Prayāga are mentioned.[33]

SNĀNA AT PRAYĀGA :

Special sanctity is attached to bathing at Prayāga. It earns various rewards. It should be noted that except where special reference is made to the sub-*tīrtha,* the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bathing in the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Bathing in the waters of the *Saṅgama* brings purification from sins and many temporal blessings. In the paralipomena of the *Ṛgveda* there occurs one verse which is generally thought to refer to the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and the practice of bathing there. It says that those who plunge into the water where the white and the dark rivers meet together ascend to heaven.[34] The *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas state that a man of laudable vows, who takes ablutions in the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, acquires the merits equal to that obtainable from the performance of *aśvamedha* and *rājasūya* sacrifices together.[35] The sanctity of a man schooled in the four Vedas and of the true spoken person one obtains by merely bathing in the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.[36] The Purāṇas promise the attainment of heaven to those who bathe in Prajāptikṣetra,[37] another name for Prayāga. According to the *Skandapurāṇa,* one who bathes at the confluence of the two great rivers is freed

---

32. *MP,* 103. 15-16 = *TvK,* p. 137; *PdP,* III. 41. 16-17; *NP,* II. 63.71b - 73a.
33. *Majjhima Nikāya* (London : Pali Text Society, 1888 - 99, 3 Vols.), I. 39; V. Fausboll (ed.), *The Jātaka* (London : Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1962-64, 6 Vols. repr.), VI. 198.3 ff. (543).
34. *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* with the comm. of Sāyaṇa (ed. F. Max Müller, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series No. 99, Varanasi : Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966, Ist Indian edn. 4 Vols.), *Khila,* 21.1 = *TC,* p. 47 = *TS,* p.3.
35. *Mbh.* III. 83.76 = *Tvk,* p. 152; KP, I. 35.12; *NP,* II. 63.43; *MP,* 105.21 = *TvK,* pp. 142-143 = *TS,* p. 28; *PdP,* III. 39.77, 43.22.
36. *Mbh.* III. 83.78 = *TvK,* p. 153; *NP,* II. 63.42; *PdP,* III. 39.81, 43.48b-49a; *MP,* 105.48 = *TS,* p. 30.
37. *KP,* I. 34.20 = *TS,* p. 28; *PdP,* III. 41.5, 43.54; *NP,* II. 63.130b - 131a; *MP,* 103.4b -5a = *TvK,* p. 136.

from all sins and attains the region of the Supreme Being.[38] By bathing in the *Saṅgama* one certainly becomes immortal.[39] A bath at Prayāga is said to be the destroyer of all sins.[40] The *Padmapurāṇa* says that one who goes to Prayāga and bathes there undoubtedly becomes rich and enjoys long life.[41] Kālidāsa (4th or 5th century A.D.) has noted that the souls of those persons who bathe in the confluence of the two consorts of ocean, i.e. Gaṅgā and Yamunā, are purified.[42] According to the *Matsya-purāṇa,* the regular bathing in the *saṅgama* throughout a month, following the path of restraint of the sense-organs, washes away all sins.[43] The same Purāṇa promises immunity from sin to a murderer who lives on alms and bathes three times a day at Prayāga for a period of three months.[44] A betrayer is also purified of sins in three months by fasting and bathing thrice daily there.[45] The Māyā of Viṣṇu is invincible. But it is burned in the month of Māgha at Prayāga.[46] Even a butcher is assured of the highest goal by ,an ablution there in the month of Māgha.[47] In fact, ritual ablutions at Prayāga bestow much merits. Here one should bathe facing the current[48] and preferably in the morning.[49]

Holy ablutions in the waters of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā in the month of Māgha have been looked upon with great favour in the Dharmaśāstra texts. Here water is very particularly sacred during the month of Māgha. It is considered a rare occurrence and a thing to be coveted even by the deities who flock to Prayāga in their invisible forms for ablutions

---

38. *SkP,* IV. 7.46.
39. *SkP,* IV. 7.54; *PdP,* VI. 25.23.
40. *BP,* 59.21; *Yoginītantra* (ed. Biswanarayan Shastri, Delhi : Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1982), II. 6.168.
41. *PdP,* VI. 24.6.
42. *Raghuvaṁśa; in Kālidāsa Granthāvalī* (ed. Reva P. Dvivedi, Varanasi : B.H.U., 1976), XIII. 58a.
43. *MP,* 107.14 = *TvK,* 148 = *TS,* p. 29; *PdP,* III. 45.13b - 14a; *NP,* II. 63.46.
44. *MP,* 107.15 = *TvK,* P. 148 = *TS,* p. 29; *PdP,* III. 45.15b - 16.
45. *NP,* II. 63.102.
46. *NP,* II. 63.61b - 62a; *PdP,* VI. 126.36.
47. *PdP,* VI. 126.34.
48. *NP,* II. 31.23a; *TSSP,* 322.
49. *PdP,* VI. 24.4.

in the month of Māgha.[50] Therefore, bathing at Prayāga during the month of Māgha is of special significance. Various rewards are obtained by means of a ritual bath at Prayāga throughout the month of Māgha. The devotee can obtain particular fruits by a bath in a pond (*vāpī*). in a pool of water (*taḍāga*), in a river, in a natural basin (*devakhāta*), in a great river, and lastly, in the confluence of the two great rivers; the fruits are then multiplied by a thousand times when the Sun is in the Capricarnus (Makara).[51] It is said that the Gaṅgā flowing towards the west and mingling with the Kālindī destroys - sins accumulated in a hundred *kalpas.* It becomes very auspicious in the month of Māgha[52], and a bath therein is thousand times more meritorious.[53] The *Padmapurāṇa* says that those who regularly bathe in the Gaṅgā at Prayāga in the month of Māgha are released from sorrow for three hundred *kalpas* (A *kalpa* is a day of Brahmā or 1,000 Yugas being a period of 432 million years of mortals and measuring the duration of the world).[54] Viṣṇu offers the dovotees who bathe there in that month the *salokatva* (residence in the same celestial region of Viṣṇu), the *samīpatva* (rejoicing in His vicinity) and the *sarūpatva* (having the same shape of the god.)[55] That is why it is an annual feature that people perform their purificatory rites in the month of Māgha especially in Prayāga, thus giving existence to a popular fair of a catholic character, called Māgha Melā, at least from the second century A.D.[56] And a miniature spiritual India is represented on the dry flood plain of the rivers during the shivering cold of Māgha. The Māgha Melā is particularly momentous every twelfth year when it gets the name of the Kumbha Melā[57], the greatest religious concourse in the world. This represents the highest state of water symbolism in Hinduism.

---

50. *Mbh.* XIII. 26.35 = *TS,* p. 37; *MP,* 106.7 = *TvK,* p. 14; *KP,* I. 36.1 = *TS,* p. 30; *NP,* II. 63.7-12, 37; *SkP,* IV. 7.57; *PdP,* III. 44.7b - 8a, VI. 126.43, 53-57 = *TC,* pp. 18-19 = *TS,* p. 31 = *TP,* p. 330, VI. 127. 147 = *TC,* p. 21 = *TS,* p. 31 = *TP,* p. 333.

51. *NP,* II. 63.161; *PdP,* VI. 126. 25-27a = *TS,* p. 40.

52. *NP,* II. 63.5.

53. *NP,* II. 63. 20b-21a.

54. *PdP,* VI. 23.11.

55. *PdP,* VI. 91.25.

56. *Cf.* D.P. Dubey, 'Māgha Melā at Prayāga, *Purāṇam,* Vol. XXX (1), 1988, pp. 60-68.

57. *Cf.* D.P. Dubey, 'Kumbha Mela : Origin and Historicity of India's greatest pilgrimage fair', *National Geographical Journal of India,* Vol. 33 (4), 1987, pp. 469-492.

The most important baths are those taken on special *tithis* (lunar days) like *makarasankrānti, rathasaptamī, śukla-ekādasī, amāvasyā, pūrṇimā,* etc.[58] But particularly meritorious are three days in the month of Māgha at Prayāga.[59] Although disputed, they may be as : the three days are *makarasankrānti* (the day of passing the Sun into the sign of Capricornus), *rathasaptamī* (the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha), and *māghīpūrṇimā* (the full-moon day of Māgha); the three consecutive days from the tenth of the bright half of Māgha; the first three days of Māgha; any three days in Māgha.[60] However, these three days of Māgha, according to the current usage, are *makarasankrānti, amāvasyā,* and *Basantapañcamī.* In order to extol the propitious and saving qualities of a three-day bath in the month of Māgha at Prayāga interesting legends of āñcana-mālinī[61] and that of brāhmaṇa Bhadraka[62] are told in the Purāṇic literature. "In these legends", observes Giussepe Spera, "a *bhakta* substratum is clearly recognisable : that is the conception of divinity in the *tīrtha* offering motherly salvation to the wicked persons unworthy of it."[63]

According to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa,* men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can perform this ritual bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any *mantra* but should bathe silently or with the word '*namaḥ*'.[64] At the time of bath in Māgha, when the Sun is in the Capricornus, the devotee is advised to recite the *mantra* : "Oh Govinda, Acyuta, Mādhava, let me get the fruits as promised in the śāstras by this holy bath in the month of Māgha, when the Sun is in the Capricornus."[65] Uttering

---

58. *NP,* II. 31. 27.28, 63.40, 85; *PdP,* VI. 127.58, 151; *TS,* pp. 31, 37-38, 42; *Cf.* Maya Malaviya, 'Māghamāsa ke Vrataparvon kā Māhātmya', in : D.P. Dubey (ed.) *Kumbhaparva Prayāga* (Allahabad :Sharda Pustak Bhavan, 1989), pp. 98-112.

59. *AgP,* 111. 10b-11a; *MP,* 106.8; *PdP,* III. 44.8; *KP,* I. 36.2; *NP,* II. 63, 74b-75a.

60. *TS,* p. 33; P.V. Kane, *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, p. 617.

61. *NP,* II. 63. 77-79; *PdP,* VI. 126. 58.73 = *TC,* p. 27 = *TS,* p. 36.

62. *NP,* II, 63. 80-89; *PdP,* VI. 127. 153-162 = *TC,* pp. 28-29 = *TS,* p. 34.

63. G. Spera, 'Some Notes on Prayāga Māhātmya', *Indologica - Taurinensia,* Vol. V, 1977, p. 189.

64. *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (Bombay : Venkateshvara Steam Press, 1910), IV. 122. 12014 = *TS,* p. 39; P.V. Kane, *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, p. 617.

65. मकरस्थे रवौ माघे गोविन्दाच्युत माधव।
स्नानेनानेन भो देव यथोक्तफलदो भव।।
NP, II. 63. 13b - 14a; *PdP,* VI. 126.20 = *TC,* p. 19 = *TS,* p. 43 = *TP,* p. 331.

this *mantra,* he should bathe silently, always thinking of Vāsudeva, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, and Mādhava. The Purāṇas advise that ablutions at Prayāga in the month of Māgha should be performed before the sun rise. According to the *Brahmapurāṇa* quoted in the *Tristhalīsetu,* one obtains immeasurable merits by a bath[66], with his mind fixed on the feet of Hari, at Prayāga at the time of the break of day in Māgha.[67] The *Padmapurāṇa* states that the sins of one, who bathes there early in the morning in the month of Māgha when the Sun is in the Capricornus, vanish immediately as darkness disappears at the sight of the Sun.[68] Deliverance to seven generations (paternal as well as meternal), immunity from sins, and attainment of heaven are promised to one who takes ablution in the river early in the morning in Māgha.[69] The *Nāradīyapurāṇa* warns that one, who fails to bathe before the sun-rise when the Sun is in the Makararāśi during the month of Māgha, is neither liberated from sins nor goes to heaven.[70] Ablutions performed between dawn and morning at Prayāga in Māgha are graded into good (when stars are still visible), middling (when stars are invisible), and bad (when the Sun has risen); each preceding one being holier than each subsequent one.[71] One is also advised to pray and request the Sun to come out if the sky is overcast with clouds in the morning in the month of Māgha.[72]

---

66. *NP,* II. 63. 14b-15a; *PdP,* VI. 126.21 = *TC,* p. 19 = *TS,* p. 43 = *TP,* p. 331.

67. अरुणोदये तु सम्प्राप्ते स्नानकाले विचक्षणः।
माधवाङ्घ्रियुगं ध्यायन्यः स्नाति सुरपूजिते।
प्रयागवारिणि शुभे तस्य पुण्यस्य का मितिः।।
TS (*BP*), p. 41.

68. *PdP,* VI. 91.24.

69. *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa,* IV. 122.35 = *TS,* p. 41.

70. मकरस्थे रवौ माघे न स्नात्यनुदिते रवौ।
कथं पापैः प्रमुच्येत कथं वा त्रिदिवं व्रजेत्।।
Np, II. 63.104; *TS,* (*PdP*), p. 41.

71. अरुणोदयमारभ्य प्रातःकालावधि प्रभो।
माघस्नानवतां पुण्यं क्रमात्तत्र च धारणा।।
उत्तमं तु सनक्षत्रं लुप्ततारं तु मध्यमम्।
सवितर्युदिते भूप ततो हीनं प्रकीर्तितम्।।
TS, (*BP*), p. 41.

72. *NP,* II. 31.14.

CONCLUSION :

For many centuries Prayāga has been the place of the most amazing meetings of people, of religious fervour, and of sacred rites and rituals. It is one of the most frequent places of pilgrimage, where people come especially during the month of Māgha for bathing in the purifying waves of the holy rivers (*saṅgama*) and every twelfth year they come by hundreds of thousands to India's greatest melā, the Kumbha Melā. A cross section of the Indian society can be seen here peasants, merchants, paupers, misers,money-lenders, paṇḍits, illiterates, holymen, and the sophisticated elite. The focus is on movement, which is what *yātrā* denotes and on 'marching forward' from a less to a more desirable state of being, achieved by a ritual bath in the holy waters, which is what *tīrtha* signifies. Prayāga becomes the visible manifestation of Indian myths and traditions governed by the miraculous virtues of bath and the greatest centre for the communication and diffusion of Indian culture on such occasions.



CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE PURĀṆIC SUN-WORSHIP

Dr. V.C. SRIVASTAVA

Varanasi

Indian religion has been viewed by many[1] as an unmistakable continuum from the Vedas but still others[2] have forcefully advocated against this oft-repeated Vedic-Hinduist continuity and effectively propounded the thesis of the change in the Purāṇic religion from the Vedic tradition. No doubt, the question of continuity and change in Indian culture is a very complicated matter as it is linked with the 'substratum theory' - the Aryan and the non-Aryan and the literature being elitist protrays very little the beliefs and practices of autochthonous and the aboriginals[3]. In spite of such limitations the problem being fundamental to the development of historical processes in India has received some attention from time to time[4]. Modern sociological theories of change such as of Max Weber and Karl Marx have given an impetus to analyse the change in the alleged 'unchanging East[5]' and there are some significant but controversial studies on changes in Indian religion[6].

---

1. For details see J.Gonda, Change and Continuity in Indan Religion, Hague, 1965, pp. 7-11.
2. Hopkins, Phillips, Oltramara, Farquhar, Ruben, hazara and many others have notices such changes Cf. Gonda, op. cit., p. 11-15.
3. Barth, Goetz, M. Eliade, Ruben etc, have seen the change due to non-Aryan admixture Cf. Gonda, op. cit., 14-15. cf. P. Edgerton, Dominant Ideas in the Formation of Indian Culture, J.A.O.S., Vol. 62, p. 151 ff.
4. For example W. Norman Brown has taken up the theme in The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 20, 1961 and Gonda, op. cit., has also analysed many elements of Indian culture with a view to find out the continuity and change in Indian religion.
5. The attempts by D.D. Kosambi, R.S. Sharma, Romila Thapar and others may be cited as examples of study in developments. Cf. R. Thapar, Interpretations of Ancient Indian History, *History and Theory*, 1968, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 318-335.
6. One such recent study is R.N. Nandi's *Social Roots of Indian Religion*, New Delhi, 1986.

Sun-worship, on account of its continuity in time from the earliest times to the present, provides a good case for enquiry of Vedic survivals on the one hand and new developments on the other. The present paper analyses the problem of Vedic continuity and the non-Vedic changes in the Indian tradition of the Sun-worship in terms of concept of the godhood, rituals and institutions as reflected in the Purāṇic ethos and tries to provide historical explanation of the changes. The chronological horizon of the study extends from the beginning of the Christian era to the 15th century A.D. and the sources are primarily the Purāṇas supplemented by inscriptions, iconography, temples and secular literature. The Purāṇic Sun-worship has been analysed under the framework of continuity and change and historical explanation for the phenomena of continuity and change has been provided without any commitment to any ideology of change. In spite of D.P. Pandey (1939), Banerjee (1956), Heinrich von Stietencron (1968), L.P. Pandey (1971), V.C. Srivastava (1972) and C.D. Pandey (1986) the problem has not been investigated adequately so far and the present synoptic presentation of the analysis is the microcosm of the wider study to be presented in a separate monograph.

The concept of the godhood in the Purāṇic Sun-worship appears to be a Vedic continuity in spite of the *bhakti, pūjā,* sectarianism and many new developments. No doubt, the period covered by the Purāṇas is more than a millennium but we witness a long uninterrupted continuum from the *Ṛgveda.* The Purāṇic concept of the Sungod combines the atmospheric and the metaphysical aspects of the Sun in the pattern of a graded reality as well as in the pattern of an integrated and unified reality. The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* expressly brings out the atmospheric concept of the Sungod when it describes the Sun as the chief of the planetary system (II. 8. I ff), and mentions about its chariot (II. 8. 2-9), its movement (II. 8. 28), its role as the arranger of the day and night (II. 8. 28), and seasons (II. 8. 67). The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* refers to him as dwelling in the sky and his first form as luminous which can be hardly gazed upon on account of its circle of splendour (CIX. 63 and 73). The *Sāmba Purāṇa* - the bible of the Purāṇic Sun-worship continues to hold it simply as a luminary (ch. 14) and as the arranger of seasons (14.29). Such references may be multiplied from other Purāṇas.[7] The atmospheric aspect

---

7. See V.C. Srivastava, *Sun-worship in Ancient India,* Allahabad, 1972, pp. 205-208 cf. Srivastava, Puranic Records on the Sun-worship, *Purāṇam,* IX (II).

of the Sungod continued to be adhered to in early medieval India as is confirmed by the secular literature and inscriptions. Mayūra's concept of the Sungod is essentially naturalistic (1, 18-19, 44)[8]. The Indor inscription (5th century A.D.) refers to the Sun as the rich source of rays, the day-maker and dispeller of darkness - a description which is repeated by many inscriptions such as Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula.[9] The grants of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur invariably praise the Sungod as the 'foremost luminary of the sky'[10]. The Purāṇic affiliation to the concept of the atmospheric Sungod can be traced back to the *Ṛgveda* through the epics and the later Vedic literature. In the *Mahābhārata* his lordship of the planets, (III. 200 85. cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI. 105. 15), his daymaker, rainproducer, light-giver aspects (*MBH*, XII. 264. ii - *Ādityairjāyatevṛṣṭiḥ*, *Rām.* VI. 105. 13 - *ghanavṛṣṭi*, *Manu*, III. 76, *Vaṣiṣtha Dharmasāstra*, XI. 13; *MBH*, III. 3. 52) are repeated quite often. The naturalistic basis of the Sungod and its connection with the physical phenomenon has been too marked in the later vedic literature as well as in the *Ṛgveda.* The Upaniṣads refer to its orb, (*Maitrī U.* 12, *Bṛhadāryaṇaka U.* II. 5.5, *Pancavimśa Br.* XVII. 9. 8) and its atmospheric aspect is well reflected (*S.G.S.* II. 14.8, *A.G.S.* II. 7. 4). The *Ṛgveda* maintains an exemplary stand on the identity of the Sun and the orb (VII. 14. 15, VI. 51. 1, I. 115. 5, VIII. 56. 5, VI. 4423). Thus the atmospheric concept of the Sungod is an uninterrupted continuum from the *Ṛgveda* to the Purāṇas.

The concept of the Purāṇic Sungod moves further in the direction of humanization. In the early Purāṇas the legends of Satrājit, Aditi, Yājñyvalkya and Rājyavardhana are expressive of this transition from the natural to the human besides many other references.[11] To Satrājit the Sun at first appeared as a fireball as in the sky (*Viṣṇu P.* IV.. 13. 12) but later on appeared in human form (*Viṣṇu P.* IV. 13. 15). Similarly the Sun appeared at first in his natural form and later in his person to Aditi (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.* , CV. 1 and 3). To Yājñavalkya the Sun appeared in the form of a horse (*Viṣṇu P.* III. 5. 25) while Rājyavardhana at first worshipped the Sungod in natural form but

8. For details see Srivastava, The Sun-cult as revealed by the Gupta and the Post-Gupta inscriptions, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XXVII, (1-4).

9. *Ibid.*

10. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, p. 379, Mirashi, *C.I.I.* IV (II), 404, 428, 444 etc.

11. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, 218-220.

later on worshipped him in human form (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.* CIX, 59-61 and 75-78). The humanization of the Sun gets full expression in the later Purāṇas such as the *Sāmba* and the *Bhaviṣya* where we find complete personalization of the concept of the Sungod (*Sāmba P.* 6.21b cf. *Bhaviṣya P.* I. 76. 13; *Sāmba P.* 6.22a cf. *Bhaviṣya P.* I. 76. 13b, 18, *Sāmba P.* 16. i. 22, cf. *Bhaviṣya P.* I. 121. 21 etc., *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* III. 67. 2-11). The inscriptions and iconography also testify to the humanization of the Sun.[12] In spite of alleged 'arrested anthropomorphism'[13] in the *Ṛgveda* there are traces of this trend of humanization of the Sun in the *Ṛgveda* itself (*RV.*I. 115. 5, I. 50. 1, 8, 9; X. 37. 3; V. 45. 9; VII. 60. 3; IV. 13. 3, V. 29. 5 etc.) and the later Vedic literature furthers this trend (*AV*, IV-10.5, V. 24. 9; *C.U.* I. 6. 6; *BAU.* II. 5. 5). Yāska (*Nirukta*, VII. 6) suggests anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic - both forms of the Vedic gods. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (IV. 3. 11) assigns a wife to the Sun. The Vedic tradition of the humanization is carried on through the epics to the Purāṇas (cf. the legend of Arvāvasu, Karṇa, Kuntī, Yudhiṣṭhira and Jāmadagni in *MBH*, III. 138. 18-19, III, 300. 9, III. 306. 9, 10, III. 3. 70; XIII. 96. 20).

The Purāṇic concept of the godhood around the Sun is highly metaphysical.[14]He is the highest principle in nature, the cause of the origin, sustenance and the destruction of the universe (*Viṣṇu P.* III. 5. 23 - *Ādityāyādibhūtāya devādīnām namonamaḥ*, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* CIX, 62-63, 69-71, CIII. 2-5). In the later Purāṇas he is something beyond and above the physical sun. He is even beyond the *puruṣa* in the Sun. He is even beyond all forms and names. He is both the individual and the supreme soul and is both one and many (*Sāmba P.* 2. 7-17, 5. 17-24). Such metaphysical concept of the Sungod is also vouchsafed by the *Sūryasiddhānta* and inscriptions. Such references may be multiplied for the medieval concept of the Sungod.[15]

The *Ṛgveda* (I. 164. 46) refers to the unity of the godhood in the Sun (*Ekaṁ sadviprā bahudhā vadanti* ----). To the Ṛgvedic seers the Sun is

---

12. *Ibid.*, 220 ff., 293 ff.
13. A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Rep. Delhi, 1974, p. 17.
14. For details see V.C. Srivastava, The Metaphysical Foundation of the Sun-cult in Ancient India, *Bharati*, NS. 2, 1984, pp. 153-166.
15. *Ibid.*

the soul of all moveable and immoveable things (*Sūrya ātmā jagatastasthuśaśca* I. 115. 1). It shows that the Sun was identified with all spirit - a feature which belongs to the original stratum of the *Ṛgveda.*[16] In other references he is the preserver of all that is moving or stationary (VII. 62. I, VII. 60.2 - *Viśvasya Sthāturjagataśca gopā*). Throughout the Vedic literature the concept of the Sun as the soul of the universe and the creator and preserver of all has been consistently maintained (*A V.* XIII. 2. 35, XX. 107. 14, *V.S.,* VII. 42, XIII. 46, *T.S.,* 1. 4. 43, I, M.S. I 3. 37, *K.S.,* 4. 9. 22. 5, *S.B.,* 4. 3. 4. 10, *T.B.,* II. 8. 7. 4, *A.A.,* II. 2. 4. 7, *T.A.,* I. 7. 6, II. 13. 1, *N.* 12. 16). This appears to be one of the basic ideas of the Sungod as it is found in all schools of Vedic traditions from the beginning to the end.[17] The tradition has been continued through the epics (III. 3. 36 - *ayamātmā sarvadehināṁ.............*, III. 3. 56 - *Īśvarāṇāṁ tvamīśvaraḥ...............*, *Rāmāyaṇa* VI. 105 - Adityahṛdaya hymn.) to the Purāṇas.

The other aspects of the Purāṇic godhood such as benevolence (*Viṣṇu P.* II. 9. 8, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* 27. 23 cf. *MBH,* III. 3. 146, *Raghu.* XIII. 5, I. 18, IV. 66, *Vayu P.* XXXI. 37, *Brahmāṇḍa P.* II. 13. 125) of the Sungod and the chariot as the *vāhana* of Sūrya in the Purāṇas has origins in the Rigvedic circles (X. 37. 4, I. 50. 12 and V. 29. 10, VII. 69. 2, I. 115. 3, V. 45. 9, VII. 60. 3). Gonda[18] has convincingly argued for the presence of the chariot as a *vāhana* of the Sungod in the *Ṛgveda.* The concept of twelve Ādityas as identified with the twelve months of the year in the Purāṇas (*Viṣṇu P.* II. 10, *Sāmba P.* 4) is definitely Vedic[19] (though later Vedic) (*P.B.* X. 1. 10, *S.B.* VI. 12. 8, B.A.U. III. 5, *S.G.S.* II. 14. 8). There are references to Vedic rituals such as *Gāyatrī, Saṁdhyopāsanā, arghya, ācamana, japa,* etc. for the Sunworship in the Purāṇas (*Viṣṇu P.* III. 2. 29, *Mārkaṅdeya P.,* CIX) which may be regarded as the Vedic survivals[20]

16. V.C. Srivastava, On the Ṛgveda, I. 115. 4d, K.C. Chattopadhyay Memorial *Volume,* Allahabad, 1972.

17. Srivastava, *op. cit.,* 1972, p. 61-62, M. Bloomfield, *A Vedic Concordance,* p. 413, A.B. Keith, ed. and tr. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka,* p. 205. fn. 9 cites it as an evidence in favour of the doctrine of the identity of the self and the Sun.

18. *Op. cit.,* 1965, p. 74 ff.

19. Srivastava, *op. cit.,* 1972, p. 207.

20. *Ibid.,* p. 206.

(*Mp. D.S.*, I. 5. 15, 2. 11, 16. 1. 6, *G.D.S.* I. 35-40 etc.). The Sāmba Purāṇa regards the Sun as the form of three vedas (I. 1) and there are references to the Vedic Brāhmaṇas making adoration to the Sungod in the inscriptions. The Indor copper plate inscription[21] refers to Devaviṣṇu, a Brāhmaṇa of orthodox Vedic tradition as the giver of an endowment for the Sun-temple. The Kaira plates[22] (684 A.D.) refers to one of the donees to the Sun-temple as Ādityaravi of the Bhāradvāja gotra while the Sankheda plate[23] (642 A.D.) refers to a gift given to a Brāhmaṇa Sūrya of the Bhāradvāja gotra and of the Vājasaneyī Madhyandina Śākhā. The Purāṇas also associate the Vedic Āṅgirasas and the Atharvans with the Sun-cult (*Brahma Purāṇa*, 106. 10). These references are sufficient to indicate that the Purāṇic concept of the Sungod, some rituals, syncreticism were continuation of the Vedic tradition and in these respects we may speak of the Vedic-Hinduist continuity in the Purāṇic Sun-worship.

In spite of the Vedic continuity, there had been elements in the Purāṇic Sun-cult which may be regarded as the change though the change has been assimilated in such a nice manner that it becomes nothing more than the evolution. The change in the Purāṇic Sun-worship has five main manifestation - sectarianism, image-temple institution, a foreign priesthood, vratas and *tīrthas* and tantricism. The transition from the general Sun-worship of the Vedic tradition to the sectarian form of the Sun-worship may be regarded as the Epic-Purāṇic innovation. The Mahābhārata refers specifically to a *Saura* sect (VII. 58. 15 -) and has many references to the sectarian form of the Sun (III. 3. 17-28, 78, etc.) and there is a reference to a secret Veda of the Sun in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 138. 18). On the combined testimony of the Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical literature it may be suggested that the antiquity of the Sun-sect cannot be traced back to the 5-4th centuries B.C. and is this post-Vedic[24]. The Purāṇas refer to the full fledged form of solar sectarianism as is clear from the legends of Yājñavalkya, Satrājit, Brahma, Aditi, Rājyavardhana (*Viṣṇu P.* III. 5; VI. 13, *Vāyu P.*, IVC. 22,

---

21. *Ibid.*, p. 367.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 376.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 377.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-184.

Brahmāṇḍa P. III. 71. 13, *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* CIX. 62-63, CIV 18-29). The inscriptions[25] refer to exclusiveness in the Sun-worship (*dhyānaikatana (na) stuvah* - Indor plate) and its declaration as the true religion (*saddharmakhyāpanam* - Gwalior inscription of Mihirkula). The later Purāṇas such as the *Sāmba* and the *Bhaviṣya* refer to the unquestionable supremacy of the deity, exclusiveness in the devotion, fixed procedure and a body of sectarian saura literature (*Sāmba P.*, I. 1, 2.7, 6.13-19 cf. *Bhavisya P.*, I. 76, *Sāmba P.*, 16. 25-35 of. *Bhaviṣya P.*, I. 124. 8, etc.). Such names as Varāhamihira, *Paramsaura,* Paramādityabhakta also testify to the sectarian character of the Sun-worship in the Purāṇic tradition. Mayūra's *Sūryaśataka* is an excercise in sectarian Sun-worship[26]. The legend of Yājñavalkya (*Viṣṇu P.* III. 5. 10, 26, 27) refers to the returning of all Vedic lore and procured a special branch of the *Yājurveda* which even his teacher did not know. The reference is in the context of the Sun-worship by Yajnavalkya. It may be indicative of a break with the orthodox Vedic tradition in the propogation of the Sun-sect. The sectarian *mantra* of the Sun-worship - *Khalkolakāya namaḥ* as found on the *Sāmba Purāṇa* (44) is non-Vedic. Thus it may be surmised that the epic-Purāṇic Sun-sect marks a definite change in the realm of the Sun-worship from the Vedic tradition.

The worship of the Sungod through the medium of images in temples by the method of *Pūjā* is definitely a Purāṇic innovation. The transitional stage from the natural to the iconographic may be seen in the early Purāṇas[27] but the fully established stage of solar iconography may be traced in the later Purāṇas. The *Sāmba Purāṇa* (29. 2-6 - expressly states that there had been no tradition of sun-image worship earlier and it was Sāmba who has been responsible for the tradition of the Sun-image. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (CCLXI. I-7, XCIV, II) and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* along with other iconographical texts give specific instruction for the construction of the Sun-image. The extant images of the Sungod from the beginning of the Christian era testify to the prevalence of the image-temple tradition in Purāṇic Sun-worship[28]. In spite

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 370-374.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-222.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 293 ff.

of the controversy about the non-Vedic origin of the image-worship[29] it has been found that the Sun-worship in the Vedic tradition was done through the recitation of hymns of praise and prayer and the offerings - either oblations or libations and was domestic and aniconic. It is also significant to point out that Haradatta commenting on *Āpastamba Dh. Sūtra*, II. 11. 29. 16 informs us that the Dravidas used to worship Āditya by drawing *maṇḍalas.* Thus both the Aryans and the non-Aryans appear to worship through symbols and not images and as such the solar ïconic tradition appears to be due to the Magian influx into India. This bespeaks for the break in the Vedic-Hinduist continuity.

The post-Vedic Sun-cult is associated with a priesthood known as the Magas (*Bhaviṣya P.*, 130, *Sāmba P.*, 3. 24, 26, *Brahma P.* 20, *Sāmba P.*, 26. 48, cf. *MBH* VI. II. 36-38, *Viṣṇu P.* II. 4. 69-70). L.P. Pandey's contention[30] that they were Indians living in Saurastra cannot be accepted in view of contrary internal evidence in the Sāmba Purāṇa itself as it has been successfully analysed by C.D. Pandey[31] as well as other evidences[32]. In spite of the fact that the Aṅgirasas were a priestly family in the Vedic tradition, were connected with Agni and Weber[33] has identified them with the priests of the Indo-Iranian period and the Aṅgirass were associated with the Sun-cult in Bihar and the famous Sun-temple at Konark had Aṅgirasas as priests[34] it is historically not possible to prove that the Magas of the historical times were the same as the Vedic Aṅgirasas. It has shown in detail by Srivastava[35] (1972) that the Magian priests were originally a priestly tribe of Medea who came to be indistinguishably associated with Iran after Cyrus extended his empire to Medea and Lydia. Their original home - Sakadvipa must have been in, eastern Iran. No doubt, the Magian reoriented Sun-cult

29. J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 42-50.
30. *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, 1971, p. 186.
31. *Sāmba Purāṇa Kā Sānskṛtika Adhyayana* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1986.
32. Srivastava, the Indian Sun-priests, *Purāṇam*, 1989, XXXI (2), R.K. Arora, The Magas, Sun-worship and the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, *Purāṇam*, XIII (1).
33. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, p.291 cf. A.A. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp.142-143.
34. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972, p. 384.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 241 ff. H. Von Stietencron, *Indische Sonnenpriester Samba und die Sakadvipiya - Brahman* (German), Wiesbaden, 1968.

laid emphasis on public worship of the Sun through image with Iranian features in temples. J. Gonda's[36] contention that there is a continuity of interest between the Vedic Śrauta ritual of building a fire-place and the erection of a Hinduist temple and thus there is vedic continuity in the tradition of temple because in terms of 'psychological' and 'soteriological' identity of aim-reintegration of performer of either Śrauta fire-place or temple with the Absolute cannot be accepted in view of the fact that both institutions have functional diversity and the former appears to be individualistic and elitist while the latter is communal and mass-based[37]. For the specific case of the Sun-temple a break with the Vedic priesthood has been specifically mentioned in the *Sāmba Purāṇa* (26. 19-26). The Iranian features[38] of the Sun-image have been confirmed by the texts (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā,* 57. 46-48, *Viṣṇudharmottara,* III. 67. 2-11) and extant images. In view of these considerations, the Magian priesthood of the Purāṇic Sun-cult may be taken as a change in the Vedic-Hinduist continuum.

The proliferation of *Sauravratas* and *tīrthas* in the Purāṇas cannot be regarded as a Vedic continuity in spite of Kane[39] and Gonda[40] who regard the *tīrtha-vrata* syndrome as a Vedic continuum. The Purāṇas (*Matsya P.* 4-80) refer to many Sauravratas - *Kalyāṇasaptamī, Visokāsaptamī, Phalasaptamī, Sarkarās-aptamī, Kamalāsaptamī, Mandarasaptamī, Subhasaptamī, Sūryasankrantī,* etc. A recent study[41] has brought out the differences between Purāṇic *sauravratas* and *Ādityavrata* of the *Gobhila gṛhyasūtra* (III. i,. 28). Kane's list[42] of *Tīrthas* include many *Sūryatīrthas* whose antecedents do not go back into the Vedic

36. *op. cit.,* p. 18.

37. Cf. S. Kramrische, *The Hindu Temple,* 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1946.

38. Pandey, 1971 does not believe in its foreign origin but it has been shown by Banerjea and others and even by internal evidence that these features were Iranian cf. Srivastava, *op. cit.,* 1972, 257. See Chr Lindtner, Buddhist References to Old Iranian Religion, *Acta Iranica,* Leiden, 1988.

39. *History of Dharmaśāstra,* Bombay, 1973, IV, V (2).

40. *op. cit.,* pp. 198 ff.

41. Anita Sengar, *Solar Vows and Festivals in Ancient India,* Ph. D. Thesis (unpublished), Allahabad University, 1985.

42. *op. cit.,* Vol. IV, pp. 730-825 cf. Srivastava, Sūryatīrthas, A Review, Allahabad, 1990.

tradition and all references to them are in the Purāṇas or the Nibandhas. As such it seems reasonable to suggest with Hazra[43] that the Purāṇic religion has been distinguished by the adoption of populist *bhakti* practices such as the *vratas* and the *tīrthas.* Marxist historians[44] also take these institutions as products of changed economic milieu due to decay of towns and feudalism. The *vrata-tīrtha* bhakti syndrome of the Purāṇas appears to be new development in response to some social demand but to relate it to economic needs of *yājamānī* Brāhmaṇas exclusively[45] is to negate the whole spiritual foundations of the Indian tradition.

Another significant change in the Purāṇic Sun-worship may be traced in the adoption and influence of Tantricism. The later Purāṇas are full of references to the Tantrik practices in the Sun-cult. The method of initiation, *Mahāmantra, tattvanyāsa, mantranyāsa, maṇḍalas* and six acts - *vaśīkaraṇa, ākarṣana, māraṇa, uccāṭana, vidveṣaṇa* and *stambhana* are indicative of Tantric influence on the Sun-cult (*Sāmba P.,* 41. 1, 39. 41, I. 47-83). It is true that the fundamental principle of Tantricism - *sūryaśakti* - could not be developed in the Later Purāṇas but outwardly the rituals of the Purāṇic Sun-cult was influenced by the Tantricism[46]. Many scholars have tried to trace back the antiquity of Tantricism to Vedic times[47] but historically the manifestation of Tantricism is post-Vedic. Gonda[48] find common between Tantric *dīkṣā* and Vedic *dīkṣā* and thus tries to bridge the gulf between the Vedic-Hindu tradition but in spite of some common points the *dīkṣā* in Tantra is a different category in many details. In view of these considerations I am inclined to accept the Tantric milieu of the Purāṇic Sun-cult as a departure from the Vedic tradition of the Sun-worship.

To sum up, the Purāṇic Sun-worship is an amalgam of continuity and change. The concept of the Sungod is a long uninterrupted Vedic-Hinduist

---

43. *The Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs,* Sec. ed. 1975.
44. R.N. Nandi, *op. cit.,* 1986.
45. See Review of Nandi by Srivastava, IHR (under publication).
46. V.C. Srivastava, Tantricism and the Sun-cult in India, A Historical Perspective, *Purāṇam,* 1987, XXXIX (2).
47. Kane, *op. cit.,* V (2), pp. 1031-1041.
48. *op. cit.,* 1965, pp. 435 ff.

continuum. So is the case with some elements of rituals but there are vital ideological, institutional and ritualistic changes also such as sectarian ideology, image-temple and foreign priesthood and Tantricism. The changes were products of socio-economic as well as ideational factors[49]. The Purāṇas synthesise and harmonise changes in such a subtle manner that whole development appears to be an 'ordered evolution' though inwardly it was a revolution. Herein lies the genius of Indian tradition for sublimation[50].



49. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, 1972.

50. Hazra, *op. cit.*, calls it rightly as a composite religion.

HINDU POLITY AND RITUALISM

Dr. TAHSILDAR SINGH

Varanasi

Though it seems difficult to find out exact parallels of the rites and rituals found in the ancient Indian literature instances may be cited to prove similar developments in the history of other communities. In the ancient world, the influence of cosmic beliefs on political organization and ideals is easily perceived. In the ancient Sumerian cities, the patriarchy combined the functions of royalty and priesthood. Similarly in the Ancient Greece, in the heroic period, monarch was more divine than regal or political where we find a custom of consolidation of the relation between the king and his people by a sacrifice to Zeus. The Romans regarded imperium as something originated from the God and its exercise required divine sanction. Even after the fall of monarch this idea survived. Among Hebrews, the king was considered as an authority sent by God and there existed the idea of double covenant between the almightly and the king and between the king and the people. Remnants of these ideas survived during the medieval world though modern progress has put an end to many of these ideas. The accession to office whether of kings or of presidents is often associated with divine service and a complicated ritual. The king's oath even now retains its importance in many countries, especially in England. The oath remained of vital importance in the Spartan constitution where it was interchanged every month between the kings and the Ephors. In India, before social complexities changed the mentality and ideals of the people prevailing a desire for orderly and regulated life, just like the other ancient countries, the terror of some imaginative agencies, beyond the control of men, deeply influenced their lives.

The commixture of politics and religion is almost universal, and everywhere it marks the transition from primitive ideas of cosmology to a

rational explanation of the relation of the forces and factors regulating the phenomenal world. The primitive mind, swayed by fear, always invoked the blessing of the gods and tried to appease their anger. Gradually, formalities and practices were introduced to safeguard divine sanction for all acts and with it was evolved a code of ritual, which did not confine itself only to the acts of the individual but embraced the actions of the community as a whole. This was an inevitable development in all ancient civilizations without any discrimination and our India, also, was not an exception of the general rule. Here, too, every act of social life was dominated by such beliefs and ideas consequent upon the performance of various rituals. The politics came to be influenced by these rituals so the significance of political acts and functions changed. They came to be interpreted in terms of the ideas relating to the cosmical world thus, and gradually, politics was dominated by ritualism.

Ritualism and religion overshadowed everything. The maze of ritual consisted of diverse elements. It comprised rites for the propitiation of the gods, for securing to the governing authority a moral sanction and for regulating the relation between the upholder of law and order and his subjects. Polity attained integration through the channel of religion and ritualistic observances. As the universe was an organic entity, so in its imitation different duties and functions were attached to the various elements of the body-politic. Simultaneously the relations between the gods, the king, the priest-hood and the classes of the population were distinctly demarcated and all these were welded together and their correlation defined. It is difficult to separate the line of political evolution from amidst much that is too indefinite for generalisation until we study the religious aspect of politics, and when that is done, it will be possible to find out the leading features of the type of evolution which characterised the progress of that age.

By the emphatic influences of the ritualism the aims and objects of political life were changed. Every social and political act came to have a close connection with the higher cosmic forces and factors. The king's authority thus no longer depended on the people, but it was made to depend on the sanction of the higher universal rulers whom he represented. Charms and sympathetic magic were introduced. Symbols and symbolic observances were made part and parcel of ceremonies. New meanings and interpretations were added. The aspect of political life was entirely changed.

The conflict of classes passed away. The social outlook broadened and the germs of constitutionalism, with defined rights and duties for the various elements in the body-politic, came into being. The work was achieved through the agency of religion and ritual. Some main ritual influencing the polity, specifically, can be eumerated thus:

The Aśvamedha :

The Aśvamedha, the horse sacrifice, originated in the earliest period and came to be regarded as the greatest of all sacrifices later on. Despite its enigmatic significance and purpose it is quite clear that this ceremony is very old and all the ambitious suzerain monarchs[1] performed it symbolising their prowess and valour demarcating their undisputable boundary of the kingdoms which they earned and subjugated by continuous battles. Its main interest centred round the sacrificial horse which was made to traverse the whole neighbouring region and after its return slaughtered with ceremony. It began with the investing of the sacrificer with the golden ornaments.[2] The horse was then guarded and sprinkled over; followed by other symbolical rites. Some animal-offerings were, then, made to several deities including Savitṛ and Agni. The horse was eulogised and its protection invoked by whispering *mantras* in its ears. The king prayed for the prosperity of his kingdom and the community. After the performance of these initial ceremonies, the horse was allowed to roam. During the time (one year) of its sojourn abroad, ceremonies were performed everyday. In the eleventh month after the return of the horse, it was bathed and harnessed: A stable of *aśvattha* wood was constructed and there it was fed on with barley. After the performance of all other requisite ceremonies, the horse was bedecked with jewels, and observing some further rites slaughtered. Thereupon the dead body was circumambulated by the wife of the *Yajamāna,* the sacrificer. After some rites and recitation of *mantras* the chief queen was made to lie with the dead body of horse with the aim of facilitating the birth of a virtuous and vigorous son.[3] Some obscene rites followed or intervened, which need

1. *Rājā sārvabhaumośvamedhena yajet, apyasārvabhaumaḥ, Śat. Br.* 3-9-19-1.

2. *Yajurveda,* Book XXII.

3. The complete description is found in *Vāj. Sam.* XXII to XXIV, the *Sat. Br.* and in *Tait. Br.* (III. 8). See also SBE, XLIV, pt. V (Sat. Br.) pp. 274 ff.

not to be described in detail, however, if they were really performed as found in the scriptures, it was the limit of superstition and primitiveness.

Whatever might have been its original significance, it came to have an importance later on in the politics of Brāhmaṇa and the post-Brāhmaṇa period. The horse in the Epic literature, became the symbol of a conquering king's sovereign authority, and in course of its escorted roaming a man who held the horse was regarded as a enemy contesting his authority. This led to a war in which if victorious, the obstructor of the horse gained the position enjoyed by the conqueror who had let loose the horse. If, on the other hand, the latter proved victorious his supremacy remained unquestioned.

Of the various rites the ceremony of sprinkling the horse requires examination. "The horse was sprinkled over in the east (facing west) by the *hotṛ,* the priest reciting the *mantras* of *Ṛgveda,* accompanied by hundred leaders of the villages; on the west by the *adhvaryu,* the priest reciting *mantras* of *Yājurveda,* accompanied by hundred princes; on north by the Brāhmaṇa standing in this direction and accompanied by hundred *kṣatriyas*; on south the *udgātṛ*, the priest reciting *mantras* of *Sāmaveda,* standing in this cardinal point and accompanied by hundred men of mixed castes".[4] After a ceremonial bath and reciting of *mantras,* the horse was delivered to be escorted by the hundred princes clad in armour. Four hundred chiefs were also made its guardians along with hundred *kṣatriyas* on chariots, accompanied by many *śūdras* and *vaiśyas.*

As the Aśvamedha's performance was a measuring standard of the king's sovereignty it was repeatedly performed to test and assure the unquestionable subjugation of the territory. It was performed by the great princes like Bharata, Durmukha and Atyarāti in olden days. Bharata is credited with the frequent performances of 133 horse sacrifices. In historical period Samudragupta, Puṣyamitra Śuṅga etc.were honoured as its performers.

A critical analysis of these details clearly describes how sacredotalism was making a bid for the establishment of an orderly sovereign authority, closely modelled on that which prevailed in the universal system. As the *devas* were the universal rulers, and as the kings were (transformed into) their

---

4. *Tait. Br.* III. 8.

mundane counterparts with similar rights and responsibilities vested in them, the co-operation of these powers was sure to bring all-sided prosperity to men. Sacrifice brought such a desired harmony, between the divine and human elements with the result that not only peace and order was maintained, but the forces and resources of nature came to the assistance of man. A faith in the ideal of happiness resulting from this co-operation is apparent from the king's prayer in the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha e.g. "Oh; Brahman let there be born in the kingdom the Brāhmaṇa illustrious for religious knowledge: let there be born the Rājanya heroic skilled archer, piercing with shaft mighty warrior; the cow giving abundant milk; the ox good at carrying; the swift courser; the industrious woman. May *parjanyas* (clouds) send rain according to our desire. May our fruit bearing plants ripen. May acquisition and preservation of property be secured to us".[5]

The Rājasūya:

The Rājasūya is an important inaugural ceremony, reserved for great kings only, for confering higher sovereign authority. Performed on specified occasions, it was a complicated ceremony consisting of a long succession of ritualistic performances which covered a period of more than two years.

The Vāj. Sam., the Ait. Br., the Śat. Br. and the KSS give the details relating to its performance. It comprised of seven different sacrifices enumerated in following lines:

(1) the opening *Agniṣṭom* which covered five days. In course of this, the *dīkṣā* transformed the king into an embryo out of which a deity was to be born and a covenant was made between the king and the priests to avoid dissensions.

(2) the Abhiṣecaniya or consecration in which the principal elements were, the collection of seventeen kinds of liquids, *pārtha-* oblations, the formal proclamation of the king, the conquest, the anointment, the cow-raid, vesting of immunity and the handing over the sacrificial sword.

(3) The Daśapeya of the ceremony of drinking the Soma cup. This was succeeded after a year's interval by

---

5. *Vāj. Sam.* XXII. 22.

(4) the Keśavapanīya or hair-cutting attended with an

(5) Atirātra sacrifice.

(6) the Vyuṣṭi-dvīrātra,[6] perhaps a celebration of daybreak occurring after two days of *atirātra* and was followed by

(7) the Chattradhṛti or the weilding of the royal (umbrella) power.

Thus, it was a complex ceremony consisting of several religious rites with social and political functions. The chief object of these was to propitiate the gods, to gain their blessings, to ward off evil and to provide a moral support to the exercise of regal authority which was consubstantiated with the functions of the gods.

In course of this maze of ceremonial the details about the growing political machinery and prevailing political ideas are easily traceable. The *ratnahaviṁṣi* (offering to the jewels) reveals to us the early constitution of the king's council:[7]

1. Senānī (the commander of the army)
2. Purohita (the pontiff-adviser)
3. Rājan (the king)
4. Mahiṣī (the queen)
5. Sūta (the messenger)
6. Grāmaṇī (the village-leaders)
7. Kṣatṛ (the Chamberlain)
8. Saṅgrahītṛ (the Charioteer)
9. Bhāgadudh (the collector)
10. Akṣāvāpa (the dice-keeper)
11. Govikartṛ (the keeper of games and forests)
12. Pālāgala (the courier)

---

6. For its meaning consult Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.
7. These are the jewels enlisted in *Sat. Br.* (5-3-1-10). There is a difference on this point amongst the authorities though jewels find place, similarly, in *Tait. Br.* and *Mait. Sam.* (II. 6.) also.

The most important political function was 'consolidation' of sovereignty which was vested in the elected king. This together with other allied ceremonies formed part of the Abhiṣecanīya. In connection with all these, too, a curious blending of ritual and state- functions is precisely felt. The ceremony started with the offerings to Agni and Soma and then further offerings were made to (a) Savitṛ Satyaprasava (b) Agni-Gṛhapati (c) Soma Vanaspati (d) Bṛhaspati Vākpati (e) Rudra Paśupati (f) Mitra Satya and (g) Varuṇa Dharmapati. Performing these offerings, the priest took hold of the king and recited the *mantra*[8] which meant "Oh gods; quicken him (king) to be unrivalled so as to be without any enemy, for chiefdom, for great-lordship, for man-rule, for ruling over men, for Indra's energy --- him, the son of such and such man, the son if such and such woman, whatever be his parentage-----of the people whose king he is".

After this the king was anointed by the liquids of seventeen kinds, beginning with the water of Sarasvatī and each time the mantra was uttered "Bestowers of kingship bestow kingship on ....". Then, *pārtha-* oblations were offered, probably investing the king with the position and authority of Pṛthu Vainya who was the 'first consecrated among men'. Now, the king was sprinkled over by men after he had put on the consecrated garments. The sprinklers included a Brāhmaṇa, a Rājanya, Kinsmen, a friendly king, and a Vaiśya who clearly seems to be the representatives of his subjects agreeing to his authority.

He then put on the royal silken robes. He was thereupon proclaimed as king, performing Rājasūya vow of faithfulness, i.e. *Satya-hava* and *Satya dharma,* was recorded. He was made to ascent the different regions namely east, west, north and south and then stepped on a tiger-skin, on which was placed a piece of lead representing *Namuci's* head. The process of anointing was supposed to confer vigour and energy of Indra, grace of Agni and splendour of Sūrya so that the king might become chief of chiefs and king of kings.

After this he stepped three paces, symbolic of Viṣṇu three namely *vikramāṇa, Vikrānta,* and *krānta.* Thus having ascended the world, he became high over everything and everything was below him. The priest

8. See, *SBE,* Vol. XLI, pt. III, *Śat. Br.* pp. 73 ff.

then reminded him of his functions and duties.[9] Some other rights symbolically represented older methods of attaining supremacy. One of these was the mimic cow-raid in which the king was allowed to take away a herd of kine from the house of a friend. Next came the game of dice in which the king's victory showed his wisdom.

At the same time the king was made *adaṇḍya* (beyond punishment). The *adhvaryu* struck him on the back and 'thus guided him safety over judicial punishment'. At last, the wooden sacrificial sword was passed round; the Brāhmaṇa priest handed it over to the king; he passed it over to his brother who, in his turn, handed it over to the *sūta,* from him it passed to the *sajāta* and the *grāmaṇī* and ultimately came back to the king. The king received the homage of all who, including Brāhmaṇas sat below.

The Vājapeya:

Another significant sacrifice was the Vājapeya. There are differences regarding its performances. The KSS describe it as a sacrifice which was only performed by a *samrāṭ,* a prince of higher position than an ordinary king while other authorities open it for anyone. In addition to the usual oblations, offerings and ceremonial performances, the chief distinguishing feature was the chariot race in which the sacrificer, who belonged either to the priestly or the royal order, was allowed to carry off the palm.[10] Then, after a long interval, the sacrificer ascended the top of the sacrificial post, while those assembled there, threw bags of salt at him. He then descended from it and trod upon a piece of gold placed on a goat skin and next sat upon a throne. Another important rite was the fictitious diceplay in which the king-elect was made to gain the victory. After further offerings the priest conferred upon him the superior rulership of Bṛhaspati.

The Aindra-Mahābhiṣeka:

The Aindra-Mahābhiṣeka was supposed to have originated in reminiscence of the election of Indra by the gods as their king in course of the struggle of *devas* against *asuras.*[11] The consequence of this ceremony was

---

9. *Mait. Sam.*, XXIII.

10. *Śat. Br.* V, 1, 5. and *SBE* vol XLI, pt III, (*Śat. Br.*), pp. 1 ff.

11. *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 12, 14.

that it conferred on the king all the various types of sovereignty e.g. *rājya, sāmrājya, mahārājya, vairājya, aikrājya* and ending with the *sārvabhaumya* which conferred the highest type of imperial authority over the whole region extending from the hills to the sea, *āsamudram ekarāṭ*. As in the case of Rājasūya and Vājapeya, this Mahābhiṣeka comprised a complex ritual. But by for the most important ceremony of the whole was the oath which the priest administered to the prince. The king was made to take the oath "Whatever pious works I might have done during the time which elapses from the day of my birth to the day of my death, all these together with my life and my children, you would wrest from me, should I do you any harm".[12] The Aitereya-tradition credited a number of princes, mentioned along with their priests with the performance of this ceremony.

The Abhiṣeka:

Abhiṣeka, the coronation, was the simplest of all inaugural performances. It was started with a *homa* with seven *mantras*. The king was, first of all, supposed to be re-born as the son of the sacrificial priests[13] and this fiction vested him with a sanctity which made his person inviolable to the people. Next, there were innumerable prayers for granting him an extensive kingdom and an efficient administration.[14] After this, the king was asked to be the guide of men and called upon to give an understanding to protect the good and banish the wicked.

There were, also, prayers for the prosperity of cattle, the various castes of men and for prajāpati's blessings on him (the king).[15] Then, the king was made to sit on a tiger skin and *Ṛgvedic* hymns were chanted for the loyalty of subject and the vesting of all spiritual powers in him. The king ascended a chariot and recited the prayers that his kingdom might not hear the sound of enemy bows and that success might attend him always.[16] After he had been sweared over with unguents and embraced by his friends,

---

12. *Śat. Br.* 5 - 3.

13. *Śat. Br.* 5 - 4.

14. R.K., Mookerjee, *Hindu Civilization*, Chap. V, under "conditions of coronation".

15. *Tait. Br.* II. 7-15-17.

16. *Tatt. Br.* II. 7.

relatives and Brāhmaṇas the Purohita addressed him "May the king be lustrous . like the moon-day sun----may be the noon day sun attain prosperity -----may the rivers be full, clouds rain in time, crops fructify; may the king be the lord of a rich country flowing with milk and honey."[17]

Though the complete detail described in *Tatt. Br.* is not easy to render here, the one point is notable here that the use of the words *prajāvān* and *pitre* is significant since it indicated to the growing idea of paternal duties being vested in the monarch.[18]

This ritualism and sacredotalism, in India, inculcated obedience and led to the performance of allegiance so long as the king injured neither in life nor limb and so long as he preserved the prosperity of the community,. As the *abhiṣekanjala,* the sprinkling water, from so many rivers and seas indicated the unquestionable sovereignty of the king other rituals also have there distinct indication, e.g. the cow-raid, the dice-play and the chariot-race. These all show the retention of older tests for recognising the king's superiority in valour and physical prowess. The excellence in the cow-raid showed in him those qualifications which distinguished the early chiefs in the cattle forays. The chariot-race too was important since it served as a means of testing the military qualities of the king. It seems to have been often resorted to for the settlement of disputes. Even the gods, according to *Ait. Br.* resorted to it to settle disputes and the victor of race was declared the winner in the dispute. Similarly, the victor in the fictitious chariot-race was regarded as the fittest man for king. The dice-play showed the sagacity of the king elect.

Thus it may be surmised that the various ritualistic performances made an important part of the Hindu polity. Ritualism and sacredotalism considerably influenced the body-politic which observed, on different occasions, the rituals made to suit them and this influence of ritualism prevailed until the dawn of constitutionalism banished it. This needed a dominant role of *purohita* and Brāhmaṇas in the society. They indirectly, through the king, ruled the state very cleverly and this was a hurdle in the

---

17. *Ibid.*
18. N.N. Law *"Hindu Polity"*, chap. IX. pp. 193-196 on "Religious Aspects".

national integration because Brāhmaṇas always kept the *śūdras* and other sections of society deprived of political, social and religious benefits and rights, generally enjoyed by others. This resulted in a sad fraction in the Hindu community. Therefore, ritualism attached with the polity has some political aims also, not only the religious and cultural ones.

Abbreviations used:-

Vāj. Sam.	- Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, (Nirṇayasāgar Press).
Śat. Br.	- Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Acyutanandagranthamālā, Book XI, Varanasi).
Tatt. Br.	- Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (Ānandāśrama edition 1934).
Ait. Br.	- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Ānandāśram edition 1931).
Mait. Sam.	- Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (Nirṇayasagar Press).
SBE.	- Sacred Books of the East (ed. F. Max Müller, 1966).

KSS. - Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.



जैन तथा हिन्दू धर्म में परमतत्त्व-सम्बन्धी समान दृष्टिकोण

डॉ० प्रेम सुमन जैन

उदयपुर

भारतीय धर्मों का प्रमुख लक्ष्य जीवन के दुःखों से अन्तिम रूप से छुटकारा पाना है। अतः वे जीवन में परम शुभ (Summum Bonum) की प्राप्ति का प्रयत्न करते देखे जाते हैं। सुख की अनुभूति पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता में ही हो सकती है, अज्ञान के क्षेत्र से ज्ञान के क्षेत्र में जाने से हो सकती है, अतः भारतीय चिन्तक आत्म–ज्ञान के द्वारा उस परमतत्त्व को जानने की प्रेरणा देते हैं, जो बन्धनों से सर्वथा मुक्त है और जिसमें सभी प्रकार के दुःखों का अभाव है। ऐसा परमतत्त्व विभिन्न नामों से जैन धर्म एवं अन्य भारतीय धर्मों में वर्णित किया गया है। परमतत्त्व के लिए प्रचलित विभिन्न पारिभाषिक शब्दों में क्या समानताएँ हैं, यह जानने के लिए जैन धर्म और हिन्दू धर्म की दृष्टि से आस्था, मोक्ष और परमात्मा के स्वरूप पर चिन्तन करना आवश्यक है। आत्मा के विवेचन द्वारा सब कुछ जानने की कुंजी प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में प्रदान की गयी है।[१] आत्मा के एक तत्त्व को जान लेने से सब का ज्ञान हो जाता है। यह सब का ज्ञान ही मोक्ष है और जो मुक्त आत्मा है वही परमतत्त्व है, परमात्मा है, ब्रह्म है।

परमतत्त्व की अवधारणा का विकास नैतिक और आध्यात्मिक जीवन के आदर्श के रूप में हुआ है। प्रायः सभी भारतीय धर्मों में परम देवतत्त्व के महत्त्व को स्वीकार किया गया है। भले ही उसके नामों में भिन्नता दृष्टिगत होती है, किन्तु उसके स्वरूप में प्रायः समानता है। तभी एक जैन कवि यह कहता है कि "शैव जिसे" "शिव" नाम से पूजते हैं, वेदान्ती जिसे "ब्रह्म" कहते हैं, बौद्धों ने जिसे "बुद्ध" कहा है, नैयायिक जिसे "कर्ता" कहते हैं, जैन धर्म के अनुयायी जिसे "अर्हत्" कहते हैं, और मीमांसक जिसे "कर्म" कहते हैं, जिसे तीनों लोकों का स्वामी एवं "हरि" कहा जाता है वह हमें इच्छित फल प्रदान करे।[२] यही बात आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ने भी कही है कि दार्शनिकों में परमसत्ता के नामों का विवाद है, मूल तत्त्व का नहीं। हिन्दू धर्म के अन्य ग्रन्थों में भी यही भावना व्यक्त की गयी है।[३] इस परमसत्ता, परमात्मा या ब्रह्म का वास्तविक ज्ञान मोक्ष–प्राप्ति के उपरान्त ही होता है, ऐसा अधिकांश भारतीय दार्शनिक मानते हैं। अतः परमसत्ता, मोक्ष और निर्वाण प्रायः एक ही लक्ष्य के विभिन्न नाम हैं।

---

१. बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्, २.४.८., आचारांगसूत्र ४.४.७४

२. हनुमन्नाटकम् (दामोदर मिश्र) १/३

३. गीता, ११.२८., मुण्डकोपनिषद् ३.२.८

मोक्ष-सम्बन्धी समानताएँ:

मोक्ष के स्वरूप का विकास भारतीय धर्मों में क्रमशः हुआ है। चार्वाक ने शरीर के अन्त को ही मोक्ष माना। न्याय–वैशेषिक, पूर्वमीमांसा और वैभाषिकों ने आत्मा के आगन्तुक धर्मों–चेतना और आनन्द आदि की मुक्ति को ही मोक्ष स्वीकार किया। सौत्रान्तिक बौद्धों ने सत्ता की अभिव्यक्तियों के निरोध को ही "निर्वाण" कहा है। सांख्य पुरुष की सत्ता और चेतन अवस्था के वास्तविक स्वरूप को जान लेने को ही कैवल्य (मोक्ष) कहते हैं। वे उसमें आनन्द की अनुभूति नहीं मानते। जैन दार्शनिक आत्मा के शुद्ध स्वरूप की प्राप्ति को मोक्ष मानते हैं। उसमें मुक्त जीव अनन्त ज्ञान, दर्शन, सुख और अनन्त वीर्य का स्वामी होता है। ऐसे मुक्त जीव अनन्त होते हैं। वेदान्त दर्शन के अनुसार मुक्त आत्मा ईश्वर के समानं बनकर उसके शरीर में प्रवेश कर उससे एकाकार का अनुभव करती है। ज्ञान और आनन्द के उपभोग में मुक्त आत्मा ईश्वर के समान होती है। शंकर के वेदान्त दर्शन में मुक्त जीव परमतत्त्व ब्रह्म से अभिन्न हो जाता है। इन सभी दर्शनों की मुक्ति प्रक्रिया का यदि सूक्ष्म विवेचन किया जाय तो ज्ञात होता है कि प्रायः सभी ने मुक्ति की प्राप्ति के लिए अज्ञान को दूर कर आत्मा–ज्ञान को प्राप्त करना आवश्यक माना है और मुक्ति प्राप्ति के बाद जीवन–मरण के चक्र और दुःखों का अन्त स्वीकार किया है।[४]

भारतीय दर्शनों में मुक्ति के सम्बन्ध में एक समानता यह भी मिलती है कि प्रायः सभी ने जीवन मुक्ति और विदेहमुक्ति इन दो को किसी न किसी रूप में स्वीकार किया है। गीता और वेदान्त की परम्परा में राग–द्वेष और आसक्ति की पूर्ण रूप से समाप्ति पर जीवन–मुक्ति और ऐसे साधक के शरीर छूट जाने पर विदेह मुक्ति की प्राप्ति माना गया है। बौद्ध दर्शन में तृष्णा के क्षय के बाद सोपादिशेष निर्वाण धातु की प्राप्ति होती है और शरीर छूटने के बाद अनुपादिशेष निर्वाण धातु की ।[५] जैन दर्शन में राग–द्वेष से मुक्ति को भाव मोक्ष और शरीर छूटने के बाद की मुक्ति को द्रव्य मोक्ष कहा गया है। गीता में जीवन–मुक्त अवस्था के साधक को "स्थितप्रज्ञ" कहा गया है और वेदान्त में उसे "जीवात्मा" नाम दिया गया है। बौद्ध दर्शन में जीवन मुक्त साधक "अर्हत", कैवली, उपशान्त आदि नामों से जाना जाता है। जैन दर्शन में ऐसे जीवन मुक्त साधक को "अर्हत", वीतराग, केवली आदि कहा गया है। ये सभी साधक राग–द्वेष से रहित, समता–धारक एवं जन्म–मरण के चक्र को समाप्त करने वाले कहे गये हैं। इस अवस्था से आगे की मुक्त आत्माएं, जो सर्वथा कर्मों से मुक्त हो गयी हैं और जिन्होंने अपने शरीर आदि सभी सांसारिक सुख त्याग दिये हैं, **गीता** में "परमात्मा", वेदान्त में "ब्रह्म", बौद्ध दर्शन में "बुद्ध" "निर्वाण" एवं जैन दर्शन में "सिद्ध", "परमात्मा" आदि नामों से जानी जाती हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में साधक और साध्य का अभेद हो जाता है।[६] इस अवस्था में ज्ञाता, ज्ञेय और ज्ञान में कोई अन्तर नहीं रह जाता। इस मुक्त अवस्था को प्राप्त आत्मा अन्य साधकों के लिए उपास्य, ईश्वर, परमात्मा बन जाता है। जैन ग्रन्थ **समाधिशतक** में मुक्तात्मा को शुद्ध,

---

४. ए०के० लाड, **भारतीय दर्शनों में मोक्ष-चिन्तन-एक तुलनात्मक अध्ययन**, भोपाल १६७३, पृ० २६७–२६८.

५. **इतिवुत्तक**, २.७

६. **समयसार टीका** (अमृतचन्द्र) ३०५, योगशास्त्र (हेमचन्द्र) ४.५

स्वतन्त्र, परिपूर्ण, परमेश्वर, अविनश्वर, सर्वोच्च, सर्वोत्तम, परमविशुद्ध और निरंजन कहा गया है।[७] सामान्यतया सभी और इसी तरह के पद ईश्वर या परमेश्वर के साथ व्यवहृत किये जाते हैं। इस तरह ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि प्रारम्भ में भले ही भारतीय मनीषा ने प्राकृतिक शक्तियों, राजा, वीर पुरुष, धर्मगुरु आदि में अपने से अधिक गुणों और शक्ति का अनुभव कर उन्हें ईश्वर की संज्ञा प्रदान की थी, किन्तु बाद में समाधि और ज्ञान को महत्त्व देने वाले चिन्तकों ने आत्मा के पूर्णरूप से विकसित स्वरूप को ही मोक्ष एवं परमात्मा, देवाधिदेव, ब्रह्म आदि नाम दिये हैं।

परमात्मा का महत्त्व :

हिन्दू धर्म के विभिन्न विचारकों ने ईश्वर की आवश्यकता के अनेक कारण प्रतिपादित किये हैं। वैदिक दर्शन में परमेश्वर वेदरूपी वृक्ष का फल हैं।[८] उपनिषदों में ईश्वर समस्त ब्रह्माण्ड के संचालक के रूप में स्वीकृत है।[९] जगत् के प्राण–स्वरूप उसी को ब्रह्म कहा गया है। पूर्वमीमांसा में शब्दमात्र ही देवता है। अतः वहाँ वैदिक मन्त्रों को ही देवत्व प्राप्त है। सांख्य एवं योग दर्शनों में कर्मफल ही प्रधान हैं। अतः वहाँ ईश्वर उपास्य के रूप में तो स्वीकृत है, कर्म–फल प्रदाता के रूप में नहीं। न्याय, वैशेषिक और वेदान्त दर्शनों में ईश्वर की आवश्यकता संसार के व्यवस्थापक एवं कर्म–नियामक के रूप से स्वीकार की गयी है। **गीता** में ईश्वर के दोनों रूप स्वीकृत हैं। वह कर्म–नियम के ऊपर है और भक्तों के लिए कारुणिक है।[१०] किन्तु वहाँ यह भी कहा गया है कि कर्म और उनके प्रतिफल के संयोग का कर्ता ईश्वर नहीं है। कर्मों की व्याख्या स्वयमेव होती रहती है। जैन दर्शन कर्म–नियन्ता के रूप में ईश्वर को[११] स्वीकार नहीं करता। क्योंकि इससे कर्म–नियम और ईश्वर दोनों का महत्त्व कम हो जाता है। अतः जैन दर्शन में आत्मा को कर्मों का कर्ता और भोक्ता माना है तथा वहीं आत्मा कर्मों से मुक्त होकर परमात्मा हो जाता है। अतः कर्म–नियामक और ईश्वर दोनों ही एक आत्मा की दो अवस्थाएं है।[१२] **गीता** में नैतिक आदर्श और उपास्य के रूप में भी ईश्वर को स्वीकार किया गया है। पूर्ण वीतराग, निष्काम, सर्वज्ञ एवं सर्वशक्तिमान् परमात्मा **गीता** का नैतिक आदर्श है तो वही वीतराग एवं अनन्त चतुष्टय से युक्त परमात्मा जैन दर्शन की नैतिक साधना का भी आदर्श है।[१३] ईश्वर स्वयं सर्वोच्च सत्ता और सर्वोच्च मूल्य है।[१४] **गीता** और जैन दर्शन दोनों स्वीकार करते हैं कि नैतिक जीवन की पूर्णता ईश्वर के समान बनने पर ही प्राप्त होती है।

---

७. समाधिशतक, श्लोक ६.

८. ऋग्वेद, १०.७१.५ – यास्क व्याख्या

९. श्वेता० उप० ६.१

१०. गीता, ७.२२

११. गीता, ५.१५

१२. शास्त्रवार्त्तासमुच्चय (हरिभद्र), २०७

१३. सागरमल जैन, जैन, बौद्ध और गीता के आचारदर्शनों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन, जयपुर, १६८२, पृ० ४४६.

१४. द आइडिया ऑफ इम्मॉर्टेलिटी, पृ० २६०, पश्चिमी दर्शन, पृ० २६७.

विश्व-संरचना तथा परमतत्त्व :

भारतीय दर्शनों में परमतत्त्व का सम्बन्ध विश्व–संरचना के सिद्धान्त से भी जुड़ा हुआ है। सृष्टि–रचना और ईश्वर के सम्बन्ध में जो विभिन्न मान्यताएँ प्रचलित हैं, उन्हें तीन भागों में विभक्त किया जा सकता है एक मान्यता परमेश्वर या ब्रह्म को ही अनादि, अनन्त मानती हैं। उसी ने अवस्तु से संसार की सभी वस्तुएं बना दी हैं। अतः परमेश्वर निर्माता है। दूसरी मान्यता वाले विचारक कहते हैं कि अवस्तु से कोई वस्तु बन नहीं सकतीं अतः जीव और अजीव वस्तुएँ तो सदा से हैं, उन्हें किसी ने नहीं बनाया। किन्तु इन वस्तुओं की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं को बनाना, बिगाड़ना परमेश्वर के हाथ में है। अतः परमेश्वर एक व्यवस्थापक के रूप में है। तीसरी मान्यता के विचारकों का कहना है कि संसार की चेतन और अचेतन वस्तुओं को न किसी ने बनाया है और न कोई परमसत्ता उनकी व्यवस्था करता है। अपितु, यहाँ सांसारिक वस्तुओं के गुण और स्वभाव में जो पारस्परिक स्वयमेव परिवर्तन होता है, उसी से संसार की व्यवस्था चलती रहती है, चलती रहेगी। अतः वीतराग ईश्वर को निर्माता एवं व्यवस्थापक मानने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इस तीसरे विचार का समर्थन करने वालों में जैन धर्म के विचारक प्रमुख हैं। जैन धर्म की परमसत्ता सम्बन्धी इस विचारधारा को कुछ विस्तार से उसके मूल ग्रन्थों के आधार पर इस प्रकार देखा जा सकता है।

जैन धर्म में संसार के स्वरूप के सम्बन्ध में वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से चिन्तन किया गया है।[१५] यह लोक छह द्रव्यों से बना है। जीव, अजीव (पुद्गल), धर्म, अधर्म, आकाश और काल–ये लोक अनादि–अनन्त हैं। अथवा इसे बनाने अथवा मिटाने वाला कोई ईश्वर आदि नहीं है। द्रव्यों में परिवर्तन स्वतः होता है। अतः गुण की अपेक्षा से द्रव्य–नित्य है और पर्याय–की–अपेक्षा से वह "अनित्य" है। जैन दार्शनिकों ने वस्तु को उत्पाद–व्यय–ध्रौण्यात्मक कहा है। इन छह द्रव्यों में से जीव द्रव्य चेतन है और शेष पाँच द्रव्य अचेतन हैं। अतः मूलतः विश्व के निर्माण और पालन में जीव और अजीव ये दो द्रव्य ही प्रमुख हैं।

जीव और अजीव इन दो परस्पर तत्त्वों में जो सम्पर्क होता है उससे ऐसे बन्धनों का निर्माण होता है, जिससे जीव को कई प्रकार की अवस्थाओं से गुजरना पड़ जाता है। कई अनुभव करने पड़ते हैं। यह संसार है। यदि जीव एवं अजीव के सम्पर्क की धारा को रोक दिया जाये और सम्पर्क से उत्पन्न बन्धनों को नष्ट कर दिया जाए तो जीव अपनी शुद्ध एवं मुक्त अवस्था को प्राप्त हो सकता है। यह जीव का मोक्ष है। इस पूरी प्रक्रिया का संचालन करने वाले तत्त्व सात हैं– जीव, अजीव, आस्रव, बंध, संवर, निर्जरा, और मोक्ष।[१६] इनमें पाप एवं पुण्य इन दो तत्त्वों को जोड़ कर कुल नौ तत्त्व जैन दर्शन में माने जाते हैं। इनमें से जीव का सम्बन्ध जैन दर्शन की तत्त्व मीमांसा से है। पाप, पुण्य, आस्रव, एवं बन्ध कर्म–सिद्धान्त से सम्बन्धित हैं। संवर और निर्जरा के अन्तर्गत जैन धर्म की सम्पूर्ण आचार–संहिता आ जाती है। गृहस्थ और मुनिधर्म का विवेचन इन्हीं के अन्तर्गत होता है। अन्तिम तत्त्व "मोक्ष" दर्शन की दृष्टि से जीवन

---

१५. पी० एस० जैन, **द जैन पाथ ऑफ प्योरिफिकेशन**, पृ० ८६–१०६.

१६. **तत्त्वार्थसूत्र** (अ० १ सूत्र ४) सम्पा० सुखलाल, संघवी, वाराणसी, १६५२

की वह सर्वोत्तम अवस्था है, जिसे प्राप्त करना प्रत्येक धार्मिक व्यक्ति का अन्तिम लक्ष्य है। इसी के लिये आत्मसाक्षात्कार एवं ध्यान आदि की साधना की जाती है।

जैन दृष्टि से प्रत्येक व्यक्ति अपने द्वारा किये गये अच्छे–बुरे कर्मों के फल भोगने के लिये स्वयं जिम्मेदार है। प्राकृतिक और व्यावहारिक नियम भी यही है कि जैसा बीज बोया जाता है, उसका फल भी वैसा ही मिलता है। जैन दर्शन ने यही दृष्टि प्रदान की कि अच्छे कर्म करने से सुख व बुरे कर्म करने से दुःख मिलता है। अतः व्यक्ति को मन में अच्छी भावना रखनी चाहिये, वाणी से अच्छे वचन बोलने चाहिये और शरीर से अच्छे कर्म करने चाहिये। आत्मा ऐसा करने के लिये स्वतन्त्र एवं समर्थ है। आत्मा ही दुःख एवं सुख का कर्ता एवं विकर्ता है। सुमार्ग पर चलने वाला आत्मा अपना मित्र है और कुमार्ग पर चलने वाला स्वयं का शत्रु है। यथा–

अप्पा कता विकत्ता या, दुहाण या सुहाण या।
अप्पा मित्तममित्तं च, दुप्पट्ठिय सुपट्ठिओ।।[१७]

जैन कर्म–सिद्धान्त के प्रतिपादन से यह स्पष्ट हुआ है कि आत्मा ही अच्छे बुरे कर्मों का केन्द्र है। आत्मा मूलतः अनन्त शक्तियों का केन्द्र है, ज्ञान और चैतन्य उसके प्रमुख गुण हैं, किन्तु धर्मों के आवरण से उसका शुद्ध स्वरूप छिप जाता है। जैन आचार संहिता प्रतिपादित करती है कि व्यक्ति का अन्तिम उद्देश्य आत्मा के इसी शुद्ध स्वरूप को प्राप्त करना होना चाहिये, तब यही आत्मा परमात्मा हो जाता है। आत्मा को परमात्मा में प्रकट करने की शक्ति जैन दर्शन ने मनुष्य में मानी है। क्योंकि मनुष्य में इच्छा, संकल्प और विचार शक्ति है, इसीलिये वह स्वतन्त्र क्रिया कर सकता है। अतः सांसारिक प्रगति और आध्यात्मिक उन्नति इन दोनों का मुख्य सूत्रधार मनुष्य ही है। जैन दृष्टि से यद्यपि सारी आत्मायें समान हैं, सब में परमात्मा बनने के गुण विद्यमान हैं, किन्तु इन गुणों की प्राप्ति मनुष्य जीवन में ही संभव है, क्योंकि सदाचरण एवं संयम का जीवन मनुष्य जीवन में ही हो सकता है। इस प्रकार जैम आचार–संहिता ने मानव को जो प्रतिष्ठा दी है, वह अनुपम है।[१८]

मनुष्य की इसी श्रेष्ठता के कारण जैन धर्म में दैवीय शक्ति वाले ईश्वर का कोई महत्त्व नहीं रहा। जैन दृष्टि से ऐसा कोई व्यक्ति ईश्वर हो ही नहीं सकता, जिसमें संसार को बनाने या नष्ट करने की कोई इच्छा शेष हो। यह किसी भी दैवीय शक्ति के सामर्थ्य से बाहर की वस्तु है कि वह किसी भी द्रव्य को बदल सके तथा किसी व्यक्ति को सुख–दुःख दे सके। क्योंकि हर गुण स्वतन्त्र और गुणात्मक है। प्रकृति स्वयं अपने नियमों से संचालित है। व्यक्ति को सुख–दुःख उसके कर्म और पुरुषार्थ के अनुसार मिलते हैं। अतः जैन आचार–संहिता में ईश्वर का वह अस्तित्व नहीं है जो मुस्लिम धर्म में मुहम्मद साहब का तथा ईसाई धर्म में ईसा मसीह का है। हिन्दू धर्म का सर्वशक्तिमान् ईश्वर भी जैन धर्म में स्वीकृत नहीं है, क्योंकि इससे मनुष्य की स्वतन्त्रता और पुरुषार्थ बाधित होते हैं।[१९]

---

१७. उत्तराध्ययन सूत्र, अ० २०,गा० ३७.

१८. के० सी० सोगानी, एथिकल डाक्ट्रिन्स इन जैनिज़्म, पृ० ७४.

१९. महेन्द्र कुमार जैन, जैन दर्शन, वाराणसी

विश्व–संरचना में ईश्वर की भूमिका का निषेध जैनों की तरह सांख्य दर्शन में भी किया गया है। कुमारिल भट्ट एवं प्रभाकर मिश्र जैसे मीमांसक भी ईश्वर को निर्माता के रूप में स्वीकार नहीं करते, क्योंकि वे विश्व को अनादि मानते हैं। जैन एवं मीमांसकों ने निर्माता ईश्वर के अस्तित्त्व के निषेध के समान तर्कों का उपयोग किया है।[२०] वैशेषिक दर्शन के प्रारंभिक ग्रन्थों में भी ईश्वर–स्वीकृति नहीं है। पतंजलि के **योगसूत्र** एवं गौतम के **न्यायसूत्र** में भी ईश्वर को एक योगी, आप्त और सर्वज्ञ के रूप में देखा गया है। जैन दर्शन में भी मुक्त आत्मा को परमात्मा, आप्त, सर्वज्ञ आदि कहा गया है। अतः सूक्ष्म दृष्टि से विचार करने पर ज्ञात होता है कि ईश्वर के सम्बन्ध में जैन धर्म एवं हिन्दू धर्म के प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में प्रायः समान चिन्तन प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

जैन धर्म में यद्यपि ईश्वर जैसी उस सत्ता को स्वीकार नहीं किया गया है जो संसार को बनाने अथवा नष्ट करने में कारण है, तथापि जैन आचार–संहिता आत्मा के उस शुद्ध स्वरूप के अस्तित्व को स्वीकार करती है, जो अपने श्रेष्ठतम गुणों के कारण परमात्मा हो चुका है। ऐसे अनेक परमात्मा जैन धर्म में स्वीकृत हैं, जो अनन्त सुखों का अनुभव करते हैं तथा इस संसार से मुक्त हैं। ऐसे परमात्माओं को जैन आचार–संहिता में "अर्हत" एवं "सिद्ध" कहा गया है। ये वे परम आत्माएं हैं, जिन्होंने इन्द्रियों पर विजय प्राप्त कर आत्मा के वास्तविक स्वरूप का साक्षात्कार किया है। इन्हें "आप्त", "सर्वज्ञ", "वीतरागी" "केवली" आदि नामों से भी जाना जाता है।[२१] इन अर्हत एवं सिद्धों की भक्ति तथा पूजा करने का विधान भी जैन आचार–संहिता में है, किन्तु इनसे कोई सांसारिक लाभ की अपेक्षा नहीं की जाती । इनकी भक्ति उनके आध्यात्मिक गुणों को प्राप्त करने के लिये ही की जाती है, जिसके लिये भक्त को स्वयं पुरुषार्थ करना पड़ता है।[२२] इस भक्ति से व्यक्ति की भावनाएँ पवित्र होती हैं, जिससे उसका आचरण निरन्तर शुद्ध होता जाता है, तथा आत्मा क्रमशः विकास को प्राप्त होता है। जैन आचार–संहिता की तीन कोटियां मानी गयी हैं।–(१) "बहिरात्मा", जो शरीर को ही आत्मा समझता हुआ सांसारिक विषयों में लीन रहता है, (२) "अन्तरात्मा", जो शरीर और आत्मा के भेद को समझता है तथा शरीर के मोह को छोड़कर आत्मा के स्वरूप को प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न करता है, तथा (३) "परमात्मा", जिसने आत्मा के सच्चे स्वरूप को जान लिया है और जो अनन्त ज्ञान तथा सुख का धनी है। यथा- –

अक्खाणि बाहिरप्पा अंतरप्पा हु अप्पसंकप्पो।
कम्मकलंकविमुक्को परमप्पा भण्णए देवो।।[२३]

---

२०. G.V. Tagare, 'Concept of the Deity in Early Jainism- A Comparative view' in **Tulasiprajna**, Vol. xv, No 1 (June, 1989 p 43

२१. दयानन्द भार्गव, जैन एथिक्स, पृ० २६.

२२. ए०एन० उपाध्ये, (सम्पा०) परमात्मप्रकाश, बम्बई, भूमिका, पृ० ३६.

२३. कार्तिकेयानुप्रेक्षा, बम्बई, गा० १६३–१६८.

आचार्य कुन्दकुन्द ने आत्मा के इस विकास मार्ग का प्रतिपादन किया था[२४] जिसका अनुगमन अन्य जैनाचार्यों ने किया है। अन्य भारतीय दर्शनों में भी आत्मा के विकास के इन स्वरूपों को विभिन्न नामों से वर्णित किया गया है। उपनिषदों में आत्मा के ज्ञानात्मा, महदात्मा और शुद्धात्मा ये तीन भेद किये गये हैं। दूसरे शब्दों में शरीरात्मा, जीवात्मा और परमात्मा भी आत्मा की अवस्थाएँ बतायी गयी हैं।

परमतत्त्व के नाम एवं गुण :

जैन धर्म में परमतत्त्व मुक्त आत्मा को माना गया है। उनकी अवस्थाओं और गुणों के कारण अन्हें अर्हन्त, सिद्ध, केवली, जिन, तीर्थंकर, आप्त, सर्वज्ञ, परमात्मा, वीतराग आदि नामों से जाना जाता है। इन सब में प्रमुख गुण समान हैं कि वे मुक्त अवस्था में होने के कारण सभी दुःखों से रहित हैं। उनके १००८ लक्षण शास्त्रों में गिनाये गये हैं।[२५] किन्तु उनके ४ प्रमुख गुण–अनन्त ज्ञान, अनन्त दर्शन, अनन्त चरित्र, एवं अनन्त वीर्य प्रसिद्ध हैं।[२६] इन गुणों के साथ तुलना करने पर ज्ञात होता है कि हिन्दू धर्म के ईश्वर, ब्रह्म या परमात्मा में भी ज्ञान, शक्ति, माहात्म्य, गौरव आदि गुण स्वीकार किये गये हैं।[२७] क्योंकि ईश्वर की उपास्यता बिना गुणों के हो नहीं सकती है। पाश्चात्य दर्शनों में भी ईश्वर को व्यक्तित्वपूर्ण, सर्वशक्तिमान्, सर्वज्ञ, पूर्णज्ञान, इच्छज्ञ स्वातन्त्र्य, नित्य एवं शुभत्व आदि गुणों से युक्त मानने की बात कही गयी है। यद्यपि ईश्वर सम्बन्धी गुणों का कथन असंज्ञानात्मक ही होता है।[२८] फिर भी भारतीय दर्शनों में ईश्वर को अपरिमित गुणों का भण्डार माना गया है। जैन ग्रन्थों में भी तीर्थंकार के कई अतिशय उनकी विशिष्टता के रूप में वर्णित हैं।[२९] मुक्तात्मा न दीर्घ है, न ह्रस्व है, न कृष्ण है, न श्वेत है, न गुरु है, न लघु है, न स्त्री है, न पुरूष है, न नपुंसक है।[३०] अतः परमात्मा का स्वरूप अनिर्वचनीय है। शांकर सिद्धान्त का नेति, नेति और पाश्चात्य विचारक अक्वाइनस का नकारात्मक सिद्धान्त[३१] जैन दर्शन के अभावात्मक दृष्टिकोण से समानता रखते हैं। इनसे यह अनुभव किया जा सकता है कि परमसत्ता के गुणों एवं नामों की सार्थकता उन्हें प्रतीकात्मक रूप में स्वीकार करने में है। इससे चिन्तन के क्षेत्र में समन्वय को बल मिलता है। जैन दर्शन की मान्यता है कि निश्चय नय के अनुसार परमात्मा शुद्ध चैतन्यमय है। उसके गुणों का बखान

---

२४. **मोक्खपाहुड** (कुन्दकुन्द), गा० ५.

२५. **जिनसहस्रनाम** (आशाधर)ज्ञानपीठ, वाराणसी, पठठन्ति, १३,८८–९२.

२६. **नियमसार**, गा० ७२, पंचाध्यायी, उत्तरार्ध, ६०४,

२७. A. N. Dwivedi, *Essentials of Hinduism, Jainism & Buddhism,* Books today, New Delhi, 1979,p. 70.

२८. मसीह याकूब, **समकालीन दर्शन**, पटना, १९८४, पृ० १०१.

२९. **तिलोयपण्णति**, ४, गा० ६८८–९०६, *समवायांगसूत्र* १११ समवाय

३०. **आचारांगसूत्र**, १.५.६.१७१

३१. देखें– *Thomas Aquinas*; Selected Writings ed. Robert.P. Gooldwin, Indianapolis, 1965.

करना व्यावाहरिक नय से संभव है। उसकी उपासना हम विभिन्न प्रतीकों के माध्यम से करते हैं, जो उसके गुणों का स्वयं साक्षात्कार करने के लिये होती है। उमास्वामी ने ठीक ही कहा है कि "मैं उस परमात्मा को नमन करता हूँ जो मोक्ष मार्ग का नेता है, कर्मरूपी पर्वतों को नष्ट करने वाला है और विश्व के समस्त तत्त्वों का ज्ञाता है, ताकि मैं उसके गुणों का साक्षात्कार कर सकूं।" यही बात पाश्चात्य दार्शनिक पाल टीलिख स्वीकार करते हैं कि परमसत्ता वर्णविहीन, शुद्ध उजला पर्दा है। इसे देखा जा सकता है, परन्तु इसका वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता।[३२]

परमसत्ता के लिए प्रयुक्त नामों का जैन एवं हिन्दू धर्मों में समान रूप से प्रयोग हुआ है। हिन्दू धर्मों में प्रयुक्त जगस्वामी, ज्ञानी, हरि, हर, ब्रह्म, पुरुषोत्तम आदि सैकड़ों नाम जैन तीर्थंकरों के लिए प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। किन्तु इन नामों को प्रतीकों के रूप में लिया गया है। जिसके स्मरण से गुणों की वृद्धि हो वह "ब्रह्म" है, जिस आत्मा का ब्रह्मचर्य अखण्डित रहा है वह "परब्रह्म" है, केवल ज्ञान आदि गुणों के ऐश्वर्य से युक्त होने के कारण आत्मा "ईश्वर" है, वह समस्त कर्मों के मल से रहित होकर, आठ गुणों के "ऐश्वर्य" को धारण करता है इसलिए "परमेश्वर" है, आत्मा स्वदेह में व्याप्त होने के कारण "विष्णु" है।, स्वयं ही अपने विकास का कारण है इसलिए "स्वयम्भू" है।[३३] **आदिपुराण** में प्रथम तीर्थंकर ऋषभदेव को "हिरण्यगर्भ", "ब्रह्म", "प्रजापति" आदि विशेषण प्रदान किये गये हैं, जो उनके विभिन्न गुणों के सूचक हैं। इसी तरह वैदिक ग्रन्थों में भी जैन तीर्थंकरों के कई नामों को विष्णुसहस्रनाम आदि में सम्मिलित किया गया है। अतः परमसत्ता के निरूपण में समन्वय की एक धारा का अवलोकन जैन एवं हिन्दू धर्मों के साहित्य में किया जा सकता है। दोनों धर्मों में परमात्मा के नामों में उपर्युक्त समानता होते हुए कुछ अन्तर भी है। किन्तु यहाँ नामों का महत्त्व नहीं है, गुणों का महत्त्व है। इसीलिए एक जैन सन्त ने कहा है कि मैं उस परमतत्त्व को सदा नमन करता हूँ जो राग–द्वेष जैसे आत्मा को दूषित करने वाले विष से रहित है, अनुकम्पा से भरा हुआ है और समस्त गुण–समूहों से पूर्ण है चाहे वह विष्णु हो, शिव हो, ब्रह्मा हो, सुरेन्द्र हो, सूर्य हो, चन्द्र हो, भगवान् हो, बुद्ध हो या सिद्ध हो।[३४]

परमतत्त्व की प्राप्ति के मार्ग :

जैन एवं हिन्दू धर्म में केवल परमतत्त्व के स्वरूप, उसके गुण एवं उसके नामों ही में समानता नहीं है, अपितु उस परमतत्त्व को प्राप्त करने, अनुभव करने के मार्गों में भी प्रायः एकरूपता दृष्टिगोचर होती है। जैनधर्म में तत्त्व निरूपण द्वारा लोक के स्वरूप का विवेचन करके तथा कर्म सिद्धान्त के प्रतिपादन द्वारा मनुष्य में संकल्प और पुरुषार्थ की जागृति करके उसे आत्म साधना का जो मार्ग बतलाया गया है, वही जैन आचार–संहिता का प्रथम सोपान है। जैनाचार्य उमास्वामी ने सम्यग्दर्शन, सम्यग्ज्ञान एवं सम्यग्चरित्र इन तीनों को मोक्ष का मार्ग कहा

---

३२. देखें– *Systematic Theology* (Paul Tillich) in 3 vols. Chicago University Press, (1951, 1957,1963

३३. देखें दामोदर शास्त्री, भारतीयदर्शनपरम्परायां जैनदर्शनाभिमतं देवतत्त्वम् वाराणसी, १९८५, पृ० ३२६ आदि।

३४. टी०के० तुकोल, "कम्पेंडियम ऑफ जैनिज़्म", पृ० ७२.

है—**सम्यग्दर्शनज्ञानचारित्राणि मोक्षमार्गः।** मोक्ष मार्ग में इन तीनों की प्रधानता होने से इन्हें "त्रिरत्न" कहा गया है। इन तीनों का परस्पर घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है।[३५] सम्यग्दर्शन आत्म–साधना का प्रथम सोपान है। जीव, अजीव आदि तत्त्वों के स्वरूप पर श्रद्धान करना सम्यग्दर्शन है। सम्यग्दर्शन के उपरान्त साधक सम्यग्ज्ञान की प्राप्ति करता है। जिन तत्त्वों पर उसने श्रद्धान किया था, उन्हीं को वह पूर्ण रूप से जब जानता है, तब उसे सम्यग्दर्शन की उपलब्धि होती है। सत्य की अखण्डता को आदर देते हुए उसके बहुआयामों को जानने का प्रयत्न करना ही सम्यग्ज्ञान का विषय है।[३६] जैन ग्रन्थों में सम्यग्चारित्र का विवेचन गृहस्थों और साधुओं की जीवनचर्या को ध्यान में रखकर किया गया है। साधु जीवन के आचरण का प्रमुख उद्देश्य आत्म–साक्षात्कार है, जबकि गृहस्थों के चरित्र–विधान में व्यक्ति एवं समाज के उत्थान की बात भी सम्मिलित है। इस प्रकार निवृत्ति एवं प्रवृत्ति दोनों का समन्वय इस त्रिरत्न सिद्धान्त में हुआ है। जैन धर्म के समान अन्य भारतीय दर्शनों में भी परमसत्ता की प्राप्ति के लिए त्रिविध साधना मार्ग को अपनाया गया है। बौद्ध दर्शन में शील, समाधि और प्रज्ञा की साधना से निर्वाण की प्राप्ति बतायी गयी है। गीता में ज्ञानयोग, कर्मयोग और भक्तियोग की प्रमुखता दी गयी है।

वैदिक परम्परा में वर्णित श्रवण, मनन और निदिध्यासन साधना का जो विधान है,[३७] उसका जैन धर्म के दर्शन, ज्ञान चरित्र से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है। परमात्मा की प्राप्ति के इस त्रिमार्ग से पाश्चात्य विचारक भी सहमत हैं, जहाँ स्वयं को जानो, स्वयं को स्वीकार करो और स्वयं ही बन जाओ ये तीन नैतिक आदर्श कहे गये हैं।[३८] इन साधना के मार्गों में समानता खोजने से परमसत्ता की अनुभूति में भी समानता के दर्शन हो सकते हैं। क्योंकि अन्त में जाकर साधक, साधना–मार्ग और साध्य इनमें कोई अन्तर नहीं रह जाता। जैनाचार्य कहते हैं आत्मा ही ज्ञान, दर्शन और चारित्र है। जब वह अपने शुद्ध रूप में प्रकट होता है तब वह परमात्मा कहलाता है। वहाँ ज्ञाता, ज्ञान और ज्ञेय का भेद मिट जाता है। "ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति" का आदर्श सार्थक हो जाता है। इसे डॉ० राधाकृष्णन् "अध्यात्मवादी धर्म" (रिलिजन ऑफ द सुप्रीम स्पिरिट) कहते हैं। जैन धर्म में इस परमसत्ता की स्थिति को पूज्यपाद ने इस प्रकार स्पष्ट किया है कि जो परमात्मा है वह मैं हूँ जो मैं हूँ वही परमात्मा है। मैं ही मेरे द्वारा उपास्य हूँ दूसरा कोई नहीं ।[३६] इस शुद्ध स्वरूप की स्थिति को शंकर ने इस प्रकार व्यक्त किया है—

न बन्धुर्न मित्रं गुरुर्नैव शिष्यश्चिदानन्दरूपः शिवोऽहं शिवोऽहं।।

इस प्रकार जैन एवं हिन्दू धर्म में ईश्वर की अवधारणा आत्मा, मोक्ष और परमात्मा से जुड़ी हुई है। इन तीनों के वास्तविक स्वरूप की जानकारी से ही परमतत्त्व की प्राप्ति का लक्ष्य निर्धारित

---

३५. सर्वार्थसिद्धि, सम्पा० पं० फूलचन्द्र शास्त्री, पृ० ५.

३६. प्रेम सुमन जैन, जैन आचार-संहिता और मानव-कल्याण, पृ० ६.

३७. (क) बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् ४.६, (ख) T.R.V. Murti, *'The Hindu Conception of God'* in *God-The contemporary Discussion* (ed.) Frederick Sontag., 1982, P. 27.

३८. जे०ए० हेडफील्ड, साइकालोजी एण्ड मारल्स, १६३६, पृ० १८०.

३६. यः परात्मा स एवाहं, योऽहं स परमस्ततः। अहमेव मयोपास्यो नान्यः कश्चिदिति स्थितिः।। – इष्टोपदेश

किया जाता है। परमतत्त्व दोनों धर्मों में नैतिक मूल्यों की पूर्ति हेतु एक आदर्श के रूप में है। व्यावहारिक दृष्टि से भले ही ईश्वर संसार का निर्माता, व्यवस्थापक एवं कारुणिक दिखायी देता हो, किन्तु परम समाधि की दशा में वह शुद्ध, चैतन्य, ज्ञान एवं आनन्दरूप है। उस परमतत्त्व के विभिन्न नाम दोनों धर्मों में प्रायः समान हैं। जहाँ नामों की भिन्नता दृष्टिगत होती है, वहाँ वे नाम परमात्मा के जिन गुणों के प्रतीक हैं, वे प्रायः दोनों धर्मों को स्वीकार हैं। ईश्वर के गुणों की संख्या में जैन और हिन्दू धर्म में भिन्नता हो सकती है, किन्तु परमात्मा के मूल गुण प्रायः समान हैं कि वह सर्वथा दुःखों से मुक्त है, चेतन, ज्ञान और आनन्दमय है। वह अपनी परमसत्ता को छोड़कर पुनः सांसारिक बन्धनों में नहीं फंसता। इन दोनों धर्मों में परमात्मा की प्राप्ति के साधनों में भी समानता है, केवल नामों का अन्तर है। ऐसे परमतत्त्व का उपयोग संसारी आत्मा उसकी उपासना द्वारा अपने विकास के लिये करता है ताकि एक दिन वह भी उसी के समान बन जाय। इस आत्म–विकास के मार्ग में जिन नैतिक आदर्शों का पालन किया जाता है वे मानवता की रक्षा एवं प्राणिमात्र के कल्याण के लिए भी उपयोगी हैं। उपासनामूलक धर्म से जब हिन्दू धर्म समाधिमूलक धर्म की कोटि में आता है तब वह जैन धर्म के निकट हो जाता है। परमसत्ता की अवधारणा और उसकी प्राप्ति के उपाय दोनों को अधिक नजदीक लाते हैं। किन्तु आचार पक्ष और उपासना पक्ष में ये दोनों धर्म अपना स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व रखते हैं। जीवन में अहंभाव और ममत्व को त्याग करने का प्रयत्न करना, विचारो में उदारता रखते हुए आग्रह नहीं करना, व्यक्तिगत जीवन के लिए अधिक संग्रह नहीं करना और सामाजिक जीवन में प्राणि–रक्षा को प्रमुखता देना मानव–जीवन के वे मूल्य हैं जो विश्व में शांति और संतुलन बना सकते हैं। इनको पालन करने के लिए जैन एवं हिन्दू धर्म दोनों प्रेरणा देते हैं। इस जीवन–पद्धति से ही परम तत्त्व की प्राप्ति का मार्ग उजागर होता है।



SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF TEMPLE RITUALS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL INDIA

Dr. Y.B. SINGH

Jammu

The common man generally takes religion as a belief in recognition of a higher unseen controlling power or in the existence of a supernatural ruling power which creates and controls the universe. The forth in the power of creation automatically brings in the ideas related to the world in which one goes after the death as per will of the Supreme. In view of this faith the mankind is also convinced to believe in a code of conduct based on ethical values of a religious system by its propounder. Thus people try to follow the precepts of their religions even without the use of force. It was this factor because of which religious rituals started emerging. In the beginning they were either evolved to thank the benign natural forces or to appease the destructive ones. But along the advance of time they went on becoming complicated because of the changes in Socio-Political ideals, economic needs and the economic interest of the priests and kings. The use as well as abuse of religious beliefs was in use since early days. Levi rightly observes that "the existence of religious beliefs beyond the evidence of the senses, indeed, the hold which absurd superstitions have been able to maintain over the lives of reasonable beings, remains a problem to be explained. Religious phenomena belong to the domain of imagination, to the myth-making faculty, and around this faculty cluster not only religious beliefs but poetry, mythology, and the other brilliant mechanism of human fantasy."[1] The process passes through many stages. At present we are concerned with the stage of ecclesiastical cults alone. This "level of religious organization

---

1. A.W. Levi, *Philosophy and the Modern World* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1959), p. 56.

involves a full-time professional clergy or priesthood. These professionals form a bureaucracy that monopolizes the performance of certain rites on behalf of individuals, groups, and the whole society. Ecclesiastical bureaucracies are usually closely associated with state-level political forms."[2] This is found strikingly true in case of the ideas related to the forms (*rūpa*) of the gods and goddesses and the myths. We Indians, too, believe that the icons are for the lay worshippers. We also know that religious rituals, in the beginning, were simple but often with a touch of primitive barbarism. This is reflected in the beliefs concerning the efficacy of human sacrifice, burial of slaves and servants alongwith the dead bodies of kings, queens and nobles, etc., which were observed in some countries.[3] In due course of time the religious rituals became sophisticated because of the development of rationality and better humane thinking. Yet the priests with the help of rurlers always tried to have elaborate rituals. The reason is that in the name of complicated rituals it was easy for that class to persuade the kings and well to do to donate more. The simple Vedic sacrifices became complicated in later years. Their performances became elaborate and cumbersome needing the services of a team of priests specializing in different ceremonies concerning a particular sacrifice.[4] Because due to the change in the economy and political structure there was a tremendous increase in the rights and economic privileges of the rulers and the priests. And, thus they were not satisfied with simple sacrifices of early days.[5] At present therefore, our aim is to understand the temple rituals of early medieval India in relation to the changes in the socio-political, religious and economic perspectives.

---

2. M. Harris, *Culture, Man and Nature* (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1971), p. 538.

3. R. Linton, *The Tree of Culture* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1955), p. 532.

4. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Vedic Age* (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1988), p. 382 (The *Ṛigveda* mentions simple sacrifices), p. 446 (The later *Saṁhitās* refer to team of Priests).

5. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism: C. 320-1200* (University of Calcutta, 1965), pp. 80-102; K.M. Shrimali, *Agrarian Structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan - A Study in Vākāṭaka Inscriptions* (Munshiram Manoharlal, Publishers Pvt. Ltd, Delhi, 1987), pp. 28-29; Om Prakash, *Early Indian Land grants and State Economy* (Excellence Publishers, Allahabad, 1988), Chapter - 2.

The feudal pattern of living always makes grandiloquent practices as an essential part of the life and living style of the rulers and feudals. It is apparent from the titles which find mention in the inscriptions. Aśoka, who ruled over almost entire India of pre-partition days and Afghanistan, is mentioned in his edicts merely as a *Rājā*.[6] But Kushāṇas whose authority was never extended even to the south India are addressed with high sounding imperial titles such as *Devaputrasa, Maharajasa,* etc.[7] Alongwith the advance of time the epithets went on increasing and the Gupta kings began to describe themselves as Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārajādhirāja, etc.[8] Their feudal lords are mentioned as *Mahāsāmanta* and sometimes even as *Mahārāja*.[9] Thus the institution of kingship had virtually assumed the divine character. The rulers were now not beloved of Gods; they themselves were son of God as well as god. Thus there was constant increase in the liking for royal titles. It, perhaps, began with the establishment of Indo-Bactrian Greek rule in India and continued to increase till the end of the early medieval days. The supporting ideology to this status of kings was provided by the Brāhmaṇa scholars who used to receive in lieu of this service monetary benefits.[10] Some such motifs of a feudal society can be associated with the Gupta period, no doubt, but a well defined social, political and economic feudal set-up is available to us mainly from the early medieval period.[11] In absence of a strong central power there came into existence small independent states most of which were subsisting on agriculture in absence of the proper avenues for the external trade. Because of this we find the proliferation of land grants in plenty. The priests and learned scholars, too, started enjoying the status of a land lord as they were also given land for their subsistence.[12] Alongwith this the Court-practices, involving exhibition

---

6. R.C. Majumdar, (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1990), p. 73.

7. S.C. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (Progress Publishers, Calcutta, 1958), p. 74.

8. J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Reprint, Indological Book house, Varanasi, 1963), Vol. III, p. 25 (trans.).

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 115.

10. Y.B. Singh, *"Absence of Land grants in Ancient Panjab Analysed"* in the *Proceedings of the Panjab History Conference*, 16th session, pp. 75-79.

11. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-102.

12. *Ibid.*

of royal power and prestige, had also developed. The institution of courtesans which finds reflection in the character of Vasantasenā for the first time was now a well recognised paraphernalia of the royal courts with all its sensual characters.[13] The institution of courtesans grew in the name of art under the fostering care of the feudals, no doubt, but its abuse, too, was much. The gayful celebrations marking the birth of Harshavardhana were marked with such performances which can be compared with the *mujara* of the later years. The dancing-girls of exquisite beauty were "whispering softly, like cuckoos, in low passionate tones, they sang the words of vulgar mimes, ambrosia to their lovers' ears. With upraised creeper like arms, vocal with rows of bracelets they seemed to embrace the very sun. They lashed the young folk with great wreaths of flowers....Like waves of passion's flood, they gleamed all resonant with the cries of anklets adding music to their steps...."[14] They were surrounded by throngs of princes. The institution became so popular that according to Alberuni the kings used to use them as an attraction for their cities "a bait of pleasure for their subjects" with the intention to increase the income of the state.[15] Not this alone, there were other such ostentations also for the demonstration of the regal status of the rulers and feudals. A vivid picture of these can be had from the literary works of the period.

As stated earlier the life and living conditions of the people and their thought process find reflection in the religious systems. It was this factor because of which the Indian religions had always been tolerant enough to accommodate diverse beliefs and practices within their way of observance.

The feudal pattern of life and economy was also welcomed by the priestly community and certain changes in the ideas related to gods and goddesses and mode of worship were made by them.[16] The deviations were,

---

13. R.C. Majumdar, (ed.), *The Classical Age* (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1970), p. 573 fn. 4.
14. E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas, *The Harsacarita of Bāṇa* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1961), pp. 113-114.
15. E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India* (S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1964), Vol. II, p. 157.
16. Y.B. Singh, "Some Iconographical Problems of early Medieval Sakti Icons Analysed" in *Puratan* (Journal of the Deptt of Archaeology and Museums, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal), Vol. 8, 1991, pp. 32-34.

perhaps, enforced by keeping in mind the idea of the firm faith in an 'Absolute superior' which is the main basis of the social relationship between the rulers and the ruled in a feudal society. The migration of Brāhmaṇas to remote areas to take care of socio-religious sacraments, under the patronage of newly established dynasties and, the proliferation of *agrahāra* villages during the early medieval period are well known facts and should also be taken into consideration in this regard.[17] It was this process through which some newly founded royal families succeeded in attaining the status of Kshatriyas of solar or Lunar lines.[18] The generalisation is even applicable to foreign elements who either by virtue of their knowledge were given a place in the Brāhmaṇa caste or because of their success at arms were assimilated among the Kshatriyas.[19] The reference to Śaka poet Kapila and the theories related to the foreign origin of certain Brāhmaṇa and Rājaputra families are well known and can be cited in support of this conclusion.[20] It is also interesting to note that the Brāhmaṇa scholars had started reinterpreting even the *Pañcha-mahāpātaka*. Certain inscriptions from South India apply the great sins to those who intend to abuse the rights in regard to the villages, etc., granted either to Brāhmaṇas or to temples.[21]

Besides this another process was also going in the realm of religion from the age of the Guptas. This is seen in the increase of the number of gods, goddesses, their family members and *Vāhanas*.[22] This is also apparent from the changes which were taking place in the relative position of gods and goddesses. The case of the War god Kārttikeya can be cited as an interesting

---

17. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-102; Y.B. Singh, "Absence of Land grants in Ancient Panjab Analysed" *op. cit.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1964), p. 374; Y.B. Singh, *Social Life in Ancient India* (Light & Life, New Delhi, 1981), p. 13.
20. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 374.
21. M.G.S. Narayanan "Socio-economic implications of the concept of *Mahāpātaka* in the Feudal Society of South India" in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 37th Session, p. 111-114.
22. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, pp. 446-447; R.C. Majumdar (ed.) *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 340-341. The submissions are supported from the increase in the number of the forms of Sakti alone.

example in this regard. It is accepted by all that he was gradually losing his status during the period under review. But increase in his family was also there. In northern India he is contemplated as an unmarried god and even now-a-days he is known with this context in major portion of the north. However, in south India, where he is known as Subrahmanya, he is worshipped as a God having two wives - Vallī and Devasenā or Devayānā.[23] Such prominent gods apart the concept of *grāma-devas*, too, was gaining popularity.[24] The Puranic tradition clearly states that no village was there without a particular deity.[25] The trend appears to be of far reaching consequences in the present context because of two things. In the first place since there were rivalries among the petty rulers no ruler or feudal wanted to see the status and popularity of the gods and goddesses of his realm inferior in relation to the gods and goddesses worshipped in the territories of his political rivals. It is this fact and related propaganda because of which temples like Somanātha dedicated to God Śiva were more popular than his other Shrines.[26] Otherwise there is no rationality in giving more sanctity to a particular temple of a god than his other Shrines. Secondly, like a ruler or a feudal, a temple priest was also interested in the propagation of the miraculous powers of the deity enshrined in the temple under his control in comparison with the deities whose worship was controlled by the other priests. For, it was this reputation of a deity which used to attract more devotees and as a result of this priests used to get more monetary benefits. Because of this we have many sculptures whose iconography cannot be explained in light of the existing canons. Examples of the benign as well as awful such sculptures are available in plenty from the Madhya Pradesh alone.[27]

The increase in the number of deities posed some problems also for the priests and the kings. The religious cults cannot flourish without the

---

23. R.C. Majumdar (ed.) *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 344-345.

24. Y.B. Singh, "Some Iconographical Problems of early Medieval Sakti Icons Analysed" *op.cit.*, p. 33.

25. *Ibid.*

26. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 102-103.

27. Y.B. Singh, "Some Iconographical Problems of Early Medieval Sakti Icons Analysed" *op. cit.*, pp. 32-34.

proper myths and laudatory legends connected with their main deities. So is the case with the deities associated with principal cult deities as wife, husband, son, etc. During the period, as stated above, even the weapons and *Vāhanas* were being worshipped and *Purāṇas* tell us the myths related to them.[28] Thus we find that various legends were told by the authors, of the *Purāṇas,* etc., by giving importance to a particular god over the other deities. A beautiful example of this is found in the account of Kṛishṇa's fight with Bāṇāsura contained in *Vishṇupurāṇa* and *Śivapurāṇa.* While the former established the supremacy of Kṛishṇa (Vishṇu) the latter, without changing the nature of result, states that Kṛishṇa succeeded in making Lord Śiva ineffective only after receiving orders from Lord Śiva to do so.[29] Thus according to *Śivapurāṇa* things had happened as they were wished by Śiva the supreme. This state of affairs was thus promoting the worship of innumerable gods and goddesses. And, it were such factors because of which the idea of thirty three deities of the Vedic days ultimately culminated into the number of thirty three crores.[30]

Alongwith the aforesaid developments there were tremendous changes in the religious rituals associated with the worship of deities. The impact of the feudal ideas began to reflect in this sphere also. The literary and epigraphic data pertaining to the changes, which were sought in the temple rituals, are in plenty. Their details make it clear that the priests were trying to make them at par with the ceremonies which were observed at the royal courts.[31] Because of the increase in rituals since more funds were required the rulers were persuaded to grant more and more in favour of temples. There are many inscriptions whose aim is only to record such grants. While relating the

---

28. J.N. Banerjea, *The Hindu Iconography* (Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1974), pp. 529-539.

29. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (with Hindi trans., Gitapress, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2044), pp. 467-469; *Saṁkṣipta Śivapurāṇa* (with Hindi trans., Gitapress, Gorakhpur, V.s. 2045), p. 295.

30. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Vedic Age,* p. 367.

31. Y.B. Singh, "Ceremonialism as Socio-economic factor" in the *Studies in Religion and Change* (editor Madhu Sen, Books and Books, New Delhi, 1983), pp. 29-33. Details can be had about the trend which are available to us in plenty from the history of each and every country.

purpose of the endowments they often describe the rituals which were performed at the time of worship according to a given time table.[32] Accordingly we learn that a deity was to be propitiated with incense burning, application of Sandal paste, offerings of *naivedya,* flowers, etc.[33] In this context we have references to many a costly and time taking ventures in relation to gods as well as kings. The holy water of the Ganga and flowers from Kashmir were brought daily for the worship of God, Somanātha.[34] And, as tradition has it, king Bhoja Paramāra, in striking similarity, is said to have never used any water except that of the holy Ganga. The tantrik cults were also making their impact on the temple worship and life and living conditions of the people. The *tantra* system is neither free from problems nor it can be justified as per accepted ethics of the Indian religious and social systems.[35] But it became very popular because of its claim to bring desirable success to its adherents within a very short time - that too through *bhoga* (pleasure). It was this impact because of which the recitation of *mantras* and worship of mystic diagrams had become popular as well as part of temple rituals. People's faith in its efficacy and the use of *Pañchamakāra* in its rituals made it so pupular that each and every religion was forced to accommodate it. These traits made the rituals so elaborate that the rituals concerning the worship of god Śiva who is taken generally as a god who can be propitiated with even thorn apple, which is for others a poision, too, became complicated. The texts tell in detail about the type of rice to be used in *naivedya* and its quantity according to the type of *Śiva-liṅga.*[36] The things do not come to an end only with this much specifications. The very measurement through which *naivedya* was to be weighed needs expert handling. Accordingly one learns that the measurement was to be done by a wooden pot known as *Śiva.*[37] It was twentyfive fingers in length and twelve fingers in width.[38] Its depth was fifteen

32. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIX, p. 55; *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXV, p. 180.
33. *Ibid.*
34. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 104.
35. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Engl. trans. by M.A. Stein, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1979), VII, 1635-1636, Kalhaṇa mentions that the god consecrated by a Siddha Somānanda was worshipped only by low caste people.
36. *Saṁkṣipta Śivapurāṇa,* pp. 47-48.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*

fingers.[39] And, one eighth of its content was known as *prastha.*[40] It was this quantity of *naivedya* which was to be prepared for the various types of *Śiva-liṅgas.* Thus a devotee was supposed to manage ten *prastha* of *naivedya* for a *Śiva-liṅga* consecrated by the human beings; one hundred *prastha* for that whose worship was initiated by the *Ṛishis,* and one thousand *prastha* for that which is *Svāyambhu* (which comes into being of its own).[41]

The courtesan culture whose matured form, as mentioned above, finds mention, for the first time, in the *Mṛrchchhakaṭika* , too, had made its impact on the temple worship. The logic was simple. If a ruler who was merely an *aṁśa* (part) of the supreme God, could enjoy the performance of dancing girls alongwith his courtiers, why not the enshrined Gods themselves and their servants the priests? And, as a result of this logic the institution of *Devadāsī* was evolved. The kings were instigated to maintain and present *devadāsīs* to temples for accruing more religious merits. The class inspite of its abuse had become almost indispensable. Dāmodaragupta clearly remarks that the Brāhmaṇas, though learned, were unable to resist the charm of beautiful *devadāsīs* of Varanasi and, usually fell in love with them.[42] The Muslim accounts even suggest that their earnings through prostitution were taken as the property of the temples.[43] To accommodate their dances and other musical performances architects were directed to add more components to temple structures. The *nāṭa-maṇḍapa* was planned basically for this purpose alone. Thus the music and dance had become an essential item of the temple ritual.

This makes one to believe that the temple rituals had become a commerce.The priest in Kashmir used to arrange even the sale of garlands

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. Dāmodaragupta, *Kuṭṭanīmatam* (With Hindi trans., by Atrideva Vidyalankara, Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1961), VV. 38, 393. The text does not mention *devadāsīs* by name but indicates their existence in relation to the temple of Bhagavan Vishvanatha, VV. 744-756.

43. Y.B. Singh, *Social Life in Ancient India,* p. 86; E.C. Sachau,*Op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 157.

and other articles required for the *pūjā* of a deity.[44] Through such rituals the temples started acquiring wealth beyond imagination. Religious fanaticism apart it was this wealth because of which they were desecrated and looted by the rulers like Harsha of Kashmir and Muslims in the closing years of the early medieval period. It was also this increase in the number of deities and emphasis on the performance of complicated rituals, involving lot of expenses, that the common man had developed an apathy towards them. In absence of the socio-political functions the temples were treated by the common people as the personal property of priests and kings. Moreover because of the multiplicity of the deities for a common man almost every object had become an object of worship. Thus the fundamentalism which is required for the resistance at times of crisis could not be cultivated among the masses by the priests and kings. As a result of this the iconoclasts were opposed only by the handful of traditional soldiers. There is no reference to the resistance offered by the masses when the temples were attacked by the foreign invaders.



44. Y.B. Singh, "Purohita Corporations of Early Medieval Kashmir" in *Gurukul Patrika* (Gurukul Kangri Visvavidyalaya, Haradwar, Sept. and Nov. 88. Special number concerning Seminar on Local self Government in Ancient India), pp. 34-45 (English Section).

VAIṢṆAVISM IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF BIHAR

Dr. CHITTARANJAN PRASAD SINHA

Patna

Vaiṣṇavism or the worship of Viṣṇu had a long history of evolution. He is one of the important gods of the Vedic mythology[1], even though he occupies a subordinate position from the statistical point of view. He is celebrated in not more than five whole hymns and in parts of others, while his name occurs only about a hundred times in the *Ṛgveda.*[2] Viṣṇu's three strides are mentioned frequently in the Vedas as his most important feat.[3] The supremacy of Viṣṇu is fully established in the epic period when his place in the Brahmancial trinity is recognised as the supreme protective god.

The deity round whom various Vaiṣṇava cults grew in the historic period was a result of the syncretism of three god-concepts, the Vedic Sun-god Viṣṇu, the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas and the man-god Vāsudeva - Kṛṣṇa. the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva or the Bhāgavata cult is the basis of the Bhagavadgītā and has proved to be the chief source of inspiration of modern Vaiṣṇavism.

Epigraphic evidence, beginning from the second-first centuries B.C., shows that the worship of Vāsudeva, alone or in association with his near relatives, was steadily growing in popularity. The Besnagar Pillar Inscription[4] refers to Heliodorus, the Greek Ambassador of the Indo-Greek King Antialcidus, as a devotee of Vāsudeva, who errected a Garuḍadhvaja. It is the

---

1. A.A. Macdonell, *The Vedic Mythology,* p. 37.
2. R.N. Dandekar, *Viṣṇu in the Vedic Mythological Tracts,* p. 68.
3. R.V.I, 23, 17, 18, 20.
4. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.,* pp. 90-91.

earliest inscription referring to the cult of a Vaiṣṇavite divinity, and it provides the first proof of the popularity of Bhāgavatism even among the foreigners. The stone inscriptions from Ghosundi and Nagari in Rajasthan clearly indicate that the cult images and temples of Vāsudeva existed about 200 B.C.[5] The region of Mathura has yielded important stone inscriptions which throw welcome light on the subject. Two inscriptions of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Sodasa (first century B.C.) refer to the construction of a shrine for Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu along with the excavation of a tank, creation of a reservoir, a garden railing and gateway, a pillar and stone statues by a person called Mulavasu, who was the treasurer of King Sodasa of Mathura.

Bihar like other parts of Northern India seems to have been influenced by the Bhāgavata or Vaiṣṇava cult quite early in its history. According to P. Banerjee, the defeat of Jarāsandha at the hands of Bhīma helped by Kṛṣṇa perhaps indicates a major step towards the introduction of Vāsudevism in Bihar.[6] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, both of them closely associated with Bihar, refer to the prevalence of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa worship.

Vaiṣṇavism was in flourishing condition in different parts of present day Bihar, since the beginning of the Christian era is attested by the archaeological evidences. He has been widely represented in the art of Bihar. Images of the god, not only in considerable number, but representing him also in various forms, have been obtained from different parts of the State since late Kuṣāṇa or early Gupta period.

An attempt may now be made to present a brief survey of Vaiṣṇavism in Bihar in different epigraphs discovered from this region. Inscription which is main source for the reconstruction of history of ancient India, throws very welcome light on the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Bihar. Their testimony is far more reliable than that of literary texts, which invariably suffer from textual corruptions and late interpolations. So the evidence of the inscriptions is very useful in tracing the evolution of a particular doctrine, idea or myth. The study of the epigraphs shows that there

5. K.D. Bajpai, *Impact of Vaiṣṇavism on Ancient Art of Central India, published in Vaisnavism in Indian Art and Culture,* ed. Ratan Parimoo, p. 321.

6. P. Banerjee, *Early Indian Religion,* p. 76.

were actually some temples existing in Bihar which were dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu. It may, however, be noted that the earliest epigraphical evidences which contain references to Vaiṣṇavism in Bihar are the epigraphs of the Gupta period.

It is with the rise of the Guptas that Bhāgavatism received great impetus in Bihar. The literary numismatic and epigraphical evidences show that the Guptas were followers of Bhāgavata religion and they took pride in styling themselves as "*paramabhāgavatas*". H.C. Raychaudhuri observes "The Great Gupta sovereign of Magadha describe themselves as *paramabhāgavatas* and were unquestionaly great champions of the religions of Vasudeva. With the rise of their power Bhāgavatism which was now synonymous with Vasudevism naturally came to the forefront and spread to the remotest corners of India.[7]

Thus it is clear that the personal religion of the Gupta emperors must have helped to increase the influence of Vaiṣṇvism in Bihar.

Quite a number of seals and sealings of the Gupta period from Basarh (Vaiśālī) and other places bear very common popular symbols of *Chakra* and Śaṅkha, Wheel, conch and the combination of the Wheel and conch were usually taken to be the emblems of Viṣṇu. A sealing from Kumrahar (Pāṭaliputra) shows the device of a Chakra and the legend Rāmasvāmi in similar character.[8] Another Kumrahar sealing[9] shows the device of a Chakra at the top and below it two Śaṅkhas, are on either side. Two sealings from Basarh bear identical device of Wheel, Chakra and the legend *namaḥ*[10] while nine others[11] from the same site contain the same device and the legend *namastasmai.*[12] It is very difficult to ascertain the deity adored from the legends alone but the occurrence of Vaiṣṇava symbols *Chakra* and

---

7. MSEHVS, p. 101.
8. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations,* 1951-55, pp. 104, XXXIV, No. 7.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 103, No. 6.
10. *ASIAR,* 1903-04, p. 111, No. 38.
11. *Ibid.*, Under Nos. 40-41, p. XLII, 139-40.
12. The same as *Ibid.,* No. 40.

Śaṅkha either singly or together[13] on these seals suggests that Viṣṇu or one of his manifestations was intended.

Vaiṣṇavism was accepted by the people in the locality is testified by a large number of seals atleast fourteen containing the Vaiṣṇavite nomenclature of the people, viz. Kṛṣṇadatta,[14] Keśava,[15] Keśavadatta,[16] Varāha[17], Varāhadatta[18], Cakradāsa[19], Haridāsa[20], Harigupta[21], Nārāyaṇadatta[22], Vasudeva[23], and Viṣṇu Varman[24]. Some of these seals atleast fourteen bear representations of Gajalakshami scene. Seal No. 18 depicts a figure of Boar with Conch on either side.[25] Another seal (seal no. 191) depicts the figure of Narasiṁha[26] which according Spooner provides us with our oldest datable representation of the deity Narasiṁha in India. It describes the Man-Lion deity seated on a high altar with right hand raised and left on his hip.

A Basarh (Vaiśālī) seal with the two lined legend

(1) Śrī-Viṣṇupādasvāmī-Na

(2) rāya (na) ("Nārāyaṇa, the lord of illustrious Viṣṇupada), in early Gupta character suggests that a Viṣṇupada temple existed at Gaya in the 4th century A.D.[27] R.D. Banerji and other eminent scholars have, therefore,

---

13. *ASIAR,* 1913-14, p. 143.

14. *ASIAR,* 1903-04, Seal Nos. 45, 78.

15. *Ibid.,* Seal Nos. 69, 137.

16. *Ibid.,* Seal Nos. 58, 56.

17. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 115.

18. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 115.

19. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 54.

20. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 64.

21. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 65.

22. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 95.

23. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 118.

24. *Ibid.,* Seal No. 119.

25. *Ibid.,* p. 109.

26. *ASIAR,* 1913-14, p. 133, pl. XIVI.

27. Annual Report of the A.S.I., 1903-04, pp. 10-11 (Seal No. 31) The present Viṣṇupada temple was built at the instance of Maharani Ahilyabai Holkar (A.D. 1725-1795) and it was completed by the 21st October, 1783.

legitimately held that the Viṣṇupada temple was quite well known at least throughout Aṅga, Magadha and Mithila by the beginning of 4th century A.D. Bloch remarks that the above mentioned seal came from the authorities of a temple of Viṣṇupāda, perhaps the famous shrine at Gaya. It has been suggested that the Viṣṇupāda at Gaya existed even before the days of Yāska and the Buddha.[28] We learn from the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription that the King Chandra had set up a lofty standard of Viṣṇu on the Viṣṇupāda Hill. The inscription is an evidence of the fact that the Viṣṇupāda was in existence and a Vaiṣṇava like Chandragupta II might have visited the place and paid his offerings to the foot prints of Viṣṇu.

There is no indication about the place of the origin of seal, the proximity of Gaya to Vaiśālī makes it highly probable that it came from here. Gaya and Vaiśālī had close link is obvious from a Pauranic legend. According to this story King Viśāla of Vaiśālī secured son and himself went to heaven and saved his dead ancestors only after offering Piṇḍas at Gaya.[29]

Pādukās symbolised the worship of Viṣṇu, Pādukās are represented on seals discovered from Vaiśālī (Basarh)[30]. One has the legend Śrī Nārāyaṇasya (seal of Nārāyaṇa).

The fragmentary inscription hailing from Muṇḍeśvarī hill, close to Ramgarh in the district of Rohtas mentions the erection of a temple (maṭha) of Nārāyaṇa close to the temple of Viniteśavara. A certain Daṇḍanāyaka Gomibhaṭa arranged for the establishment of a Śaivite city in the temple of principal deity Śrī Nārāyaṇa and provided the offering of two prastha of rice and one pala of oil for a lamp for the purposes of the newly established god from the store room of Śrī Mandaleśvara Svāmī evidently the same as Śrī Nārāyaṇa. Śrī Nārāyaṇa was also known as Mandaleśvara, the presiding god of the region and a Śaivite devinity was installed in the precincts of his temple as a subsidiary deity.[31]

---

28. K.P. Jayaswal, *Vaisnava Worship and Buddha, Indian Antiquary* (1938), p. 84.
29. *Agni Purāṇa*, 105-54, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 112-7-15, *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 84, 32.
30. *ASI*, 1913-14, p. 114, No. 489, p. 145, No. 535.
31. *JBRS*, XLIV, pp. 16-17.

The inscription refers to a date in the year 30 of an unspecified era, however, on the basis of its palaeography, it is believed to belong to 7th Century A.D.

The Maukharis came into prominence after the decline of the Imperial Guptas. The Barabar Hill Cave Inscription[32] of Anantavarman records the instalation of an image of Kṛṣṇa in the cave of Pravaragiri.[33] It is the only inscription which mentions the image of Kṛṣṇa. The concept of incarnations of Viṣṇu was by the time fully established, and the images of the avatāras were being installed. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that the Kṛṣṇa cult existed at least in the 6th Century A.D., if not earlier, in Bihar. The inscription is not dated but as it belongs to the time of the Maukharī Anantavarman, it may be dated in the 6th Century A.D.

Inscription of the Later Gupta rulers furnish valuable informations in respect of Vaiṣṇvavism in Bihar. Mādhavagupta father of Ādityasena, is described in the Aphsad Stone inscription of Ādityasena as having the mark of a discuss, like Viṣṇu in the palm of his hand.[34] The Aphsad inscription gives the epithet paramabhāgavata (most devout vaiṣṇava) to Ādityasena. The inscription further informs us that Ādityasena built an excellent temple of God Viṣṇu[35] and his mother Mahādevī Srīmatī constructed a religious college and donated it to religious people. His wife Koṇadevi excavated a tank to gain religious merit.[36] Ruins of the temple have recently been under excavation by the Directorate of Archaeology, Bihar and stucco panels of Ramayanic scenes have been exposed. The village Aphsad has still a huge stone image of Varāha-Viṣṇu in zoomerphic form on the north-east part of the temple. The Aphsad stone inscription is not dated but in consideration of its palaeography,. it has been ascribed to the 7th century A.D.

---

32. J.F. Fleet, C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 221-23.

33. Pravaragiri is the ancient name of the Barabar Hills where the cave bearing the above inscription is located.

34. Fleet, C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 208.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Fleet, p. 212.

The Deoghar Baidyanath Temple Inscription[37] describes Ādityasena as the performer of Aśvamedha and other great sacrifices. It also refers to the erection of a temple of the god Nṛhari (Man Lion Viṣṇu) by the King Ādityasena. The same inscription further informs us that one Balabhadra set up an image of God Viṣṇu in boar form during Ādityasena's reign, in order that his parents might attain heaven. This inscription is also not dated, but it refers to Ādityasena of the Later Gupta dynasty who ruled in the 7th Century A.D.

In the Pāla period Vaiṣṇavism continued to flourish. Some of Pāla inscriptions as well are of considerable importance for they too contain invaluable references with regard to various aspects connected with the worship of Viṣṇu in Bihar. The Pāla rulers were mostly the followers of Buddhism and took pride in styling themselves as *Paramasangata* but they too like Gupta monarchs were tolerant to other religions. Dharmapāla, the son and successor of Gopala I, was a Buddhist. His Khalimpur Inscription speaks of him as honouring all the sects, specially of the Brāhmaṇas.

Mahendrapāla (Pratihara King) was also a tolerant King. An inscribed image[38] of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu was found at Ramgaya in the district of Gaya which is dated in the 8th year of his coronation.

The Dighwā-Dubauli (in the district of Gopalganj) copper plate inscription[39] of Mahendrapāla (898-99A.D.) is a unique one as it gives a clear picture of the religious freedom of the Pratihara Kings. It records that different gods were being worshipped by different members of the family. For example Mahāraja Deva Śaktideva was a worshipper of Viṣṇu, his son Vatsarājadeva was a worshipper of the god Maheśvara (Śiva) while the latter son, Nāgabhaṭadeva was a worshipper of the goddess Bhagavati.

The Gaya stone inscription[40] of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla records the erection of a monastery for the Brahmanical ascetics by a man named Bhāṇḍadeva in the 7th year of the reign of the Pāla ruler. It opens with an

---

37. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
38. *MASB*, V, pp. 63-64.
39. *I.A.*, XV, pp. 105-13.
40. *E. I.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 225-28.

invocation to Viṣṇu in his Narasiṁha incarnation. It is at present outside the small temple of Narasiṁha in the courtyard of Viṣṇupada temple.

There are some highly interesting inscriptions at Gaya of the time of Nayapāla and Vigrahapāla III. One inscription is found on the gate of the modern Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā temple at Gaya. The inscription records the construction of a temple of God Janārdana (Viṣṇu) by Viśvādatta (known as Viśvarūpa), the son of Śūdraka and the grandson of Paritoṣa, in the 15th year of the reign of the King.[41] The construction of the temple could not be finished by any preceding king year after year. The inscription is dated in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāla(C. 1038-55) i.e. about 1053 A.D.

Another inscription[42] (the Gaya Narasiṁha Temple inscription of the time of Nayapāla) of the same date and belonging also to the Nayapāla has been found inside one small shrine dedicated to the god Narasiṁha in the courtyard of Viṣṇupada temple at Gaya. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty and records the erection of the temple of god Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and some unnamed shrines by Viśvarūpa, the son of Śūdraka and the grandson of Paritoṣa in the time of the king.

The Govindapura (in the district of Nawada) stone inscription[43] of the poet Gangadhara of the time of Rudradamana begins with *Oṁ Oṁ namaḥ Sarasvatyai* and then with verse invoking the blessing of Lord Viśvambhara (Viṣṇu). The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1059 corresponding to 1137-38 A.D. The inscription refers to King Rudradamana of Mana family who may have ruled over some part of Magadha towards the end of 11th beginning of the 12th century A.D.

The Teghra Terracotta Plaque Inscription[44] of Śrī Suhmaka records that three persons named Sādhi, Echi and Āka made a gift of a lotus at the feet of Lord Keśava (evidently Lord Viṣṇu) at Nagalḍāmaka. The inscription is dated in the 67 year of some era, and may be placed in the 12th century A.D.

---

41. *E.I.*, XXXVI, pp. 84-86; *JASB*, LXIX, pt. I, 1900, pp. 190 ff.
42. *E.I.*, XXXVI, pp. 81, 86-88; Banerjee, R.D., Pālas of Bengal. pp. 37-39.
43. *E.I.*, II, pp. 330-42.
44. *E.I.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 85-87 .

The Andhrāthāṛhi (Madhubani district) Stone Image Inscription[45] of the time of Nānyadeva inscribed on the pedestal of a stone image of Viṣṇu records the installation of the image by one Śrīdharadāsa, a minister of Nānya of the Kṣatra family. The inscription refers itself to the Karnata dynasty. It is not dated but on paleographical ground it may be assigned to the 12th Century A.D.

The Mera Viṣṇu Temple Inscription[46] of Haridharman discovered from Jahanabad district records the construction of big Viṣṇu temple at the village of Mera in Magadha. A village named Vasudhārā is also said to have been dedicated for the maintenance of the temple along with ornaments, scates and cows. The village Mera and Vasudhārā mentioned in the inscription have not yet been identified. The inscription is dated in the year 1097 of the Śaka era i.e. in 1175 A.D.

The foregoing account indicates that of all the regions Basarh (Vaiśālī) and Gaya were two principal centres of the Vaiṣṇava religion. The excavation conducted by Bloch[47] at Basarh have yielded a large number of clay seals. Of the total 139 seals catalogued by Bloch 56 indicate Vaiṣṇavite influence.

The Gayā-māhātmya as a Vaiṣṇava manual represents Viṣṇu, particularly in his mace bearing (Gadādhara) form, as presiding deity of Gaya Kshetra.[48] It is also learnt that Janārdana or human, the Nārāyaṇa or super human and the Pundarikaksha or lotus-eyes forms, too are worshipped in Gaya.[49] Some of the names mentioned in the Gayā māhātmaya are also found in inscription. Kṛṣṇa - Dvarika Temple Inscription records the construction of a temple of God Janārdana (Viṣṇu). The Gaya Narasiṁha Temple inscription records the erection of the temple of god Gadadhara (Viṣṇu).

---

45. *JBORS*, Vol. IX, pp. 303 ff.

46. *JBRS*, LIII, pp. 62-71. Maheśvara, a Kāyastha by caste is mentioned as having composed the poem.

47. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, pp. 107 ff.

48. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 107, 44-45.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 109, 14-31.

Now it is clear that the people of Bihar believed in the identity of Viṣṇu and Madhava, son of Vasudeva. Such identities show that the Pauranic characteristics of Vaiṣṇavism as the syncretism of the concept of Vedic Sun God Viṣṇu, Cosmic god Nārāyaṇa and the cult of Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa were accepted in Bihar during the ancient period.

Viewing all these points, we can safely conclude that the main features of the Vaisnavism were present in Bihar in ancient times.



ŚIVA TEMPLE (8th-9th Cent. A.D.) AT REHI

Dr. RADHA KANT VARMA

Rewa (M.P.)

The newly discovered 'Śiva temple' (Pl. I and Fig. 1) of Rehi in the district of Rewa is situated towards the north of Rewa town at a distance of about 50 kms. as the crow flies in the fairly dense forest of Rehi at a distance of about three kilometers from Katai (Fig. 2). It can be approached *via* Satna through Semaria which is connected by a puckka road. But from Semaria to Katai there is a very dusty road. From Katai a forest road leads upto the temple. Katai can be approached directly from Rewa also by a dusty road that connects Rewa with Manikpur.

The Siva temple must have been a part of a bigger complex but since the jungle is fairly dense and there was not enough time we could not explore the region systematically but stray architectural pieces do indicate that there must have been many more structures besides the temple under consideration.

The temple was almost covered with thorny bushes and trees which had to be cleared in order to make the section and plan of the temple, It was observed that the site or the '*Jagati*' on which the temple is built is slightly raised from the surrounding area but the '*Jagati*' if at all it can be called by that term is not in any way conspicuous. The ground plan (*Bhumi-tal Yojana*) is that of '*Pancharatha*' type. Besides the '(*Garbha Griha*)' Sanctum Sanctorum, there is an '*antaral*' which intervenes the '*Garbhagriha*' and the entrance. There is no provision for '*Mandapa*'. The '*Pitha*' of the temple measures 3.20 m east-west and 3.10 m north-south. The inside of the *garbha griha* measures 1.28 m north-south to 1.39 m east-west and the total length including the '*antaral*' is 2.10 m. The Plinth from the ground level is 55 cm. The total height of the temple is nearly 5.80 m without the '*Amalaka*' and the '*kalaśa*' from the ground level. The temple is located east-west entrance

facing the east. The '*Garbhagriha*' is at present bereft of any image but there is hardly a doubt that the temple was dedicated to Lord *Śiva* and there might have been a '*Śiva - linga*'. It seems to have been removed by some unsocial element. The '*Jalahari*' is towards the north which is a characteristic feature of a '*Śiva*' temple. More over the central figure on the '*Uttaranga*' is that of '*Śiva*' '*Pārvati*' in '*Ālinganmudra*' in '*Paryankāsana*'. It also points to the fact that the temple was dedicated to Lord 'Siva'. The ceiling or the 'Vitana' of the '*garbha griha*' is decorated with a '*Vikasita Kamala*' motif. It is important to mention that the ceiling of the '*garbha-griha*' is unusually low and the total height could in no case have been more than 1.75 m or 1.83 m at the most. The opening of the door was 1.40 m (from the base of the '*uttaranga*' upto the top of the door sil) in height and .7 m in width. The base of the door Jamb is decorated by the figures of '*kūrmavāhini*' Yamuna' in '*Tribhanga Mudra*' on the right side and with the figure of '*Makar Vāhini Gangā*' in *Tribhanga Mudra*' on left (Pl. II). The figures measured 51 X 31 and 51 X 29 cm respectively.

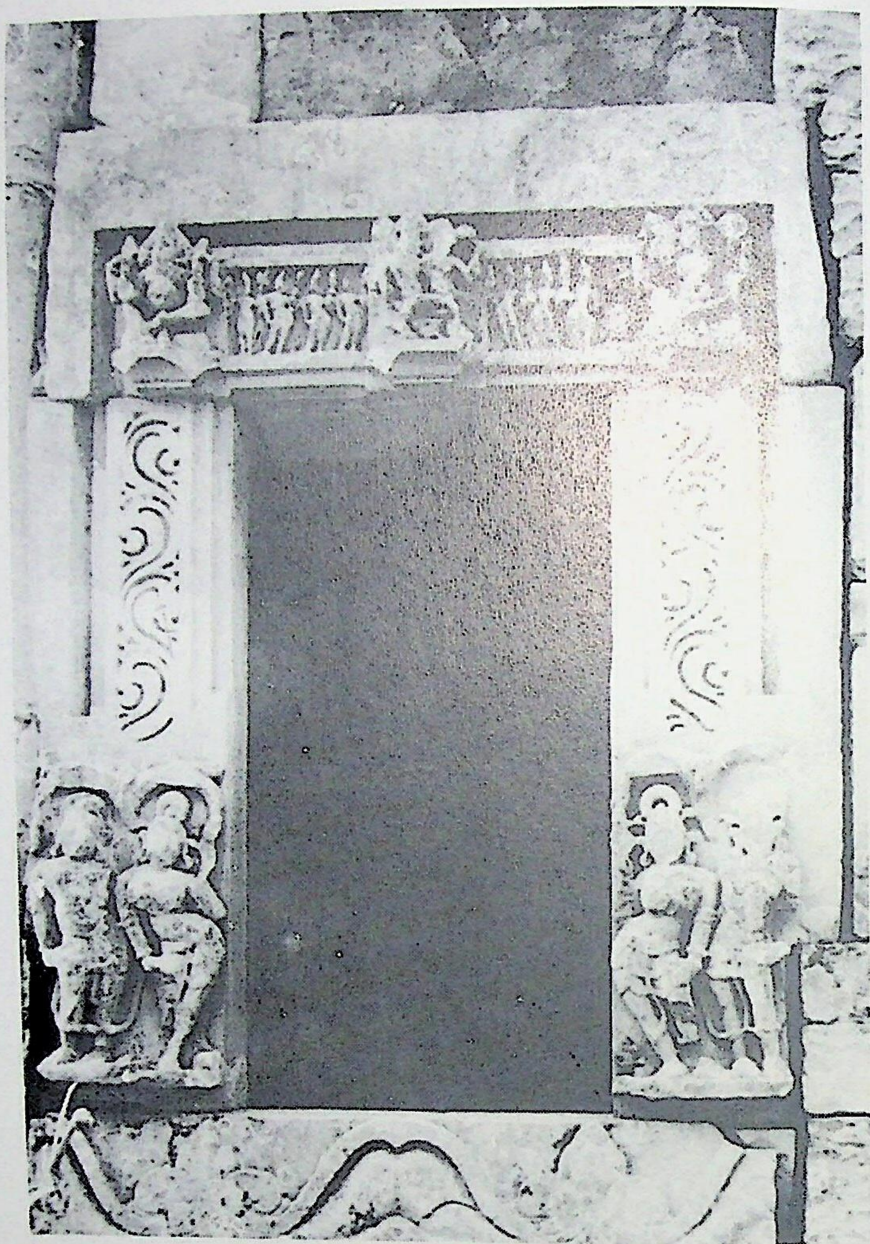
The middle and upper part of the door Jamb and the door sil are decorated with simple 'Lata Vallari' motif (Pl. II).

The uttaranga is decorated with the figures of three faced *Brahma* in '*Padmāsana*' to the extreme right. The central bearded face is clearer than the two other faces. To the extreme left is the figure of Vishnu. He has been identified by his '*Chakra*'. The central figure is that of '*Śiva-pārvati*' in '*ālinganamudra*' in '*Paryankāsana*'. On both sides of the central figure are depicted *navagrahas*. They are from right to left '*Surya*' *Soma, Mangal, Buddha, Bṛhaspati, Śūkra, Śani, Rāhu,* and *Ketu* with their mounts depicted near their feet (pl. II).

There are two '*Deva*' *Kosthakās*' each on the northern and southern sides of the temple and only one *kosthak* in the western side with '*deva pratimas*' on the northern side starting from the right in the first '*koshtaka*' (pl. III) is the figure of a goddess in *Padmāsana mudra*. She has four hands; 1 *Varadāksha*, 2 *Pushpa*, 3 *Pushpa*, 4 *Kamandala*. In the second *kostaka* (pl. IV) is the figure of a two armed god in '*ardhaparyankāsana*' The '*ayudhas*' are 1 *Bana* 2 *Dhanuśa*.



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate I



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate II
(Entrance to the Sanctum)



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate III



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate IV



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate V
(Surya)



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate VI
(Ganesha)

PLAN & ELEVATION OF

ŚIVA TEMPLE OF REHI

DISTT. REWA. (8th 9th c ent.)

scale 1cm = 26.25cm.
.of plan

0 ———— 2cm



5.80 m.

1.40m

.50m

1.39 m

2.10 m

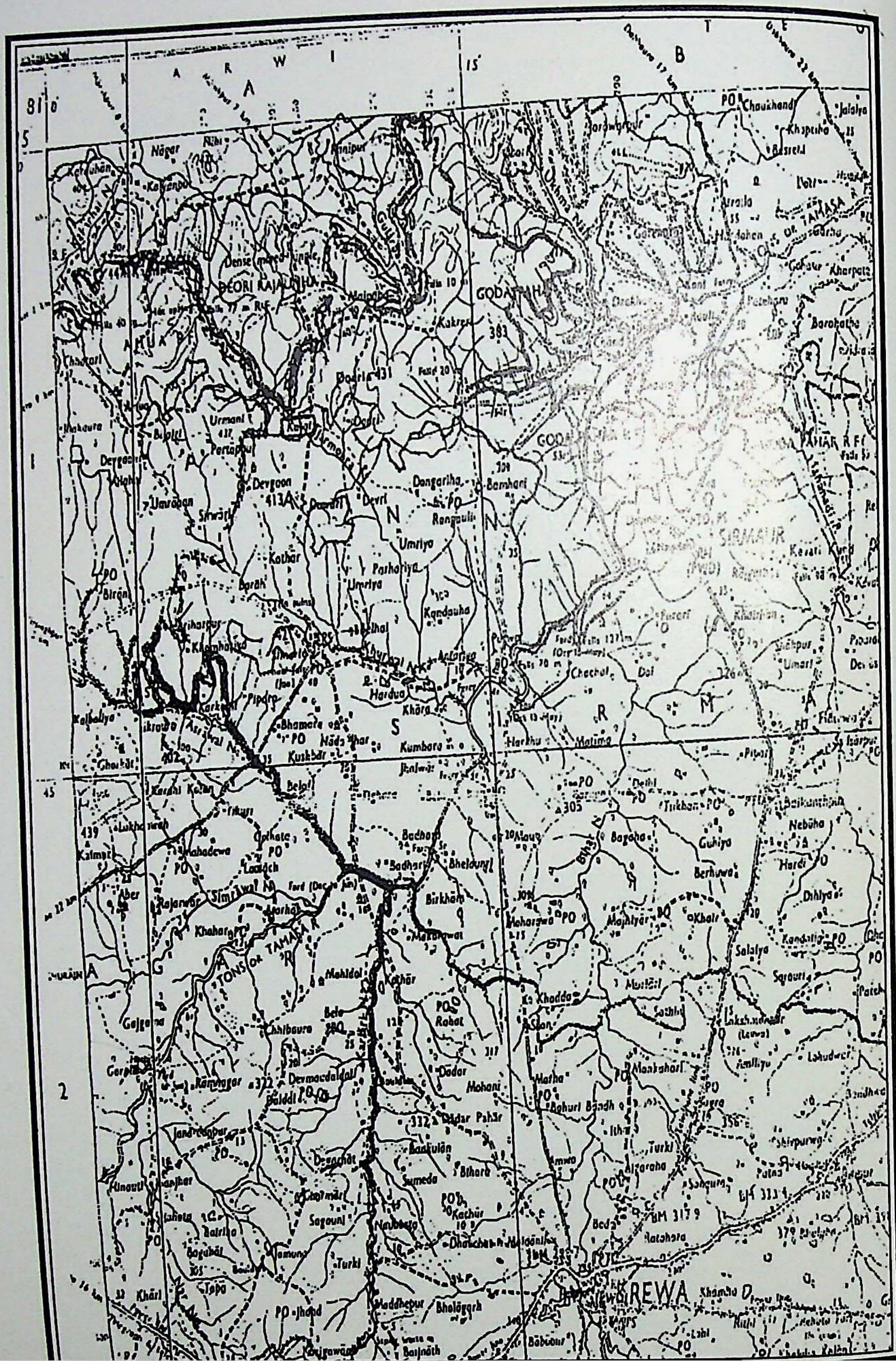
3.10m

A

B

0 0

Plan & Elevation of Shiva Temple at Rahi



K A R W I
B
Chaukhand
Jalalya
Khaptiha
Nagar
Kakrahan
Annipur
DEORI RAJAULIHA
GODAWAHA
TONS OR TAMASA
Gahar
Kharpata
Barokotha
Kakreti
Kalyanpur
Urmani
Pertappur
Devgaon
Umrava
Shivrani
Dangariha
Bamhari
Devri
Rangauli
Umriya
Pasharihya
Umriya
Kandauha
Kothar
Barah
Biran
Arihargur
Khamhariya
SIRMAUR
Kevati Kund
Rajgarh
Chachai
Dol
Sidhpur
Umari
Harduo
Khara
Bhamara
Nada thar
Kumbara
Kuskhar
Kalbaliya
Ghanhur
Kerahi Kolan
Lukhwarah
Kaimur
Gothate
Mahadewa
Lanach
Rajarwar
Simrawal R.
Kharar
Baroha
Bhelaunji
Badhara
Birkham
Mauganj
Baghaha
Guhiya
Berhuwa
Turkhan
Baikunthpur
Nebuha
Hardi
Dihiya
Khari
Majhiyar
Salaiya
Sgrouri
Kandaita
Mahaw
TONS OR TAMASA R.
Mahidol
Kothar
Rohat
Ka Khadda
Gajgana
Chhibaura
Bela
Ramnagar
Devmaudaldas
Baiddi
Dodar
Mohani
Manksahari
Lakshimanpur
Lahudwar
Jandrahpur
Dadar Pahar
Baikulan
Bihara
Sumeda
Ith
Turki
Sahgura
Pulna
Shirpur
Kachur
Sagauni
Naubasta
Dhanchan
Bela
Turki
Jamuna
Baghari
Tapa
Khari
Jhand
Maddhepur
Bhalaggra
Baijnath
REWA

Towards the back side or western side of the temple in the *kosthaka* (pl. V) is the figure of two armed '*Sūrya*' in '*utakaṭāsana*'. He wears a '*Karanda mukuṭa*', on the head and long boots in the feet. He holds *'Padmanala'* in both the hands.

Towards the southern side in the first *devakostaka* (pl. VI) is the figure of four armed seated 'Gaṇeśa'. His forth hand is in '*abhayamudrā*' the second and the third hold *paraśu* and *modaka pātra* is in the fourth.

In the second *kosthaka* (pl. vii) is the figure of four armed 'Sarasvatī' in ardhaparyankāsana'. She holds a 'Vina' with her first and third arm and a flower in the second and '*Pustaka*' in the fourth. Her mount '*Hansa*' is represented below the '*Pīṭhikā*'.

Above each of the *devakosthakas* are rectangular projections with decorated motifs of which the top is triangular. The 'Śikhara' of the temple has a very gentle curve towards the top and is decorated with *chaitya* design in the central portions and alternately amalaka and *chaitya* designs on the corners.

There are no inscriptions in the temple, hence it is not known when it was built and who were the builders. It is different from the known temples of the region. The most significant features of this temple are :-

1. The '*pitha*' of the temple rests on an almost non existant *Jagati.*

2. The '*Śikhara*' is short and simple.

3. There are 'devakostakas' on the *tal Janghā* of the temple.

4. On the upper *Janghā* just above the *devakostakas* are decorated projections rectangular at the base and triangular at the top.

5. The '*garbha gṛha*' is rectangular with recessed corners and there is an *antarāla* between the *'garbhagriha'* and the entrance.

6. The ceiling *Vitāna* is extremely low and has a *Vikasita Kamala*' motif on it.

7. There is no '*ardhamaṇḍapa*'.



Shiva Temple at Rahi
Plate VI
(Ganesha)

PLAN & ELEVATION OF

ŚIVA TEMPLE OF REHI

DISTT. REWA. (8th 9th cent.)

scale 1cm = 26.25cm.
of plan

0 —— 2cm



5.80 m.

1.40 m

50 m

1.39 m

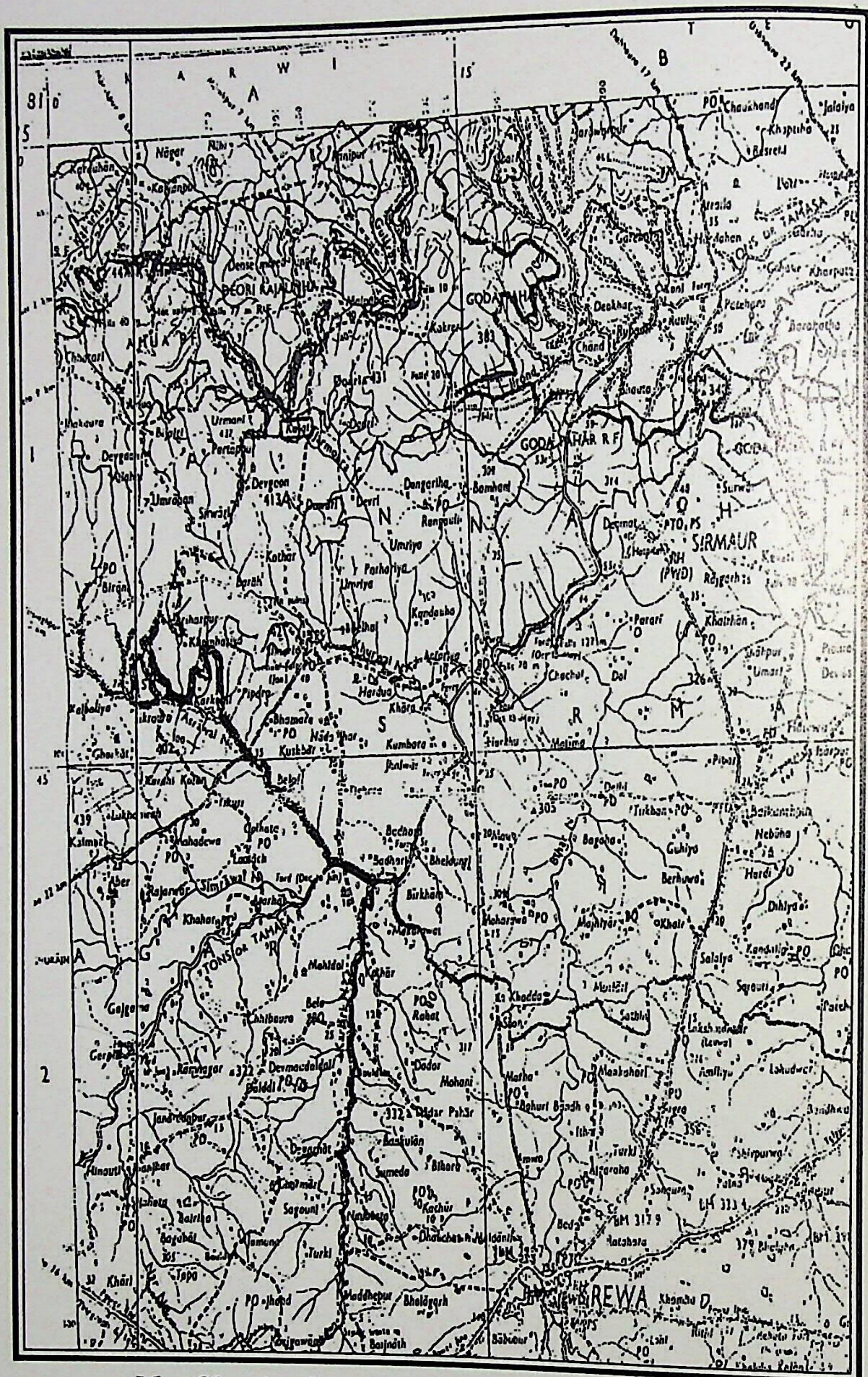
2.10 m

3.10 m

A

B

Plan & Elevation of Shiva Temple at Rahi
Figure I



Map Showing Location of Rehi Temple (Near Katai)
Figure II

Towards the back side or western side of the temple in the *kosthaka* (pl. V) is the figure of two armed '*Sūrya*' in '*utakaṭāsana*'. He wears a '*Karanda mukuṭa*', on the head and long boots in the feet. He holds '*Padmanala*' in both the hands.

Towards the southern side in the first *devakostaka* (pl. VI) is the figure of four armed seated 'Gaṇeśa'. His forth hand is in '*abhayamudrā*' the second and the third hold *paraśu* and *modaka pātra* is in the fourth.

In the second *kosthaka* (pl. vii) is the figure of four armed 'Sarasvatī' in ardhaparyankāsana'. She holds a 'Vina' with her first and third arm and a flower in the second and '*Pustaka*' in the fourth. Her mount '*Hansa*' is represented below the '*Pīṭhikā*'.

Above each of the *devakosthakas* are rectangular projections with decorated motifs of which the top is triangular. The 'Śikhara' of the temple has a very gentle curve towards the top and is decorated with *chaitya* design in the central portions and alternately amalaka and *chaitya* designs on the corners.

There are no inscriptions in the temple, hence it is not known when it was built and who were the builders. It is different from the known temples of the region. The most significant features of this temple are :-

1. The '*pitha*' of the temple rests on an almost non existant *Jagati*.

2. The '*Śikhara*' is short and simple.

3. There are 'devakostakas' on the *tal Janghā* of the temple.

4. On the upper *Janghā* just above the *devakostakas* are decorated projections rectangular at the base and triangular at the top.

5. The '*garbha gṛha*' is rectangular with recessed corners and there is an *antarāla* between the '*garbhagriha*' and the entrance.

6. The ceiling *Vitāna* is extremely low and has a *Vikasita Kamala* motif on it.

7. There is no '*ardhamaṇḍapa*'.

The above characteristics are very much similar to the temples of Pratihara Period of Madhya Bharata, on this anology the temple may be placed between 8th to 9th Cent. A.D.★



★. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
The first information about the temple was given to me by Dr. K.L. Agrawal, Lecturer, Vanijya Mahavidyalay, Satna who accompanied me during exploration alongwith Dr. A.K. Singh Dr. Mahesh Chandra Srivastava and Km. Rashmi Singh & Prakash Tiwari of the Deptt. of Anc. Ind. Hist. Cult. & Archaeology A.P.S. University, Rewa. I am beholden to them for their valuable help in the preparation of this report.

SARNATH BUDDHA - ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ITS STYLE

Dr. LALIT KUMAR

The emergence of Gupta dynasty in the history of India is an epoch making era. With the consolidation of the empire by Samudragupta, Indian culture received a fresh stimulus. A new upsurge swept the whole country with its hightened intellectual consciousness. It was a period of culmination and efflorescence which could be perceived in literature, science, philosophy and religion. The art and architecture were no exception to it. Ideals of aesthetics were changed and beauty was given a new definition. The artists began to visage their thoughts in true plastic forms. The representation of Buddha in this period is one of the best example to illustrate the new developments.

The true representation of Buddha as the term connotes was a task not yet completed, Indian genious had been striving for it since long. The image of Buddha is not a portrait but a portrayal of certain ideals embodied in it. To the early sculptor these ideals were derived from the concept of *Mahapurusa* and the Cakravartin, for which early Yaksa supplied the form in which they could conceive these concepts. But the subtle concepts like *Bodhi, Prajna, Karuna* and *Yoga* could not be transmuted into the concrete plastic forms. These terms were fully understood and transformed into the plastic form during the Gupta period only. This achievement revolutionized the history of Indian sculpture. An inscription on the pedestal of the Sarnath Buddha dated 474 A.D. in Sarnath Museum, reads "image of images unparalleled for its merits endowed with wonderful art".[1] This is an appropriate appreciation of the achievement of the artist. Prof. Niharranjan Ray explains the real purport of the inscription, he writes, "If phrases of this

---

1. Niharranjan Ray, *Idea and Image in Indian Art*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 38.

kind mean any thing, they record the simple fact that it was by and through such images that the common man uninitiated in religious experience and untutored in speculative wisdom, experienced a perceptual realisation of the idea of which the image was the embodiment".[2] With this background we shall examine the Buddha images of Sarnath and the development of the school.

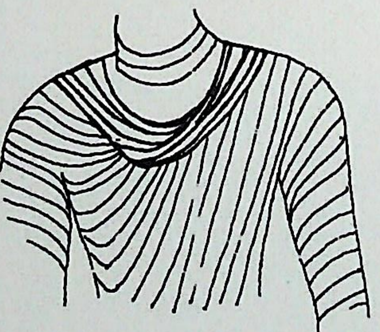
During the Gupta period Sarnath became a paramount centre of art. The Sarnath style claimed wide popularity and its reverberations were felt beyond the geographical boundaries of the sub-continent in South-East Asia. But scholars views differ on the origin and development of the Sarnath school.

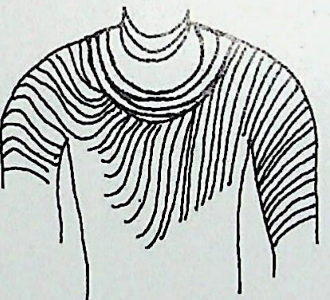
A majority of scholars feel that the Sarnath school originated under the influence of Mathura art as the latter had an uninterrupted history of sculptural activities from the early centuries of the Christian era; whereas the former had developed much later. Mathura had also been exporting images to Sarnath, Prayag, Sanci etc., where these images must have influenced the local traditions. A.K. Coomarswamy was the first to point out the influence of Mathura art on the Sarnath style.[3] Later on Stella Kramarisch observed that craftsmen working at Sarnath during the fifth century had learnt their lessons from Mathura.[4] The Bodhagaya Buddha dated 384/5 A.D., alleged to be a product of Mathura atelier, has also been considered to have provided an "arche-type" to the artists of Sarnath.[5]

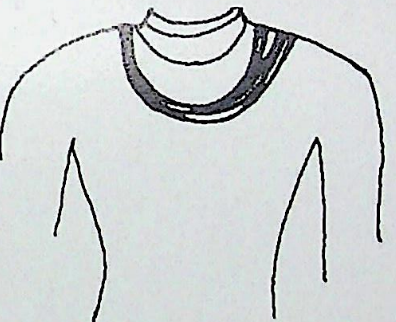
Some scholars give support to the above theory on the basis of the Buddha recovered from the site Govindanagar in Mathura in 1976.[6] The image shows diaphanous drapery which is an important characteristic feature of the Sarnath school. But before we accept it as a tangible evidence in support of the above theory the date of the image requires a careful consideration. These scholars have dated this Buddha image to the early fourth century A.D. on the basis of certain features which it shares with an inscribed and controversialy dated Buddha from Mathura, now in state

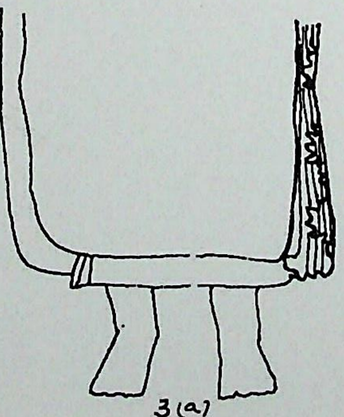
---

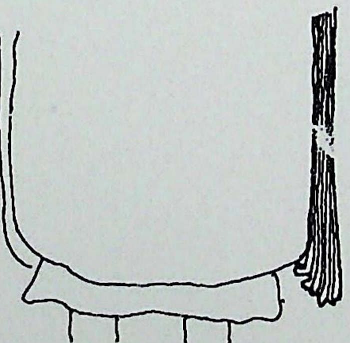
2. *Ibid.*
3. A.K. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* New York, 1965, p. 74.
4. Stella Kramarisch, *Indian Sculpture,* Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1981, p. 63.
5. S.K. Sarswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture,* New Delhi, 1975, p. 135.
6. R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathura,* Delhi, 1984, p. 218, 224, & 241.











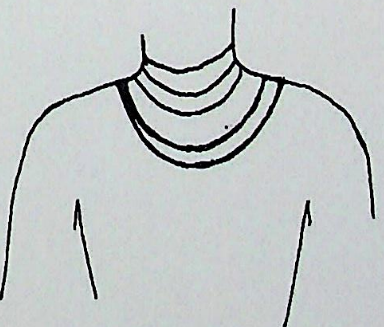
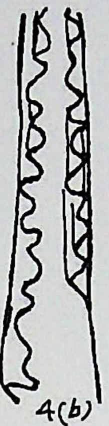
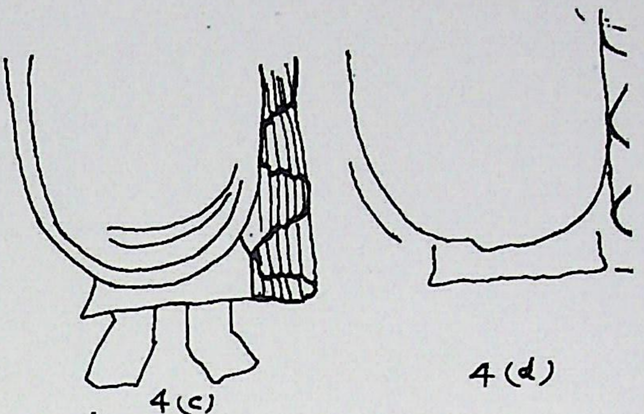
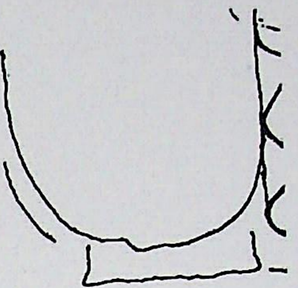


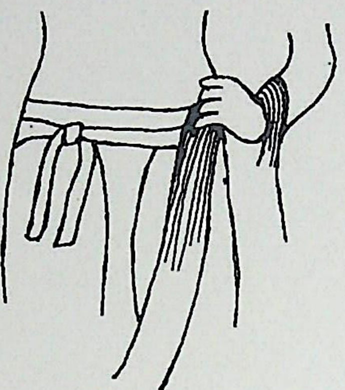
Fig. 1-3

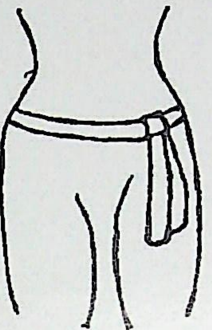












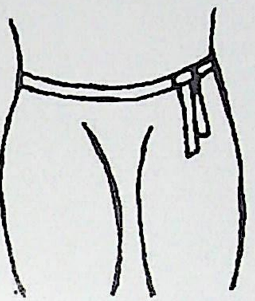


Fig. 4-3



Buddha head, Mathura (C 5th Century A.D.)
Fig. 6
(Courtesy : Bharat Kala Bhawan Varanasi)



Buddha (C. 5th Century A.D.) Sarnath
Fig. 7
(Courtesy : National Museumm, New Delhi)

Museum, Lucknow.[7] Its date has been variously read as the year 230 or 280 of an unspecified era and hence it is reckoned by the scholars in different eras.[8] Whatever may have been the truth in the date referred to in the inscription, it is an image which should not be dated earlier than the mid-fifth century A.D. In spite of some close affinities between these two they differ from each other especially with regard to two important features. First, the Govindanagar Buddha is a belted type of image whereas the inscribed Buddha is not. Secondly, the Govindanagar Buddha shows a prominent bulge at the genital region whereas the latter shows it flat. These differences creat a wide gap between the age of the two images. On stylistic grounds we would attribute the Govindanagar Buddha to c. 400 A.D. and the inscribed Buddha of state Museum to not earlier than the mid-fifth century A.D. as said earlier. With regard to the latter Stella Kramarisch has rightly pointed out a marked "archaism" in it.[9] In fact, the Govindanagar Buddha in Sarnath drapery establishes, at best, the impact of Sarnath on the art of Mathura. Moreover, the diaphanous draprey, medium statured figure and greater movement in body are some of the features of Sarnath Buddha found in the Govindanagar Buddha.[10]

A comparative study of the Buddha from Mathura and Sarnath might be more revealing in understanding what role as it has been alleged, the art of Mathura has played in the origin and development of the Sarnath idiom.

1. The Sarnath Buddha is subtler than the Mathura Buddha is a well known fact.

2. The *saṁghātī* is a feature of first and foremost importance in this comparative study. Some of the differences in the treatment of the *saṁghātī* at the two centres are as under :

---

7. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
8. Joanna Williams, "A Mathura Gupta Buddha Reconsidered", *Lalit Kala*, No. 17, pp. 28-32.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 28-29.
10. Anand Krishna, "The Gupta Style of Sculpture from the city of Banaras", *Rūpa - Pratirūpa* (Alice Boner Commemoration Volume New Delhi, 1982, p. 92.

(a) The Sarnath Buddha always shows plain and diaphanous drapery whereas the Mathura Buddha shows ridge like parallel folds of drapery. The Govindanagar Buddha discussed above and a torso of Buddha from the same site, now in the custody of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, are the only two exceptions to the rule.

(b) The drapery folds gathered around the neck have been treated in different manner at the two centres. At Sarnath these folds are closely held on the proper right but are loosened up of the left (fig. 2 a & b). In the Mathura Buddha the drapery folds near the neck are loosely held on both sides (fig. 1 a & b). These are treated either in a circle or V-shape.

(c) The *saṁghātī* assumes the form of a trough at both the centres but their shape differ from each other. At Sarnath the *saṁghātī* assumes the rectangular form (fig. 3 a & b); whereas at Mathura the trough of the *saṁghātī* assumes a curvilinear form which creats U-shaped loop at the bottom (fig. 4 a, c & d).

(d) At Sarnath, the hem of the *saṁghātī* held in the left hand of Buddha is treated in two different style. It shows either vertical folds with frills at the bottom or zig-zag line of schematic folds (fig. 3 a & b). At Mathura in the early period the hem of the *saṁghātī* moves in undulating line (fig. 4 c & d), later on it posseses schematic folds. Sometimes double hem line can also be seen (fig. 4 a & b).

(e) The difference between the length of the *saṁghātī* and the *antarvāsa* is less in the Sarnath Buddha in comparison to the Mathura Buddha, thus there is a difference in proportion of the garment of Buddha at the two centres. (fig. 3 a, b & 4a).

(f) The lower garment seen near the feet does not show any fold on it in case of the Sarnath Buddha. But at Mathura some folds can be seen in the images produced prior to the dated Buddha 434/5 A.D., recovered from the Govindanagar site, now in Mathura Museum.

3. *Waist - belt :* It holds the *antaravāsa* and can be seen through the transparent drapery at both the centres. At Sarnath it can be seen in all the images produced before the dated examples. At Mathura the waist-belt was in vogue 'till 435 A.D. as evident from the dated Buddha from the

Govindanagar site referred to above. But it seems to have continued till the mid-fifth century A.D.

4. The figure of Buddha at Sarnath is relaxed and imparts lithe movement whereas the Mathura Buddha is coloumnar and statuesque.

5. The Sarnath Buddha is slender and medium statured. The Mathura Buddha is tall and massive, the features imbibed from the early *yakṣa* model.

6. The Sarnath Buddha heads show hair executed in voluted curls. But at Mathura the hair are sharply sculpted in snailshell curls (fig. 6). The *uṣṇīṣa* is also taller in the Mathura Buddha in comparison to the Sarnath Buddha. The execution of hair at Sarnath has closer resemblence with the Vidhiśā Tīrthaṅkaras ascribed to c. 375 A.D.

7. The physiognomy of the Mathura Buddha shows accentuated features. It is done with a ridge like line around the lips, eyes, eye-brows and a dimple below the tip of the nose (fig. 6). These features are absent in the Sarnath Buddha except for the ridge-like eye-brows. It is a feature of Mathura origin and was in vogue in the early art of Central India and Vengi. But it appears that in the second half of the fifth century only the Sarnath artists have replaced the ridge-like eye-brows by a tengential line similar to the Gandharan Buddha heads.

8. The face of the Sarnath Buddha is imbued with subtle concepts like the *Bodhi, Prajna, Karuna* and *yaga* imparting a higher level of spiritual experience than the Mathura Buddha.

9. The halo was given lesser importance at Sarnath right from the beginning of the school. The early fifth century witnesses a severely plain circular halo with scalloped border. Later on it has assimilated a decorative vegetal band, perhaps, under the influence of Mathura as evident by the Buddha from Sarnath in British Museum.[11] But the centre of the nimbus has always remained plain unlike its Mathura counterpart where the centre is always occupied by an open lotus. The halo has been very ornate in Mathura art.

---

11. J.C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Oxford, 1974, plate 52.

The comparative study reveals that the art of Mathura had played a little role in the origin and development of the Sarnath school. By and large, both the great schools of Indian art jealously guarded their individual identity. Except for the Bodhisattva based on the Mathura model, the artists of Sarnath never turned towards Mathura for inspiration during its formative period. Therefore, the popular theory that the Sarnath school originated under the influence of the Mathura art or its budding took place at Mathura, is based upon some untenable assumptions.

Sculptural Activities in the Varanasi Region

Varanasi, the nearest ancient city in the region is the most likely place where the origin of Sarnath school should be traced. During the period of the Mauryas and the Sungas, the region has witnessed a considerable amount of sculptural activities. But there is a paucity of the material of the subsequent period. Unfortunately the city has also not yielded its full treasure still buried under earth because of continuous inhabitation. The inscribed image of Bodhisattva dedicated in the reignal year three of Kaniṣka by the monk Bala at Sarnath is the first and the only image imported from Mathura. Subsequently a Bodhisattva image was carved on the basis of the Mathura model in the locally available Chunar sandstone by a local sculptor in the second-third century A.D. Some scholars feel that this Bodhisattva was also imported from Mathura.[12] This does not seem likely because it differs from the stylistic trends as witnessed at Mathura during the period. This Bodhisattva image shows the local predilections towards simplicity as can be seen in the execution of the drapery. Now the drapery folds have been reduced to a pair of crude lines in comparison to the Mathura model. Handling of such a huge mass in the present example is a remarkable achievement of the local sculptor. It refutes the theory that there were no sculptural activities in the region prior the advent of the Sarnath school. In spite of it being based on the Mathura model the treatment of the body considerably differs. The bust is not robust and expansive. The abdominal bulge and deep navel of the Mathura tradition have been significantly reduced. Delicately carved supple fingers of the left hand are unlike the clenched fisted hand denoting power and dignity of the early *yakṣa* models.

---

12. R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

The advent of the imperial Guptas must have brought some changes in the life of the city Varanasi and Sarnath gradually began to regain its lost importance. New Buddhistic fervour in the city must have placed increased demands of Buddhist imagery. This perhaps lead to the creation of Sarnath Buddha of their own perception. In this regard the available material show that the local sculptors did not turn to any centre of art including Mathura for inspiration. Evidences are available to show a phase of experimentation in the region which perhaps began in the fourth century A.D. With regard to the sculptural activities in the third-fourth century in this region Dr. Anand Krishna has convincingly shown a local tradition of art illustrated by a solitary example of a head of a devotee carrying a Śiva-liṅga in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.[13] There are many sculptures which can be ascribed to fourth century A.D. These are :

(i) The churning of milk and baby Krishna (acc. no. 180) in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi[14] (hereafter referred to as B.K.S.).

(ii) A standing female figure[15] (Acc. No. 4052), now in Amer Museum.

(iii) Govardhandhari Krishna[16] (Acc. No. 147) in B.K.B.

(iv) Ek-mukha liṅga[17] (Acc. No. 23946) in B.K.B.

(v) A seated Mātrikā[18] at Harishchandra Ghāt in Varanasi

(vi) An inscribed image of Hāritī from Sarnath in Sarnath Museum[19]

These evidences are sufficient to show the technical experience of the local artists in handling of mass.

---

13. Anand Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 91-94.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
19. B.R. Mani and S.N. Dubey, Gupta Vaṁśa Ke Pratham Sāsaka Śrī Gupta Kā Sārnāth Se Prāpta Hāritī Pratimā Abhileka, *Dhyānam,* No. 5 & 6, 1985-86, pp. 39-42 (in Hindi).

Chronology

A small standing image of Buddha (Ht. 0.42 m) in Bharat Kala Bhavan is another early example of art from this region. Interestingly it hails from Varanasi city.[20] Buddha is standing relaxed against severely plain stele. He is wearing a diaphanous *ubhayānśika saṁghātī* which is unique in its execution. The drapery folds on the edges and in between the legs have no parallel. This treatment of drapery, alongwith a circular *ūrṇā* marked on the forehead and small hair curls on the head executed in horizontal line, warrant an early date of the image. The figure is characterized by its broad shoulder, prominent chest, and slightly attenuated waist. Legs are carved disproportionately, hence it looks dwarfish. Its physiognomy shows a roundish face, half shut eyes not concentrating at the tip of the nose, eye-brows delineated in ridges running slightly high and a small mouth with pudgy lower lip. The lower garment is held firmly with a waist-belt tied towards the left with its free ends falling on his thigh. Both the hands are lost but reminiscence of the right hand shows that it was raised high near the shoulder. Legs are carved realistically and there is no abstraction in their form. Slight bulge in the genital region may be noted. In this way one may find certain late Kushana features lingering in this image and, therefore, it can be safely ascribed to c. 400 A.D. It is perhaps the earliest image of Buddha in Sarnath style and perhaps earlier than the Govindanagar Buddha discussed above. It is important to note that Buddha in B.K.B. does not show any influence of Mathura art.

The Buddha [B (a) 3] in the Sarnath Museum,[21] seems to have been produced during this formative period of Sarnath style. It is fashioned in the older tradition of Bala's Bodhisattva. But the treatment of the body and execution of drapery show further advancement in style. the torso is well modelled and slim. The navel is significantly reduced. Legs show some abstraction in their forms. The knees are round. The robe is without any mark of its folds. However, some folds on the edges and between the legs

20. Lalit Kumar, A Small Buddha image in Bharat Kala Bhavan and Its Probable Dating, *Journal of the Faculty of Arts,* B.H.U., Varanasi, Vol. 3, 1982, pp. 115-120; T.K. Biswas and Bhogendra Jha, *Gupta sculptures* Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, 1985, Fig. 41- Cat. Fig. 44.

21. Joanna G. Williams, *op. cit.,* fig. 26.

are seen but their volume has been considerably reduced in comparison to the Buddha of B.K.B. discussed above. Therefore„ stylistically the present Buddha should be assigned to the early quarter of the fifth century A.D.

The standing Buddha from Sarnath, now, in Indian Museum, Calcutta, is also attributed to this formative phase. In this image the unusual placing of hands lead us to ascribe it to this phase of art at Sarnath. The treatment of the torso can be compared with the Buddha [B (a) 3] discussed above. Legs are treated naturalistically with its prominent shin bone as seen in the Buddha of B.K.B. Ear lobes are relatively short. The figure shows a considerably evolved physiognomy of the Sarnath style. The nimbus is conspicuous by its absence.

In the second quarter of the fifth century the iconology of the Sarnath Buddha seems to have been completed and in the subsequent period efforts were continued to execute the subtle body of "pure Being" in the plastic form. The Buddha [B (b) 1] of Sarnath Museum represents the style of this phase.[22] A circular nimbus with its scalloped border is introduced here for the first time. The body does not show any significant development but reduction in the volume of drapery folds can be seen on the edges and in between the legs. The waist belt and building genital region are the two features which still persist.

During this phase some Mathura influences become apparent at once in a standing Buddha from Sarnath, now in British Museum, London.[23] It can be seen in the ornamental vegetal band on the halo. At the same time Sarnath has rejected a Mathura feature. Now the ridgelike eyebrows are replaced and delineated by a single tangential line like the Gandharan Buddha heads. With regard to the treatment of legs some abstraction in their form with emphatic knees may be observed. In other aspects it is similar to the nimbated Buddha from Sarnath discussed above.

A standing Buddha which has lost its lower legs, in the collection of National Museum, New Delhi, is the most intriguing example from Sarnath (fig. 7). It has been attributed to the third phase of development of Sarnath

---

22. *Ibid.*, plate 86.
23. J.C. Harle, *op. cit.*, plate 52.

school, which range between c. 450-470 A.D. The image is carved in Chunar sandstone but has apparently followed Mathura style except for the robe and its folds near the neck which are executed in Sarnath style. It has Mathurasque physiognomical features which can be compared with Mankuwar Buddha dated 449 A.D. The deep navel also reminds of Mathura tradition. Significantly, the genital bulge has disappeared. It is an important change but the waist belt is still in vogue. In spite of its expansive body, this Buddha has been ascribed to this phase of art. Similar treatment of the body can be observed in an inscribed torso of Buddha in Sarnath style recovered from Bhita near Allahabad,[24] now in State Museum, Lucknow. It is perhaps the first image which was exported from Sarnath. Here Mathura influence is readily apparent in the representation of donors on the pedestal. Phalegraphically it has been rightly ascribed to the fifth century by Fleet.[25] But stylistically it is contemporaneous to the Buddha of the National Museum, New Delhi, referred to above.

After this began the phase of maturity in which all dated examples were produced. During this period the Buddha dated in the year 474 A.D. and two others of 477 A.D. were produced. They represent the fuller understanding of subtle concepts which were transformed in to the plastic form. The waist-belt is conspicuous by its absence which is replaced by a thin string without any knot.

Impact of Sarnath on Mathura Art

Though it is not certain as to when Sarnath style originated, but there is no doubt that it evolved sometime in the fourth century A.D. as it is apparent from the small Buddha in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan discussed above. The first impact of Sarnath on the art of Mathura is discernable in the drapery of the Govindanagar Buddha (76. 26) discussed above. However, it did not leave any impact on the art of Mathura. Half a century later, another torso of Buddha in Sarnath drapery was produced. It has also been recovered from Govindanagar. But again it did not influence the future art of Mathura.

---

24. Joanna G. Williams, *op. cit.,* plate 105.
25. J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, Varanasi, 1963, p. 45.

There are two more Buddha images from Govindanagar site on which Sarnath influence is apparent in their rectangular form of robe.[26] Both the images can be assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century A.D.

Sarnath influence was not only confined at the site of Govindanagar in Mathura. The Buddha from Mathura, now housed in Rastrapati Bhavan, is another example in which drapery folds near the neck and schematic folds on the hem show Sarnath influence beyond doubt.[27] This image of Buddha can also be assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century A.D.

In the light of these influences from Sarnath travelling towards Mathura, it would not be difficult to explain the Sarnath influence on the Buddha from Bazidpur, a site near Kanpur, in the collection of State Museum, Lucknow.[28] It is carved in locally available stone. It seems to be a handiwork of some sculptor who migrated from Mathura and was influenced by the fashion of Sarnath drapery. This can also be assigned to the second-quarter of the fifth century A.D.

Impact of Mathura on Sarnath Art

The first perceptible influence of Mathura as has already been pointed out is seen in the vegetal band on the halo of the Buddha from Sarnath in the collection of British Museum, London. It has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century A.D.

By far the most pronounced influence of Mathura art has been detected in the Buddha from Sarnath, now in the collection of National Museum, New Delhi, discussed earlier. It has been carved in Mathura style except for the drapery and the stone which belong to Sarnath. It may be observed that Sarnath has not yielded any image of Mathura origin and of the Gupta period which would have otherwise influenced the style of this particular Buddha. Therefore, possibilities of its being a copy based

---

26. R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.,* fig. 144 and 145.
27. *Ibid.,* fig. 141.
28. Joanna Williams, *op. cit.,* fig. 106.

upon some Mathura model can be ruled out. It is, therefore, difficult to explain how Mathura could exert such a profound influence on the art of Sarnath.

It could be a work of a Mathura Artist who had migrated to Sarnath when Mathura was subjected to the Huṇa's invasion. Whatever may be the truth this Buddha is a work of a sculptor who was trained in Mathura style but he adopted the diaphanous plain drapery while working at Sarnath.



A NOTE ON THE CULT IMAGE OF ŚIVA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SAMARĀNGAṆA SŪTRADHĀRA

Dr. SUSMITA PANDE

At the out let I would like to make it clear that though there are numerous sculptured forms of Śiva illustrating a variety of mythical episodes they cannot all be regarded as significant from the standpoint of regular worship which depends on the symbolization of some cosmological idea, not the playful artistic rendering of any and every mythical episode. Hence a distinction may be made between the regular cult objects *upāsya bimbas* and the wide variety of sculptured form conceived by the artist. The former expresses some cosmological idea so that the image expresses some root conception (dhyāna) or abstract scheme (yantra). Sculptured forms on the other hand may also arise from the illustration of mythical episodes such as the *Gajāsura Saṁhāra* or *Rāvaṇānugraha.* It is also to be noticed that in course of time the sculptures themselves influenced late *Āgamas* and *Śilpa-śāstras.* In the present paper we are concerned only with basic cult forms.

Of all the Gods of the Indian pantheon except the mother Goddess Śiva has the unique distinction of having the oldest tradition of plastic representation. Even in the Indus civilization the representation of Śiva is found in two forms - as liṅga - or as a *Yogi* or *paśupati.*[1] In the *Yajurveda Saṁhitā* we meet in Rudra - Śiva the duality of the benevolent and the dreadful[2] but there is not definite evidence of iconolatry in this age. Apparently it was with the rise of the *Pāśupata Cult* that the practice of worshipping Śiva in the form of Liṅga was popularized and in the Kusāṇa period the representation of the different aspects of Śiva through the carving

---

1. Cf. Marshall M.I.C. pp. 77-78 Mackay, *The Indus Civilization* pp. 96-7; Wheeler *The Indus Civilization* pp. 67, 83-84.

2. *Yajurveda Saṃhitā* Chapter - 16.

of faces on one or more lingas appears to have commenced.[3] The Pasupata sect is said to have been founded by Srikantha and especially popularized by Lakulisa.[4] It included the iconographically important doctrines of the eight or five forms of Śiva.[5] Another important sect of the Śaivas was that of the Kāpālikas mentioned many times in literary and epigraphic works of the post Gupta period. Iconographically it should be noticed that they worshipped Śive as *Mahābhairava*.[6] The *Soma - Siddhantis* were another Saiva sect which preferred to worship Śiva as accompanied with Umā and Śiva who was moon crested (Umā Sahita Candra Śekhara).[7] But the most popular Saiva sect between the 9th and 12th centuries was that of the *Śaiva - Siddhantis* who had many branches. One of these was the *Mattamayūra branch*. It has been suggested that Paramāras of Central India were the spiritual disciples of teachers belonging to this branch.[8] The names of several works composed by Hṛdaya Śiva of the Gorathikā *Matha* at Dhārā are known.[9]

Bhoja was the most famous of the Paramāra rulers and wrote his encyclopaedia *Samarāṅgaṇa - Sūtradhāra* sometime in the first half of the 11th Cent. That he was himself a Saiva is clear from the invocatory verse of the work -

देवः स पातु भुवनत्रयसूत्रधारः त्वां बालचंद्रकलिकांकितजूटकोटिः।
एतत् समग्रमपि कारणमन्तरेण कात्स्न्याद् असूत्रितमसूत्रयत येन विश्वम्। 1.1A

3. Cf. T.S. Maxwell *Visvarupa* (Delhi 1988) pp. 52 ff. He quotes *Mahabharata* (critical edition) 13. 14 182-4 as the earliest source of Saiva iconography. Here Siva as Pradhāna-Purusesvara creates Brahma from his right side, Visnu from his left side and Rudra at the end of the cycle. It should be noticed that the Siva linga is divided into three parts, Brahma, Vaiṣṇava and Raudra.
4. Prof. V.S. Pathak, '*Saiva cults in Northern India*, (1960) pp. 4 ff.
5. If pp. 17-18.
6. Cf. Kṛṣṇa Miśra's play *Prabodh Candrodaya* act III, verse 13 -The God Mahabhairava is worshipped by us (so says the Kapalika) by human sacrifices.
7. V.S. Pathak, op. cit., p. 25.
8. *Ibid*, p. 35.
9. The *Prāyaścitta Samucchaya, Naimittika Kriyānusandhāna* and *Pratiṣthā darpaṇa* were composed by Hrdaya Siva Isana - *Siva guru paddhati* quoted by V.S. Pathak op. cit., p. 39.

This may be translated as may the God protect you who is the sūtradhāra (architect, manager) of the three worlds and whose matted hair is adorned by the new moon digit at the top as if by a bud (there is a pun on कलिका which is a bud is also the diminutive of Kalā) and who composed the whole universe without another cause or joining thread. The first verse of Bhoja's *Śṛngāra Prakāśa* too praises the *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva.[10]

Bhoja treats of the representation of Śiva in two chapters viz. Ch. 70 and 77. The first deals with Śiva in the form of Liṅga the second with Śiva in anthropomorphic forms. It is unfortunate however that the text of the 70th Chapter is defective at numerous places. It mentions different types of materials, measurements and sub-divisions of the liṅgas. The material could be of precious stones, metals, woods, stone or clay. Thus *Padmarāga, Mauktika, Sphaṭika* and *Maṇi* are mentioned as the proper materials for diverse types of fulfilment. The use of ruby (पद्मराग) brings great luck, the use of crystals brings fame and a good progeny, the use of maṇi leads to a good harvest etc.[11] Three sizes are mentioned short, middle and high (हस्त–मध्योत्तमाख्यानि)[12] The three parts of the linga, viz. ब्रह्मभाग, विष्णुभाग and रुद्रभाग are mentioned.[13] The first of these was the lowest and square in form, the second was the middle part octagonal in form, the third or *Rudrabhāga* was the cylinderical top. Various kinds of linear markings are prescribed in this top portion. Apart from constructional details which are not always clear in this text, it says clearly that the *liṅga* may have one, three or four faces. It especially commends the *caturmukha* liṅga - चतुर्मुख भवेल्लिङ्मर्चितं सर्वकामदम् (70. 17) The face is to have a pile of matted hair at the top and the half moon as its ornament - चन्द्रार्धालिंकृतंकार्यं जटाजूटधरं शिरः।

Although Bhoja mentions the construction of the lingas and their uses in different contexts, he does not explicitely mention the significance of the four faces of the liṅga. It can be inferred that they were symbolic representations of the metaphysical categories discussed by him in his

---

10. *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* (Mysore 1955) Vol. I, p. 1 May the form of the Purāri mixed with the body of his beloved protect you.

11. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* 70, 78-80.

12. *Ibid.*, 70. 2.

13. *Ibid.*, 70. 33-34.

Tattva Prakāśa which showed *Agamic* influence. The interpretations may be gleaned from the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.48).[14]

Here five faces are mentioned *Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa* and *Īśāna.* is the fifth face which is ऊर्ध्वस्य occupying the central top position. Sadyojāta also called Mahadeva is the eastern face and represents the elements of earth. The southern face is Aghora or Bhairava or Rudra and represents fire. The western face is of Nandin or Tatpurusa and represents air. The northern face is of Uma or Vāmadeva and represents water. Īśāna or Sadāsiva is the fifth or upper face. All have three eyes except Vāmadeva which has two. Mahādeva or Sadyojāta has rosary (aksamala) and water pot (Kamaṇḍalu) in his hands, Īśāna or Sadāśiva has bow and arrow, Bhairava or aghora has staff (danda) and citron (malulinga) nandin or Tatpuruṣa has shield and spear. Uma or Vāmadeva has mirror and blue lotus. The mirror is said to stand for pure knowledge, lotus for detachment.

It may be stated here that these different faces of Śiva were visualized to indicate how the same lord was the source of different Āgamic traditions. The Lord appears as Sadāśiva, the supreme teacher, and his five powers - cit., ānanda, Icchā, Jñāna and kṛyā are expressed as the five faces from which proceed the diverse *āgamas* - dualistic, non-dualistic and mixed.[15] The five functions of the Lord *Srsti, Sthiti, Saṁhāra, Tirodhāna* and *Anugraha* may also be thought of here. The authorship of *Tattvaprakāśa* is attributed to Bhoja. It accepts the metaphysical and other categories based on the *Saivāgamas* . Hence the above symbolic interpretations of the different faces of liṅgas could have been naturally accepted by him.

Turning now to the iconography of Śiva in Chap. 77 of *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* we find that a basic distinction is made here between the benevolent and fierce aspects of Śiva. The benevolent aspect is thus described -

चन्द्रांकित - जटः श्रीमान् नीलकंठः सुसंयत
विचित्रमुकुटः शम्भुर्निशाकर - सम - प्रभ
दोर्भ्यां द्वाभ्यां चतुर्भिर्वा मुक्तो वा दोर्भिरष्टभिः
पट्टिश - व्यग्र - हस्तश्च पन्नगाजिन - संयुतः

---

14. १, २, ३,

15. M.M. Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Vāṅmaya men Sākta dṛṣṭi*, p. 46.

सर्वलक्षणसंपूर्णो नेत्रत्रितयभूषण

एवंविध - गुणैर्युक्तो यत्र लोकेश्वरो हरः

परा तत्र भवेद् वृद्धिर्देशस्य च नृपस्य च

That country and its ruler will flourish where the lord of the world, Hara is installed with the matted hair marked by the moon (चंद्रांकितजटः), beautiful dark throated (नीलकंठः), well trimmed (सुसंयत) with a marvellous crown (विचित्रमुकुटः), with a spear or trident (पट्टिश) in his hand, covered with snakes and skin (पन्नगाजिनसंयुतः), complete with all the auspicious signs (लक्षण) and adorned by three eyes (नेत्र - त्रितय - भूषणः).

It is noticeable that this iconography does not mention the consort of Śiva as an integral part of the image. It is thus distinguished from the cult image associated with the Soma-Siddhāntins and goes easily with the Śaiva-Siddhantins who were known in Malwa at the time.

About the fierce aspect of Śiva it is stated that if Mahesvara is to be constructed in the forest (अरण्ये) or the cremation ground (श्मशान) his form should be as follows to be auspicious to the maker. He should have eighteen to twenty arms or some time one hundred or a thousand arms (अष्टादश भुजो दोष्णां विंशत्या वा समन्वितः।। शतबाहुः कदाचिद्वा सहस्त्रभुज एव च)

He should have a fierce aspect surrounded by his *gaṇas,* his upper covering being of the skin of a lion. रौद्ररूपः गणवृतः सिंहंचर्मोत्तरीयकः He should have sharp jaws and teeth and have a garland of heads तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रदशनः शिरोमालाविभूषितः He should be moon crested, resplendent with a muscular chest, looking fierce चन्द्रांकितशिरः श्रीमान् पीनोरस्कोग्रदर्शनः।

It is said that this is how the image of Mahesvara should be made in the cremation ground. In the capital he should be made with two arms and in the port town (पत्तन) with four arms द्विभुजो राजधान्यां तु पत्तने स्याच्चतुर्भुजः. In the forest or cremation ground however he should have twenty arms - कर्तव्यो विंशति भुजः श्मशानारण्यमध्यगः।

The fierce aspect of Śiva already known as Bhairava was distinguished by a large number of arms and by its ornament of skulls. It was the form in which the Kapalikas were wont to worship Śiva. Since they stayed away from the crowded haunts of men these images are naturally advised to be located in the forest or cremations ground.

Bhoja touches a philosophical point when he says that although inherently auspicious the same Śiva has the opposite aspects of benevolence and fierceness. The one and unique lord is diversely conceived for different places एकोऽपि भद्रः भगवान् स्थानभेदविकल्पितः He is made fierce or benign by the wise - रौद्रसौम्यस्वभावश्च कियमाणो भवेद् बुधैः A telling comparison is given here to illustrate the duality. The sun has a benign aspect when it rises but becomes fierce as it reaches the zenith at noon. So Śankara too appears fierce when he appears in the forest (उद्यन्यथा मवेद्भानुर्भगवान् सौम्यदर्शनः॥ स एव तीक्ष्णतामेति मध्यन्दिनगतः पुनः। तयारण्यस्थितो नित्यं रौद्रो भवति शंकरः Although he has the same nature he appears differently on different occasions. Thus he is benign at a suitable place. Knowing his different places one should make him along with the Kinnara and Pramathas (=gaṇas). He is Sankara who showers benedictions on the world.

If we turn to contemporary inscriptions from Malwa this picture of Śaiva iconography is confirmed. Several grants of Vakpatiraja have an invocatory verse in praise of Srikaṇṭha with whom are associated snakes, the digits of the moon and Śiva's consort Girijā.[16] In several grants of king Bhojadeva on the other hand there is no reference to the consort of Śiva.[17] Victorious is that sky haired God who bears the digit of the moon for creation, as if the sprout of the world seed, may the raddish yellow matted hair of the enemy of Eros which look like the flash of lightening at the time of the world destruction ever bestow good luck on you. In these benedictory verses the same two aspects of Śiva may be seen, the gracious and the fierce.The aspects arise from the fact that the same God is creator and destroyer.

In the context of the basic iconography of *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* we may also quote Puranic evidence. Thus the *Viṣṇudharmottara* describes the *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva. Pārvatī is to be on the left of Śiva who is to

---

16. H.V. Trivedi (ed.) Inscription of the Paramāras, Candella, Kacchapaghātas and their minor dynasties (*C.I.I.* Vol. II pt. 2)) Ins. No. 4-7-the invocatory verse is the same.

may that brilliance of the firm throat of Srikantha nourish your well being, which has a dark hue owing to the poisonous breath of the panting serpents, which appears like the Rahu owing to the curse of the moon struck to the head and which causes the illusion of Kasturi since it is rubbed against the shining cheeks of Girija.

17. *Ibid*, Insc. 9-31.

have one face, two eyes and four arms, holding the rosary and the trident in the right hand and the mirror and lotus in the left hands. This image represents the spirit (पुरुष) united to his nature (प्रकृति). The God is called Gauriṣvara (गौरीश्वर)[18] The form of Bhairava is described as having a pendulous abdomen (लम्बोदर), round and red eyes (वृत्तपिंगललोचन), face ferocious with jaws (दंष्ट्रकराल-वदन), garland of skulls (कपालमाली), many weapons. Even here the goddess is to be shown to the left of Bhairava.[19]

The fact is that owing to the diversity of cults and sects within Saivism several different ways of conceiving Śiva for worship were current and in the course of time there was considerable eclecticism. In the *Liṅga Purāṇa*[20] thus diverse forms of Śiva are mentioned for worship. Thus we have Śiva with the half moon seated on the bull, alone or with his consort. He could be with three eyes, four hands, snake girdled with a skull in hand. He could be naked or wear a skin. He could be shown in Ardhanārīśvara form which is similar to that described in *Viṣṇudharmottara*.

We may now conclude that the fundamental basis of Śiva's iconography lay in the Āgamic concept of the five forms of Śiva, a doctrine which was parallel to but distinct from the *Pañcarātra* concept of the *vyūhas*. Both had a conmological functions but while the vyūhas were emanations recalling the *Sānkhya*, the forms or *mūrtis* of Śiva were manifestation after the Vedāntika fashion. While the Pañcarātrika vyūhas show the doctrine of emanations according to which reality diminishes from the subtle to the gross from the proximate to the remote, the manifestation of Śiva are not the limited aspects of the universal but are ideal states of manifestation. The *Avyakta* and the *Vyakta* lingas (i.e. with or without faces), illustrated this cosmology. Śiva was originally imagined as a Yogi or the hunter. The former aspect became the basis for the benign representation of him which is described in the *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*. As the hunter, Śiva was imagined in the dreadful form of Bhairava. Since as hunter he was conceived to the force of time or death, he was also conceived by contrast as the creater and in this aspect joined to his consort, the original mother Goddess. Thus in all

---

18. *Viṣṇudharmottara* 3. 56

19. *Ibid.* 3. 59

20. *Liṅga Purāṇa I*, 76.17 ff.

there were five fundamental forms of Śiva's iconography as a cult object or उपास्यमूर्ति - *avyakta liṅga, Vyakta liṅga* (with faces), anugraha-murti or Saumya Vigraha as a Yogi (without the consort) Saumya-Vigraha as creator (ardhanārīśvara or accompanied by the spouse), raudra or ugra vigraha or Saṁhāra murti as Bhairava. Of these Bhoja omits the ardhanārīśvara vigraha or the Saumya vigraha with the consort. Hence this view can only signify the view of some particular Śaiva cult, probably of the Śaiva cult, probably of the Śaiva Siddhāntins. Another point which emerges is that the regular उपास्यमूर्ति of Śiva should be distinguished, from what may be called his लीलामूर्ति. Rao[21] has listed numerous forms of Śiva अनुग्रहमूर्ति, संहार, नृत्त, / दक्षिणामूर्ति etc. He relies on the late medieval Śilparatna or some Āgamas like the *Superbheda*. His detailed description puts the regular *Upāsyamūrtis* out of focus. Nor does he follow any logical classification (Nṛttamurtis connected with Tāṇḍava are to be included in Saṃhāra mūrtis).



21. In *Hindu Iconography* Vol. II, pt. I-II.

HOYSALA SCULPTORS AND THEIR ART

Dr. A.V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Mysore

One of the special features of the Hoysala temple art is the presence of label inscriptions which mention the names of Hoysala sculptors who carved these fine images. This is a refreshing feature to be noted in the history of Indian art where generally the artists who created these fine and beautiful specimens of sculptural art are almost unknown to us. Thus we know precious little about the workers and craftsmen who actually sculpted these images of great charm and beauty. Under this background it is most heartening to find the names of the sculptors of the Hoysala period inscribed on the pedestals of the images carved by them. Unfortunately, not all the Hoysala temples contain the names of the sculptors but only some of the temples do have the names carved on various parts of the temple. It is not possible to understand why only certain temples contain the names of the sculptors carved on them whereas in the case of other more numerous temples such a practice is not seen. Nevertheless, from the names of the sculptors of these temples, we get a fairly good idea of the accomplishments of these sculptors. It is proposed to examine some of these outstanding sculptors and their artistic creations in the following pages.

The words that are used to denote a sculptor of the Hoysala period are *Oja, ruvāri* and *āchāri*. The word *Oja* is a Kannada form of Sanskrit *upādhyāya* which means a teacher as most of these sculptors were teaching the art to their students. *Ruvāri* is the Kannada form of the Sanskrit word *rūpakāri* and is the most popular word in denoting a sculptor in the Hoysala period. The other word *āchāri* is generally used as a caste name in the case of Viśvakarma community most of whom were engaged in sculpting, goldsmithy and sometimes wood carving also. They were also instructors and teachers in these crafts. These artists belonged to various guilds called

gaṇa and some of the Hoysala sculptors are described as belonging to Sarasvatigaṇa. There was a famous temple of Sarasvati in Gadag and it was probably their headquarters where they met and discussed their problems.

They belonged to various religious groups and worshipped different gods. Some are described as the worshippers of Śiva whereas others are the worshippers of Jina. Though it is very difficult to understand how they were rewarded by their patrons or employers, it is possible to surmise that most of these sculptors were paid in cash and kind. However, some of the celebrated sculptors were given land grants for their maintenance. The words *kamḍarisida, mādida* are used to denote the sculptures they made. Sometimes the word *besa* meaning work is also used to denote the sculptures made by them. The inscriptions mentioning the names of the sculptures are elegant and attractive and hence add a charm and beauty to the fine sculptures they adorn. In fact during the Hoysala period inscribing an epigraph became an art by itself. The letters are very artistic and roundish and often ornamental and the inscriptions are short. In some cases they run to two or three lines but in most cases, they just mention the name of the sculptor consisting of two to four letters. In some cases either the first letter or the first two letters of the names are carved. *Malli, Ma, Ho, Cha* are some of the examples.

Now, we may refer to some individual sculptors of the period as known from these inscriptions. In this connection it is worth mentioning that the most popular folk tale that is current in and around the sites of important Hoysala temples makes mention of two sculptors Jakaṇāchāri and his son Ḍankaṇāchāri. In fact the Kappe Channigarāya temple is said to have been built by Jakaṇāchāri and his son Ḍankaṇāchāri detected a defect in the image of Channakeśava that it contained frog and water in the belley portion of the image and hence it is unworthy of worship. But apart from this folk story no inscription so far discovered mentions any of the two sculptors Jakaṇa and Ḍankaṇa. Thus these two sculptors are not supported by any inscriptional evidence and hence they are not considered here.

One of the most outstanding sculptor of the period was Mallitamma. He is normally entitled Ruvāri meaning a sculptor. He has to his credit not less than sixty label inscriptions spread over many temples of different periods. Mallitamma was first commissioned by Amṛiteśvara Danḍanāyaka in

1196 A.D., to work in the Amṛiteśvara temple at Amritāpura built during the period of Hoysala King Ballala II.[1] As this is the earliest known temple where Mallitamma's name appears it may be surmised that he started his career as a sculptor in 1196 A.D. Further it is also interesting to note that no wall image in this temple contains the name of Mallitamma whereas his work is confined to the ceiling in the navaranga. The ceiling though small is beautiful. But as Mallitamma was working on the first temple, he was given a chance to work on the ceiling in preference to work on the wall sculptures and freizes and having satisfied that Mallitamma could be entrusted with more responsible work, he was engaged to carve the wall images in his next assignment at the next temple.

Mallitamma's next assignment was at the Lakshminarasimha temple at Hāranahalli built in 1234 A.D.[2] This temple was built by three brothers Piriyaṇṇa Hegḍe, Sovaṇṇa and Keśaṇṇa during the reign of Hoysala king Narasimha II. From the point of style, this heralds a phase which shows more sculptural details and shows closer affinity to Somanathapur and Nuggihalli temples. Perhaps this was the first major sculptural work of Mallitamma as he was permitted to work on the many wall sculptures of this temple. Atleast twentyfive images have been carved by Mallitamma as known by his name on these sculptures. Some of the more important wall sculptures carved by Mallitamma are the following :

Sankarshaṇa and Lakshmi at the north west of the main garbhagriha; Aniruddha with Lakshmi; Pradyumna with Lakshmi; Adhokshaja with Lakshmi and Garuḍa to right; Govardhanadhāri Kṛshna with flower bearing lady to left; Narasimha with Lakshmi; Janārdana with Lakshmi to right and *Chāmaradhāri* to left; Varāha and Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa with Lakshmi. Thus the different forms of Vishṇu with Lakshmi which are prominently visible to visitors were carved by Mallitamma. All these images have the name Mallitamma inscribed on the pedestals of these images.

Though the Panchalinga temple at Govindanahalli has no foundational inscription, there is an epigraph of 1237 A.D., which refers to a

---

1. Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department (MAR), 1931, p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

grant during the time of Someśvara I.[3] Hence it must have been built prior to this date, may be around 1235 A.D. Mallitamma was the main sculptor at this temple. He carved two śaiva *dvārapālas* at this temple which are placed on either side of the entrance doorway in the porches. They are fairly big in size, measuring four and half feet in height and exhibit sculptural skill of the artist. The graceful pose of the body and clear cut features, fine and intricate ornaments and drapery show that the sculptor was well versed in art. On the pedestals of these two images is the inscription *ruvāri* Mallitamma.

The next temple where Mallitamma worked was the ornate Lakshminarasimha temple at Nuggihalli built in 1246 A.D.[4] by Bommaṇa Danḍanāyaka during the reign of Hoysala king Someśvara. It was a fine trikūṭāchala with Keśava, Narasimha and Gopāla in the three garbhagṛihas. The sculptures at this temple are of high order and easily indicate the workmanship of Mallitamma from stylistic point of view. Most of the wall images of the northern wall were carved by Mallitamma. The images have limbs which appear to be slightly short and thick for the height, because the images are in *navatāla* measurement. However, the intricate workmanship is easily the best here and compares well with the Keśava temple at Somanathapura. Among the images that were carved by Mallitamma, the following deserve special mention; In the western niche is the seated goddess Pārvatī holding triśūla, akshamālā and phala and below is the inscription *ruvāri* Mallitamma. Indra and Śachī seated on an elephant in the Pārijāta battle; Veṇugopāla with a highly stylized *prabhāvalī*; eight handed mahiśamardini; four handed seated Vishṇu in *padmāsana* holding *patra, kalaśa, chakra* and *śaṇkha* with *daśāvatāra* carved on the *toraṇa* of the image with garuḍa on the pedestal with inscription Mallitamma; In all these images the *toraṇas* which are made of the creepers turned and twisted into intricate shapes, the pedestals wit scroll work with *padma, garuḍa* and *kīrtimukha* breaking the monotony are the special features of Mallitamma's art.

The Lakshminarasimha temple at Javagal attracted the attention of Mallitamma next.[5] Though this temple can not be dated precisely in the

---

3. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

absence of any foundational inscription, it can be ascribed to a period about 1250 A.D., later than the Nuggihalli temple but earlier than the Somanathapura temple on stylistic grounds. Mallitamma seems to have carved atleast seventeen wall images in this temple at Javagal. Some of the important sculptures carved by Mallitamma in this temple can be noted now. The image of Lakshmi Narasimha, Dharaṇivarāha with a consort on each side and garuḍa on left, Madhusūdana with a female attendant on each side, an eight handed dancing Lakshmi holding *pāśa, padma, ankuśa, pāśa, phala, lamba* and *svarga,* and eight handed Mahiṣamardini are some of the wall images carved by Mallitamma. Three wall images have the inscription Chikka Mallitamma meaning junior Mallitamma and perhaps he was a different person.

Mallitamma reached his peak in the sculptural art at the famous temple of Keśava at Somanathapura.[6] It was built in 1268 A.D., by Soma Danḍanāyaka during the reign of Hoysala king Narasimha III. In fact it is considered to be the best example of Hoysala art and sculpture, surpassing even the temples at Belur and Halebid. Naturally, Mallitamma had a major role in making this temple the most graceful *trikūṭāchala* of the Hoysala period. He was not satisfied by simply carving the wall images but worked on almost all its parts as evidenced by inscriptions mentioning his name either fully or simply as *Malli* or *Ma.* Atleast eighty times his name has been carved in various parts of the temple. He carved the wall images, the horizontal friezes and the images in the *śikhara* of the temple. Among the horizontal freizes, Mallitamma contributed the story of *Mahābhārata* in which the first panel depicts the court of Dhritarashtra, followed by Bhima shaking the Kauravas from the tree. He continues this story by Lākshāgriha, Hidimba-Ghatotkacha episode, Bakāsuravadha. Then in the next panel Mallitamma has carved Pandava's stay in the potter's house; Arjuna hitting the matsyayantra; court scene of Dhritarashtra, Mahabharata war and the coronation of the Pandavas. Because of the shortage of space Mallitamma has been able to carve only the major events of the story of *Mahābhārata.* Of the wall sculptures carved by Mallitamma the following deserve special mention. He carved a dancing Lakshmi, Śrīdhara, six armed Vishṇu, and Mahiṣamardini. The sculpture of Mahishamardini is a masterpiece. The body

6. R. Narasimhachar; *The Kesava Temple at Somanathapura,* p. 6 and *Epigraphia Carnatica* (EC) Revised edition, Vol. V, Tn 82-96.

contours of the goddess are well modulated. She is confidence incarnate as she kills the demon. Though ferocious, the ease with which the act is shown is amazing and throws welcome light on the artistic skill of Mallitamma. The dance of Lakshmi is another sculpture which arrests our attention by the graceful postures and the intricate ornaments and drapery. After this temple, Mallitamma is not heard of any more. Perhaps this was his last temple where he worked. He must have been over seventy years of age when this temple was finished by him. Right from 1196 to 1268 A.D., he worked in atleast six different temples and carved hundreds of sculptures of great beauty. He seems to have specialised in carving wall sculptures of the Vaishṇava pantheon; he also carved ceilings as well as horizontal freizes which involved intricate and minute carving. He carved the *toraṇas* in a unique way that would enhance the beauty of the image under it. However; his images are a bit thick and squattish because of the *navatāla* measurement.

Another outstanding Hoysala sculptor was Dāsoja. He was a native of *Balligrāma* or the modern Balligāme, the famous provincial capital of the Chalukyas of Kalyāṇa and a great centre of temple art. Fortunately in his case, the inscriptions on the pedestals of the images he carved are slightly longer and include his titles and sometimes personal details. His father was Rāmoja and he belonged to the Sarasvati gaṇa. Dāsoja started his career as a sculptor in the Channakeśava temple at Belur prior to 1117 A.D.[7] This temple boasts of the fine Sālabhanjika sculptures as bracket figures, in the *navaranga* of the temple. In fact these sculptures are the master-pieces in the whole of this temple. That Dāsoja was chosen to carve some of these sālabhanjika sculptures goes to prove that perhaps he was one of the best sculptors of his times. He specialised in carving these sālabhanjika images. In fact it is more difficult to carve a sālabhanjika than the sculpture of a goddess because in the case of the latter the śilpaśāstra texts come to the aid of the artist whereas in the case of the former, it is imaginative genius of the artist that alone counts. Dāsoja engraved fifth, seventh and sixteenth śālabhanjikā images at Belur. He had the title "*Birudaruvāri gondalabaḍiva*" (Smiter of the crowd of famous sculptors). To understand the sculptural art of Dāsoja it is necessary to observe the three sālabhanjika images which

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, B1 34.

adorn the Keśava temple at Belur. The first one is entitled coiffure in which a lady is dressing her long hair which she holds in her left hand and a female attendant is giving her the oil in a cup.; another attendant is showing a mirror to her mistress; the curly hair is finely carved and shows how women bestowed great care on their coiffure. The other sculpture is shown in *śringāra rasa* with elaborate ornaments. She is about to begin her dance; two men are shown as drummers. Thus the artist has been able to bring to light the feminine charm in both these sculptures. The other sculpture shows the contours of the faminine body with all its charm in a highly effective way.

Dāsoja's next assignment was at the Hoysaleśvara temple at Halebid. At this place also he carved female figure showing the delicacy of form as well as intricate ornaments. Brahmeśvara temple built at Kikkeri in 1171 A.D., by Bammavve Nāyakiti had the distinction of the participation of Dāsoja in it. The Keśava image from this temple, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Newyork was a sculpture of Dāsoja as evidenced by an inscription on its pedestal.[8] Standing in *samabhanga,* the image is very delicately carved with natural anatomical details. Stylisation is absent. The *kirīṭa* and the *simhamukha* are good examples of intricate workmanship. There are some sālabhanjika sculptures in Kikkeri and it is quite likely that Dāsoja who specialised in carving such sculptures might have carved them also among with the Keśava image at Kikkeri. In the year 1152 A.D., Dāsoja's name appears as an engraver of an inscription at Kanakatte.[9] Gandhavāraṇa basadi in Śravaṇabelgola also refers to Dāsoja.[10] Dāsoja's name also appears on a pedestal of the image of Achuta from Balligāve itself. As this was his native place he has been simply referred to as Dāsoja without mentioning his native place. However, in other places he takes pride in calling himself as belonging to Balligāve.

Dāsoja had an equally illustrious son by name Chāvaṇa who also specialised in carving sālabhanjika images. He also worked with his father Dāsoja at the Keśava temple at Belur. He takes pride in calling himself as the

---

8. The inscription on the pedestal in three lines reads '*Sarasvatigaṇadāsi balligrāmeyaruvāri Dāsojanabesa Keśavamūrti.*

9. *Ep. Carn.* V, Ak 52.

10. *Ibid.,* Revised Edition, Vol. II, no. 173.

son of Dāsoja (*Dāsojana putra*) and as belonging to Balligrāma or Balligāve. He assumed more fanciful titles than other Hoysala sculptors such as *Madana maheśa, Ruvāri śarabha bheruṇḍa* (Śiva to cupid who are sculptors, double headed eagle other sculptors).[11] He carved four bracket figures in the *navaranga* and also outside wall sculptures. In point of style, we can easily recognise the impact of his father, particularly in carving the proportionate body, intricate and highly delicate *toraṇa* and avoiding excessive ornamentation detrimental to beauty and charm. In fact one can easily recognise the Kalyāṇa Chalukya influence in the sculptural art of both Dāsoja and Chāvaṇa. In this connection it is worth remembering that their native place Balligāve was a reputed centre of the architecture of Kalyāṇa Chalukya period.

Besides these three great sculptors described above, the Hoysala temples have the names of other lesser known sculptors also. They are equally important from their works of art but we do not get more details about them and their mention in the temples is less frequent than others. The Lakshmidevi temple at Doḍḍagaddavalli built in the year 1112 A.D., was the work of Malloja Maṇiyoja who is described as equal to divine architect Viśvakarma.[12] This sculptor does not seem to have worked in other temples of the period as no other temple refers to him.

The Keśava temple at Belur had many more sculptors besides Dāsoja and Chāvaṇa to whom reference has already been made above. Another eminent sculptor was Nāgoja who carved a sālabhanjika image on the outer wall of the temple.[13] From his titles it becomes clear that he was the sculptor of Trikūṭeśvara temple at Gadag, and was the son of Ketoja. He had a title 'confounder of the crowd of sculptors'. Chikkahampa is another sculptor who carved the image known as *Vasantasundarī* holding *tāmbūla* in her hand. His father Binnāṇi Ineja was also a sculptor of repute and is described to have carved a drummer and sālabhanjika in the *mandapa* of the Vijayanārāyaṇa temple built of Biṭṭideva (Vishṇuvardhana).[14] Malliyaṇṇa is another sculptor of the same temple who carved a dancing female figure.

---

11. *Ibid.,* B1 35, and 39.
12. R. Narasimhachar; *The Lakshmidevi Temple at Doddagaddavalli,* p. 19.
13. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. V, B1 51.
14. *Ibid.,* B1 50.

Kencha Malliyaṇṇa also carved some female sculptures. Pādari Malloja carved the twentyfirst sālabhanjika in the same temple. Other sculptors who carved images in this temple are Māyiṇa, Masada, Vibhaṇa, Malloja, Revoja, Lakapa and Kumarāchāri. Thus with excellent sculptures carved by these great artists, the Keśava temple at Belur became perhaps the best Hoysala temple of the early period.

Halebid also had a host of reputed sculptors of whom Kedāraoja, Kālidāsi, Ketaṇa, Bālaṇa, Māba, Masaṇa, Haripa, Haridāsi are important. Haripa's dancing Sarasvati is an excellent example of the wealth of sculptural art. The smiling face of Sarasvati, the enthusiasm of the musicians and drummers, the exhuberent and rich *toraṇa,* graceful dance poses and the movements of the other limbs are faithfully depicted in this sculpture. The Kirātārjunīya panel carved by Ketaṇa is another excellent sculpture worthy of notice at Halebid.[15] Haridāsi was another sculptor who was responsible for carving the Rāmāyaṇa frieze. This panel is specially note worthy for the battle between Rama and Ravana. Haridāsi was a native of Sthānakundūr or Tālagunda agrahāra.[16]

Sculptor Baichoja worked in the Lakshminarasimha temple at Nuggihalli and Kedāreśvara temple at Nāgalapura. He specialised in carving the miniature turretts which adorn the outer walls of these two temples. His father Saigoja was also a sculptor. Nakarāchāri worked in the Brahmeśvara temple at Kikkeri, along with Masaṇa, Haloja and Bammoja. A group of great sculptors worked at the Keśava temple at Somanathapura of whom mention should be made of Saroja, Jakaṇa, Iśvara, Nanjaya, Bāleya, Bharamaya, Lohita, Yelamasaya, Masaṇitamma, Chāmaya and Chauḍaya.[17]

The Keśava temple at Aralaguppe is one of the fine Hoysala temples of small dimension, built in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.[18] The most important sculptor of this temple was Honoja. He carved the wall images of Durgā, Harihara, Pradyumna, and Yoganārāyaṇa. His name appears in this

---

15. *MAR,* 1930, p. 48.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 43.
17. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. V, Tn. 82-96.
18. *MAR,* 1935, p. 3.

temple either in full as *Honoja* or simply as *Ho.* Thus these sculptors add a personal touch to these Hoysala temples. In fact, a thorough exploration, particularly of the *śikhara* portions of the temples and other inaccessible sculptures and panels should be undertaken to detect the names of more sculptors. Then we will be in a better position to understand almost all the sculptors of the Hoysala period and their art.



SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE CIHNAS IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF JAINA TĪRTHAṄKARAS[1]

Dr. KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

While different Brahmanical deities, and even different forms of the same deity, generally are marked with distinct iconographic features, the representation of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, barring four of them, are identical. The four exceptions are Ṛishabhanātha (also known as Ādinātha), the first Tīrthaṅkara, who is shown with lateral strands; Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, who is depicted with a canopy of one, five, or nine snakehoods over the head; Mallinātha, the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara, who, according to Śvetāmbara-tradition,is shown as female characterised by long hair and developed breasts; and Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, who is represented with a canopy of three, seven, or eleven snakehoods over his head.

None of the Tīrthaṅkaras is shown multiarmed or multiheaded. None of them is depicted in *dvibhaṅga, tribhaṅga,* or *atibhaṅga* posture. All of them, according to the iconographic texts, should be shown in either of the two postures - the standing ones in the *Kāyotsarga,* and the seated ones in the *Padmāsana*; and the extent images show that the injunction was meticulously followed. There is one marked difference between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara ways of depicting the Tīrthaṅkaras, viz., the former would show them as wearing lower garment, while the latter would depict them as naked. Further, as stated above, there is one more distinction between the two sects in the case of the icons of Mallinātha, the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara : the Digambara treat him as a male while the Śvetāmbara as a

---

1. Some ideas contained in this paper were also discussed by us in a seminar organized by the State Museum, Lucknow.

female. With these general remarks on Tīrthaṅkara icons, we discuss the role of the *chihnas* in the iconography of the Tīrthaṅkara images.

[1]

The iconography of the Tīrthaṅkaras being identical, it was necessary to provide some identification marks, *chihnas*, to distinguish the icons of a Tīrthaṅkara from the others. Different animals (e.g. bull, elephant, horse, monkey, lion, goat, deer, buffalo, rhineceros, boar, snake, *makara*, tortoise, fish), birds (e.g. falcon), flower (e.g. lotus), and certain popular and well known symbols (e.g. *svastika, Śrīvatsa, nandyāvarta*) were chosen as *chihnas* for different Tīrthaṅkaras, to serve as descriptive labels for them. There is no definite mythology connected with the association of a particular *chihna* with a particular Tīrthaṅkara. This is one of the reasons that in some cases the *chihnas* in the Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions vary. For example the *chihnas* of the fourteenth Tīrthaṅkara, Anantanātha, is falcon (*śyena*) according to the Śvetāmbara, and bear according to the Digambara; that of the eighteenth, Aranātha, *nandyāvarta* according to the Śvetāmbara, and fish according to the Digambaras.

[2]

Notwithstanding a few discrepancies in the prescription of *chihnas* for different Tīrthaṅkaras, the following examples would show that the *chihnas* were primarily meant as identification marks for the Tīrthaṅkaras, and, as such, if the identification of the figure could be done without them, they could as well as be dispensed with.

It has been observed in the case of the Deogarh Jina images that Pārśvanātha figures are generally shown without *chihna*,2 while other Tīrthaṅkaras are shown with their respective *chihnas*. The obvious explanation would be that since the serpent canopy over the head is in itself sufficient enough to make sure about the identification of the figure as Pārśvanātha, representation of the *chihna* was therefore considered as redundant. Incidently, it may also be noted that the *chihna* of Pārśvanātha is snake (*ahi*). Since snake was already shown in the form of a canopy, the repetition of the same reptile as *chihna* would have been deemed unnecessary.

---

2. Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, Leiden, 1969, p. 219.

[3]

The following is an example to show how the depiction of a *chihna* was necessary for identification even though the Tīrthaṅkara figure is shown with its peculiar feature, which, in itself, in normal course, like the preceding example, should have been a sufficient guide for its identification. A large number of medieval Jina figures from Deogarh show lateral strands,3 a Tīrthaṅkara could as well be dispensed with. However, the case of Deogarh images is quite peculiar. It has been observed4 that in Deogarh the lateral strands somehow come to be depicted indiscriminately in the icons of almost all the Jinas. Therefore the depiction of bull figure was essential for identifying the icons of Ādinātha.

[4]

A Tīrthaṅkara image from Kankali Tila, Mathura, in the State Museum, Lucknow5 shows two bulls flanking a wheel. The bull *chihna* would make one to identify the figure as Ṛishabhanātha. But among the accompanying figures are seen Balarāma with his typical attributes *hala* and *muśala,* and *Chaturbhujī* Kṛishṇa holding his usual attributes *gadā, padma, chakra,* and *śaṅkha.* Kṛishṇa and Balarāma, according to the Jaina mythology, were cousins of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha, and are often found represented with the figure of that Tīrthaṅkara. The two are not in any way associated with Ṛishabhanātha. There could be two explanations - (i) either the sculptor has wrongly shown the two Vṛishṇi heroes with Ṛishabhanātha, or (ii) he wrongly has given the *chihna* of Ṛishabhanātha to the image of Neminātha. But since, as stated above, the association of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa is with only one Tīrthaṅkara, viz., Neminātha, there is less possibility their being depicted with any other Tīrthaṅkara. The more acceptable inference could be that the sculptor has wrongly put the bull *chihna* for Neminātha.

[5]

If the identity of the Jina could be made without depicting both his special characteristic iconographic features (like serpent-hood canopy) and

3. *Ibid.,* pp. 219-220.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Accession No. J. 78.

chihna, then both of these could as well be dispensed with. A Lucknow Museum terracotta6 shows a male figure in the *padmāsana* and the legend *Supārśvaḥ.* Despite the fact that the figure neither shows the snake-hood canopy over the head of the figure, nor does it show the *lāñchhana* (snake), yet it should be identified as an icon of Supārśva (nātha), as the epigraph provides a definite clue for the same.

[6]

In the case of a Jaina icon in which the *chihna* represented pertains to one Tīrthaṅkara but the text of the epigraph on pedestal refers to the installation of the icon of a different Tīrthaṅkara, the epigraphic evidence should be given precedence over the iconographic details. A recently discovered image from Mirzapur7 shows a Jina figure seated in *padmāsana.* The pedestal shows in centre, two vases, one on either side of a *chakra* placed on the head of a dwarf. The vase is the *chihna* of Mallinātha, the nineteenth Tīrthaṅkara, and hence, going by the *chihna,* it would be logical to identify the Jina figure with that Tīrthaṅkara. But the epigraph on it very clearly refers to it as an icon of Śāntinātha. It would be unreasonable to consider the figure as that of Mallinātha wrongly referred to as Śāntinātha in the inscription; instead, it should be taken as that of Śāntinātha and the error of representing the wrong *chihna* should be ascribed to the fault of the sculptor. In support of our contention, we may refer to the delineation of figures of different deities on the Kushāṇa coins. Judging by their iconographic features alone, it would be almost impossible to identify them. But since the name of the deity represented is also inscribed on the coins, one has to identify the figure on the basis of the label inscription, even though it may not show the usual iconographic features of that deity.

[7]

A fragmentary icon in the State Museum, Lucknow,8 is quite interesting. The main figure is lost and only the pedestal is extant. In the

6. Accession No. 53.69.

7. This image was discovered by Dr. Rakesh Tiwari, (now), Director, U.P. State Archaeology Department. The epigraph on the image has been edited by me and Dr. Tiwari for publication in Shri B.K. Thapar Felicitation Volume.

8. Accession, No. G. 308.

centre of the pedestal are shown the device of a wheel flanked by a deer on either side. Whom did the main figure, now lost, represent? The wheel-and-deer is typically Buddhist motif and as such the possibility of the icon being that of the Buddha would naturally come to mind. No wonder, in the Museum records, the piece is described as part of a Buddha image.9 But the side figures, one male and one female, should be identified as Yaksha Kubera as it holds a mongoose and a *Śrīphala* in his hands, and Yakshiṇī holding lotus in the left hand and book in the right. With the identity of these figures, a Yaksha and Yakshiṇī ascertained, it becomes clear that the missing main figure was not that of the Buddha but of a Tīrthaṅkara. And this is amply supported by the epigraph on the pedestal which refers to it as Śānti [nātha],10 whose *lāñchhana* is deer.

[8]

What could be the reason for iconographic lapses in the delineation of a few of the Tīrthaṅkara images? We may put forth some suggestions :-

(i) Since the features of the Tīrthaṅkaras (barring the four referred to above) are identical, some sculptors, not well-versed with iconographic texts and traditions, might have developed the notion that any *chihna* could be represented with any of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

(ii) Regarding the representation of bull with Tīrthaṅkara figures not showing lateral strands (see above under [1]), the typical characteristic of Ṛishabhanātha (whose *chihna* the bull is) it may be suggested that the sculptors might have erroneously thought that like the twenty-four forms of Vishṇu, all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras were different forms of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛishabhanātha or Ādinātha; they presumed that the bull *chihna* of Ṛishabhanātha could as well be the *chihna* of any of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

(iii) One may suggest that in case of icons showing the figure of one Tīrthaṅkara (identified with special characteristic features) and *chihna* characteristic of another one, the intention may be showing respect to two different Tīrthaṅkaras. One could even think of *rapprochement* between the

9. Information from Dr. S.K. Rastogi of the State Museum, Lucknow.
10. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1936-37, p. 92.

followers of two different Tīrthaṅkaras, though this is less likely. In Jainism rivalry between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras is known, but there is hardly any evidence to show rivalry between the followers of different Tīrthaṅkaras.

(iv) In some cases the incongruity between the Jina figures and *lāñchhanas* could be due to the ignorance of the sculptors, they being not able to recollect the correct *chihnas* of different Tīrthaṅkaras. It may not be very difficult to recollect the names of all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras as also all the twenty-four *chihnas*. But to collect as to which *lañchhana* is particular to which Tīrthaṅkara is rather a difficult task. This would be more so, if the sculptors were not themselves practicing Jainas.



BUDDHISM AND THE PERFORMING ARTS

Dr. ANUPA PANDE

The Buddhist contribution to the visual arts - viz, painting, sculpture and architecture is well known. Buddhism contributed in no mean way to the performing arts - Buddhist literature and sculpture abound in motifs and scenes of dance, music and drama.

Buddhist literature - the *Jātakas* and other religious texts, the plays of Aśvaghoṣa and Harṣa frequently mention the Theatric arts. The *Jātaka* legends abound with references to *naṭa* (actor) and *nāṭaka* (plays or dramatic performances). The *Milindapañha* 331, refers to the *nartaka, gāyaka, bherivādaka.* From various statements, it seems that it was customary to hold dramatic performance after the coronation of the Prince. In Book XX, No. 531 (*Kuśajātaka*) occurs : "*Detu nāṭakāni lepattha passama - Bhadde puttasa te rajjam,*" i.e. "Madam, in handing over the kingdom to your son, you should hold dramatic performances," Part IV, 67 (*Udaya Jātaka*) Book XI, No. 458 says - "*Rājā puttam abhisincitvā nāṭakāni,*" The *Jātakas* also mention actors, *Jātaka* (Book III, 287) states "of the four who gain one is that who has the actors tricks". Part IV, 102 (Book XXII, No. 543) has the expression "In a crowd, Nāgas look around to see whether any actor is nearby". In the *Kanavera Jātaka* (Book IV, part iii) where the Bodhisattva was a robber we have reference to *naṭa, samāja-maṅḍdali* etc. Actresses accomplished in music and dance are referred to in the *Jātakas - 'naccagita vāditakuśala.* The *Khantivadi Jātaka* mentions the four constituent elements of the performing Arts - viz. *gīta, vādya, nṛtta* and *nāṭya.*

The *Mahāvastu* refers to several musical instruments. Drum, tabor, lyre, flute and cymbals are heard in the palace of Śuddhodhana. Several types of *vīṇā* are mentioned, viz. *nakula, soghoṣā, tunaka, vallakī* etc. The *Lalitavistara* also mentions a number of musical instruments viz. *veṇu, vīṇā, nakulā, soghoṣā, tuṇava, caṅḍisaka, sanbharika,* a *mahati vipañcikā, vallaki,*

mukundā, dhakkā, pataka, paṇava, jharjharikā, alingya, perivādini etc. It also says that "In Rajagṛha, Maudgalāyana and Upatisya showed their dramatic skill in spectacles and shows". Further, it says that under the direction of Gautam, a drama was staged at Rajgṛha. Kauvalyā, the most reputed actress of the times is said to have been transformed into a hideous woman by the Buddha as she had seduced some monks. Courtzans like Ambāpāli and Sālavati, who were experts in singing, dancing and music are well known in Buddhist legends. The *Buddacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, too, refers to various musical instruments viz. *Tūrya, Mṛdaṅga, vīṇā, Mukunda, muraja, veṇu, Vamśi, dundubhi.* In Canto II. 30. The *mṛdanga* is said to be ornamented with gold bands (*cāmikarabaddha kakṣaiḥ*) and is played by women with the foreparts of hands (*narikarāgrabhirāhataiḥ*). About Harṣa, the Chinese traveller I-Tsing informs us that he "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmutvāhana, who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga," and Harṣa had this composition set to music and dance and had it performed by a company. The same source informs us that Harṣa also had Candradāsa's Viśvāntara and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* versified and set to dance and music. Harṣa is also said to have taken part in dramatic performances. This is quite possible as already in the 3rd cen. BC, Aśoka seems to have utilized the religious spectacles or tableau to impress the Buddhist faith on the people. Rock Edict Four says "*Vimānadaṁsaṇā ca hastidaṁsaṇā ca aggikandhāni ca divyāni rupāni dasayitvā,*" i.e. "Having shown the people representations or spectacles (*rūpa*) of cars and palaces (*vimāna* has both the sense) elephants, fireworks or illuminations and other celestial things". The word *rūpa* here is possibly *rūpaka*, the sanskrit term for drama and is significant. Harṣa, too, staged similar spectacles. Hiuen Tsang tells us that Harṣa took out a golden image of the Buddha in the procession with himself dressed as Indra and Kumārarāja (perhaps Bhāskara Varman) dressed as Brahma. There were highly decorated pavalions and galleries of musicians. Apparently, these were images, decorations and theatrical make up.

Buddhist art, too, depicts the fullest development of the Performing Arts. The Bharhut, Sāñci and Amarāvati stūpas have many dance - music scenes. The Bharhut pillar reliefs provide excellent examples of foot positions and body flexions. We come across the *Kuñcita* foot and also, for the first time, the outward flexion of the knee, both of which were to become



Fig. 1

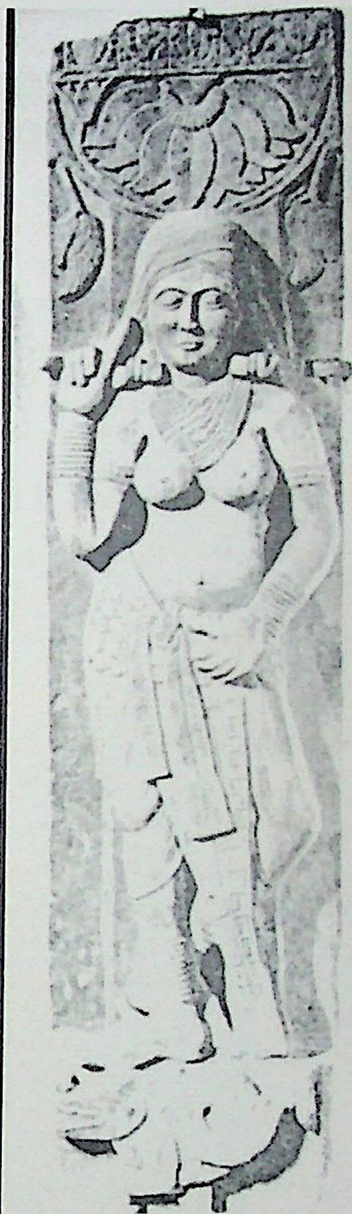


Fig. 2

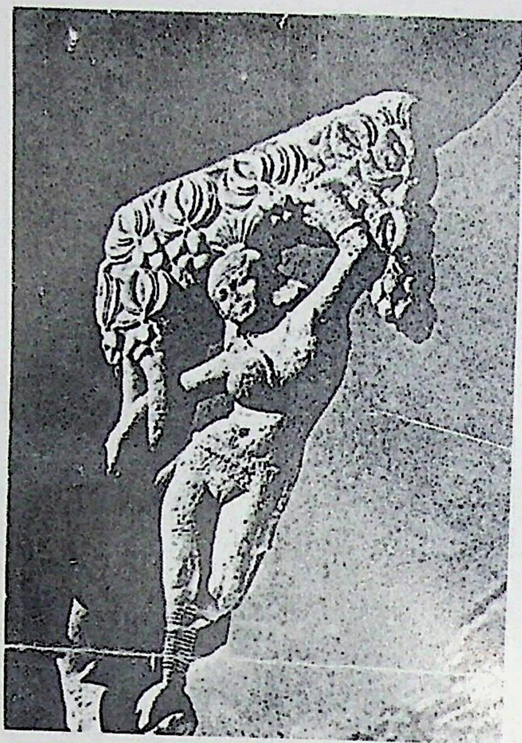


Fig. 3

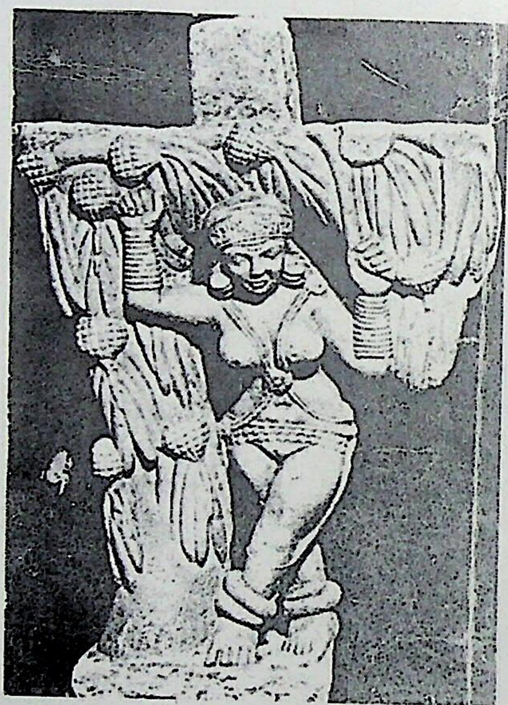


Fig. 4

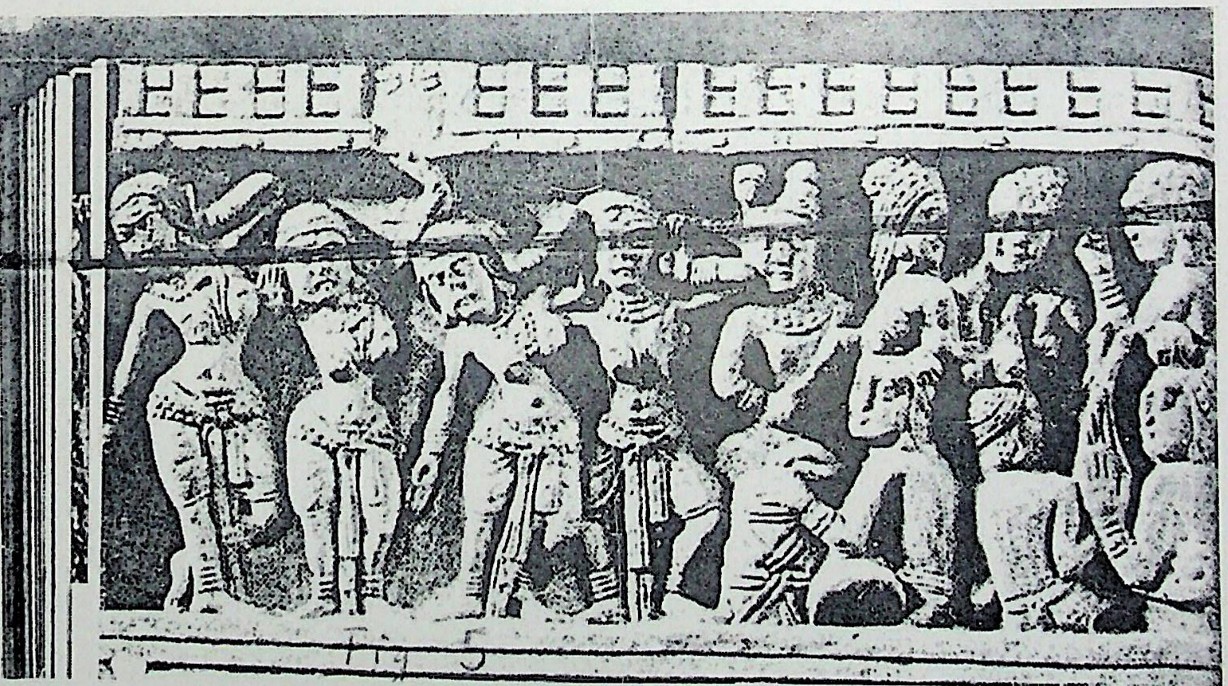


Fig. 5

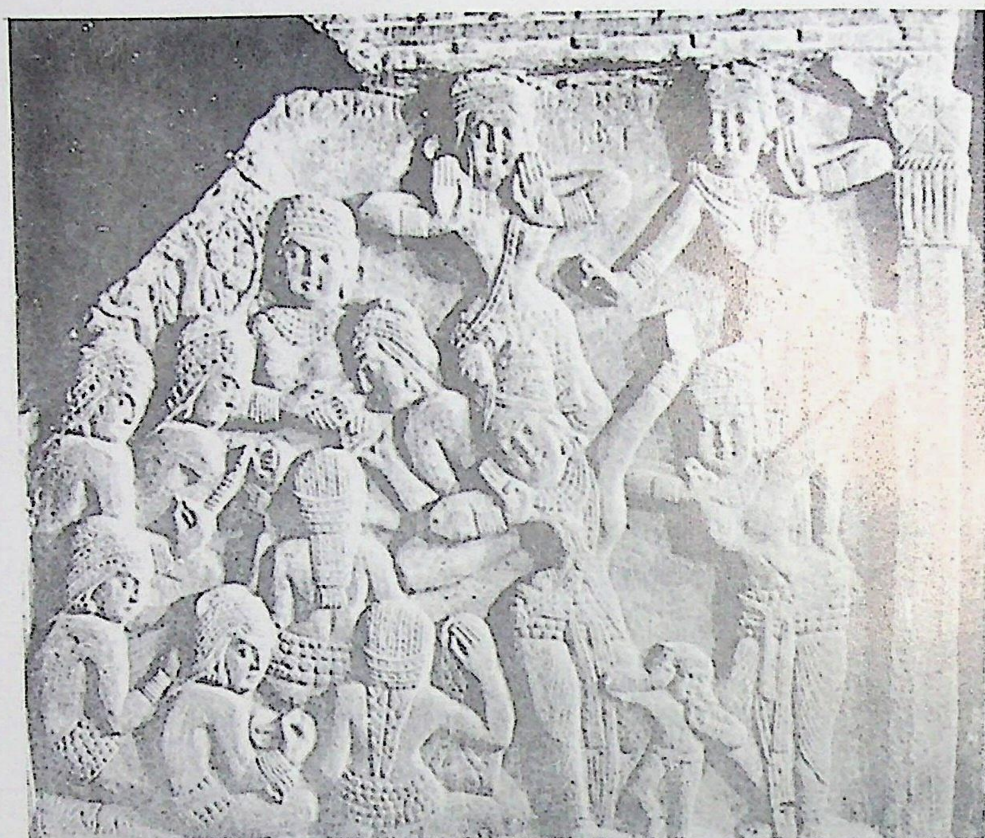


Fig. 6

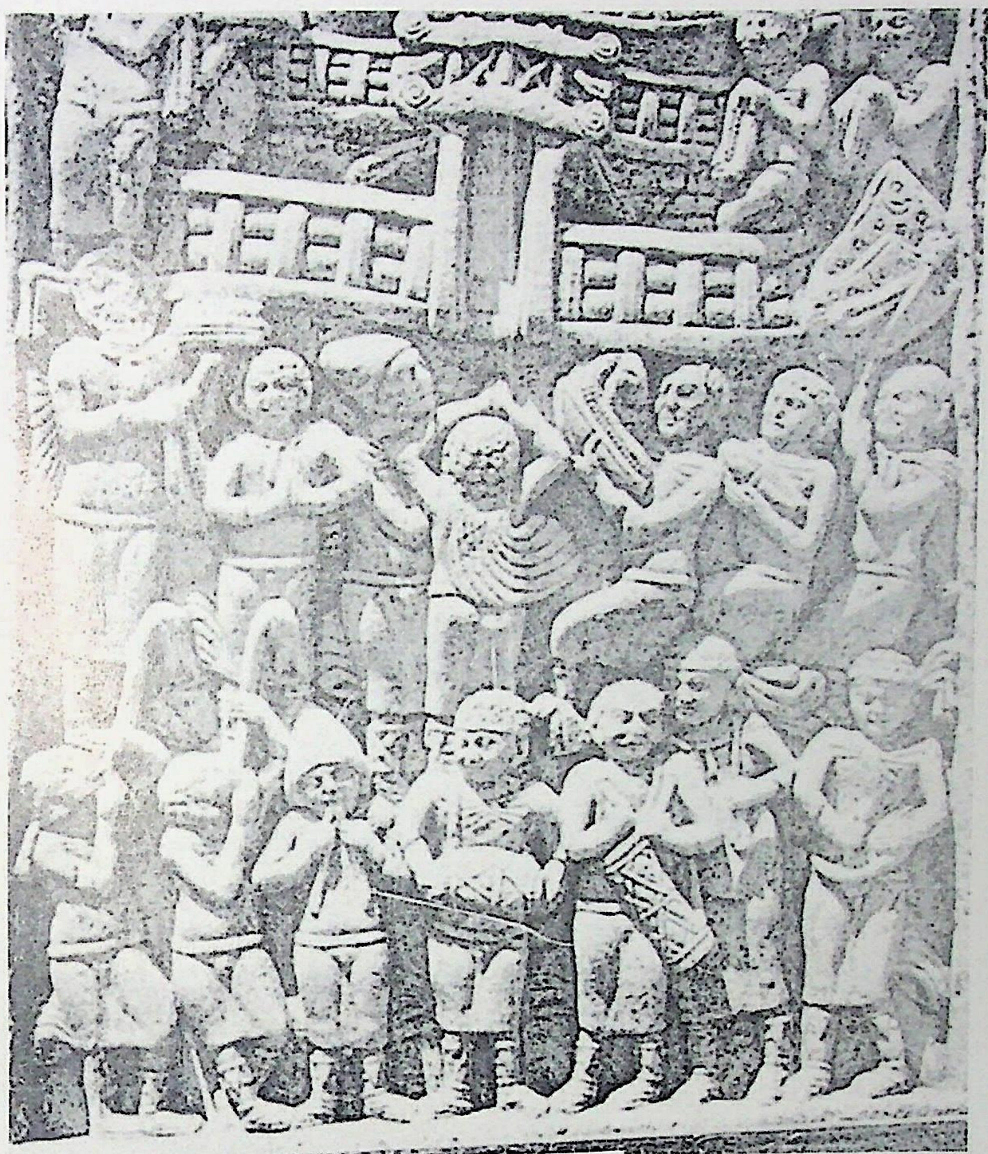


Fig. 7



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

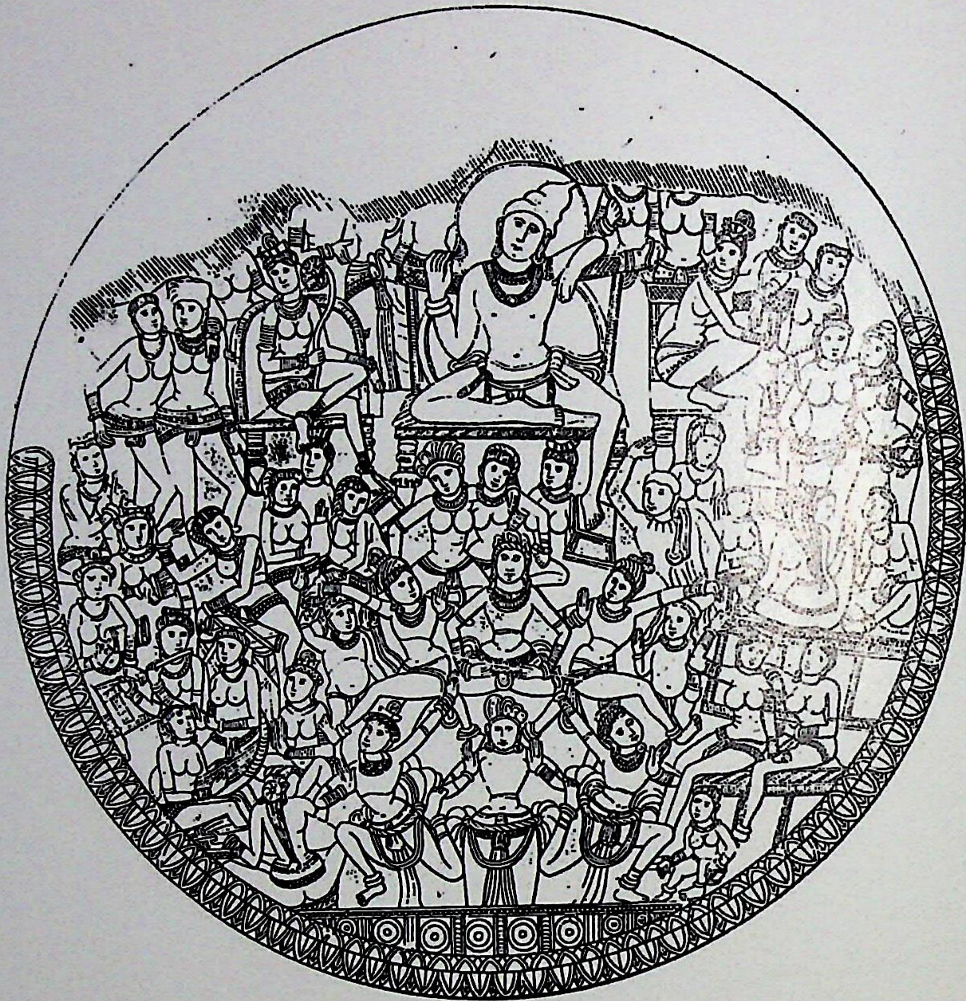


Fig. 12

a characteristic feature of the dance - poses later. Both the Culakokā Devatā (fig. 1) and the Sudarśanā Yakṣi (fig. 2) show the *Kuñcita* foot and *Kṣipta* position of the knees. The Culakokā Devatā holds the tree branch in her right *muṣṭi* or *śikhara hasta* and her left arm clasps the trunk of the tree in a clearly defined *patākā hasta*. The right hand of the Sudarśanā Yakṣī is in *Sūcimukha hasta* and the left hand is held near the hips in a *śikhara hasta*. The pose of the Yakṣī of the North Gate at Sāñci (fig. 3) is suggestive of the *Aśvakrāntā Sthāna* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, even though it is not a full depiction of the *Sthāna*. Fig 4 is a beautiful and accurate representation of the *baddhā cārī*. The crossing of the thighs of the *baddhā cārī* is clearly seen. The figure holds the branches of the trees in two *muṣṭi hasta* in *recita*. There has been much discussion on the *śālabhañjikā* and *yakṣī* motifs by visitors on Indian art and quite a few have said that they are not figures of dances. One must, however, point out that while these figures may or may not depict dances, they do depict a movement of the dance or an aspect of it and their movement can be often analysed in terms of the *Sthānas* or *caris* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Some of the scenes are quite dramatic in character. An important one (fig. 5) in the Bharhut stupa on the west gate corner jamb of the Ajātaśatru pillar (2nd - 1st cen BC) depicts an interesting scene. The upper bas relief depicts the Vaijayanta Palace and Sudharmā hall of the gods of the thirty-three, with the scene of the cuḍāmaha. The lowest panel depicts four women dancing to an orchestra in which seven people take part. The arms of the three dancers are in stiff *latā hasta* and *patākā hasta mudrās*. The attitude of the fourth figure is significant, for apart from her two *patākā hastas* near the ears she bends her knees in an outward sideways position and here are the first beginnings of the *Kṣipta* position of the knees which was to become a basic stance of classical dance styles of India in years to come. The Bharhut Panel, South gate Prasenjit Pillar (2nd - 1st cen. BC) has a similar dance - music scene (fig. 6), Of the musical instruments in these scenes, one may note the harp shaped (not lute shaped) *vīṇā* played with the plectrum or *Koṇa*, of percussion instruments both the *ghana* i.e. cymbals and percussion i.e. *mṛdaṅga* may be seen of the *mṛdaṅgas*, one stands vertically - the *ūrdhvaka mṛdaṅga* and the other, the *aṅkika*, lies horizontally on the lap. In Sāñci, the west pillar of the Northern Gateway (fig 7) is interesting from

the point of view of musical instruments. There are two carved trumpets, a harp, little drums and tambourines. Paticularly interesting is the double reed pipe, of the type that is neither seen nor used in Indian music. Again, the drum beaten with sticks is an uncommon feature of Indian drumming at the classical levels.

At Amaravati, we have a profusion of song and dance, which plays an important part in the scenes of the worship of the Buddha as well as in the courts and palaces of Nāga kings. Both the harp shaped and the lute shaped *vīṇās* are seen. The *Kṣipta* knee is not seen, but the crossing of the leg and the *Kari hasta* is popular. In a scene on a medallion, (fig. 8) as many as twenty-two each male and female dancers take part; the dance, devotional in aim is vigorous in character. They dance around a central figure, (who carries the begging bowl) of either the Bodhisattva or the Buddha. They are all obviously in a great frenzy and seem to have lost themselves in the dance. At the bottom, two figures on either side are in the *vṛścika karaṇa* , which Abhinavagupta prescribes for people who are overflowing with joy during the worship of their favourite deity. In another medallion (fig 9) the (2nd Cen. AD), there is a well known *nāṭya* scene, which narrates the story of the *Mugga Pakkha Jātaka.* Prince Siddhārtha and his father are witnessing a dance - music scene. There is an elaborate orchestra consisting of cymbals, conch - trumpets, a small drum, *mṛdaṅga* harp like *vīṇās* played with plectrum. The prima donna stands in the centre with one foot placed on a stool in front and the other extended backwards. She is perhaps enacting out an *abhinaya* sequence. Another court scene (fig. 10) has a main figure surrounded by an orchestra. One lady is playing the flute, another a drum and yet another is playing the *vīṇā,* which is more akin to the later lute shaped *vīṇā* rather than the harp shaped ones. The chief figure in the middle is that of a dancer. She wears a fine costume, which is cut and sewn, a scarf over her shoulders and an elaborate head-dress. Her right arm is in line with the shoulder and bent at the elbow. This hand is held in *patākā* or *tripatākā* at the shoulder. The left hand is held obliquely as *latā hasta.* The waist is twisted probably as *Chinna Kaṭi.* The legs cross at the hip level. In fig 11, Buddha symbolised by the white elephant descends from the Heaven Tuṣita borne by celestial dwarfs and surrounded by devas. There is a flute, a lute shaped *vīṇā* and cymbals. The right leg crosses the left at the thigh level. The arms are a fairly accurate

representation of the *Kari hasta* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Yet another scene (fig 12) shows a king, either Śuddhodhana or Siddārtha with two chief Queens and ladies of the harem. A drummist is playing the *tripuṣkara* drums, another is playing small *āliṅgaka* drum, one lady is playing the lute shaped *vīṇā,* and another the harp shaped vīṇā with the fingers. The four dancing figures are interesting. The two upper symmetrical figures are an accurate representation of the *Bhuyaṅgāñcita karaṇa* (*Karaṇa 40*) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* The leg position is the same. There is only a slight difference in the position of the arms. Even though one arm is accurately depicted as *recita,* the other is not a *latā* hasta as should be. Instead it is flexed with the *abhaya patākā hasta* near the shoulder. The pose seems to anticipate the *Naṭarāja* pose even though it does not depict it fully as there are important differences. The two figures below depict the *Latā vṛścika karaṇa* (*Karaṇa 44*) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra.*

Thus, we may conclude by saying that despite the generally negative and other worldly ethos of Buddhist monastic life, in the course of time, Buddhist monasteries exhibited the fullest development of not only the visual arts, but contributed in a prolific manner to the performing arts too.



Vishṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya on the four sides of the central Śaiva emblem and the Hariharahiraṇyagarbha (Sūrya-Hari-Hara-pitāmaha) images during the early medieval period, combining almost all the prominent contemporary cults.[7] Sometimes even the Buddhist and Jaina influence is also discernible on Hindu composite icons.[8]

Syncretism is a characteristic feature of early medieval art in India. Syncretistic icons combining various gods[9] have been found from various parts of the country.[10] Of these, the images of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa (i.e., Sūrya and Vishṇu combined together) hail from different parts of India[11] but are comparatively rare north of Mathura. We publish here some images of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa from Haryana.

An image of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa recovered from the mound of Khokrakot at Rohtak (Fig. 1) is now preserved in the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana, Chandigarh.[12] Carved out of a crude block of Kankar stone it measures 64X30 cms. The god stands to front in *samapādasthānakamudrā* wearing a *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa,* earrings, *ekāvalī,*

---

7. Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu,* New Delhi, 1973, pp. 50-57.

8. Images of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara, Śiva-Lokeśvara and Hari-Hara-Sūrya-Buddha amply bear this out.

9. The following combinations seem to have remained popular -
   (i) Viṣṇu and Śiva-Harihara, Haryardha, Śiva-Nārāyaṇa or Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa
   (ii) Viṣṇu and Sūrya- Viṣṇu -Nārāyaṇa
   (iii) Viṣṇu and Kārttikeya-Brahmaṇyadeva- Viṣṇu
   (iv) Viṣṇu and Buddha-Yoga-Nārāyaṇa, Yoge (ā) śvara-Viṣṇu Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara
   (v) Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā-Hariharapitāmaha
   (vi) Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and Sūrya-Hariharahiraṇyagarbha or Sūrya-Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha
   (vii) Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sūrya and Buddha-Hari-Hara-Sūrya-Buddha
   (viii) Śiva and Buddha-Śiva-Lokeśvara
   (ix) Śiva and Pārvatī-Ardhanārīśvara
   (x) Śiva and Sūrya-Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava
   (xi) Sūrya and Brahmā

10. Banerjee, *loc. cit.,* ; Desai, *op. cit.,* pp. 51-61.

11. Banerjee, *op. cit.,* pp. 548-49.

12. We are thankful to the Director, Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana, Chandigarh for the photograph published here.

Keyūras, valayas and an undergarment with a sash running across the thighs. A beaded long garland coming from behind the shoulders and hanging down below the knees may also be seen on his person. The upper part of the backslab with a beaded border serves as the gloriole behind the head of the god. The facial expression is that of quietude. The normal right hand is raised in protection giving pose while the back hand holds the hilt of the mace whose thicker end is suspended downwards. The principal left hand supports the conch horizontally while the rear left hand holds the discus. Just above the hilt of the mace and the discus are carved *aṣṭadala* lotus flowers on either side of the head. On the receding projections of the *pañcharatha* pedestal are shown the attendant figures near the feet of the god. The one on the proper right hand side is a female holding a lotus in her left hand and resting the right on her respective thigh, bent at the middle towards the lord and gazing at him. She may be identified with Śrī. The corresponding figure on the other side wears a squat cylindrical crown and holds a lotus or discus in his right hand resting the other on his left thigh. He may, thus, be identified as Padma-purusha or Chakra-purusha.

But for the presence of the lotus flowers on either side of the head, the deity would have been identified as Vishṇu but the presence of the lotus flowers is indicative of the Saura aspect. In the known images of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa the lotus flowers are shown in the two hands of the god. It seems that the concept of the identity of Vishṇu and Sūrya in the iconoplastic art was just emerging when this image was created. This is corroborated by the date of the image also which can be assigned to *circa* seventh century A.D. on stylistic grounds. The squat cylindrical crown, the serenity of the face, the depiction of the attendant figures, simplicity of form sparse ornamentation and beaded rim of the gloriole are noteworthy features of the image. It seems to be a good example of the ingenuity of the artist who depicted the Vaishṇava and Saura attributes so imperceptibly as to suggest the identity of Vishṇu with Sūrya. The image is, thus, a unique one.

About a quarter century back, an image of *yogāsana* Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa (Fig. 2) stood fixed indiscriminately in the wall of Kabir Chaura Temple at Pinjaur, a well-known archaeological and tourist spot situated about 25 kms.

east of Chandigarh on the Ambala-Shimla road in district Ambala.[13] This image, along with many others, has since been removed from the building and is not traceable now.[14] Here the deity, bearing a beautitudinous smile, is sitting in *padmāsana* and *dhyāna-mudrā* like Yoga-Nārāyaṇa images. The god wears a squat cylindrical crown, earrings, *ekāvalī* armlets and wristlets. The front hands which rested one over the other beside the belly in *dhyāna-mudrā* are broken but their existence in this posture is indicated by the still extant portion of the left arm on the right foot and the mutilated portion of the belly of the god. The back right hand holds the mace and the left, though mutilated, evidently held the discus which can be seen above the left shoulder of the deity. The middle right hand holding a lotus is very clear and the existence of the corresponding left hand can be visualized by the traces of the lotus on the left also between the face and the discus. Partially preserved *prabhā-maṇḍala* on the left indicates that it covered the whole of the back of the deity above the waist. Also, it had a beaded border. The *pañcha-ratha* pedestal shows a diminutive figure of Aruṇa perhaps, in a niche over a solar *chakra* on the central face flanked on either side by an outward moving but facing lion with twirled tail forming a complete circle, and an upraised front part. On the extreme recesses are depicted elephants holding some indistinct object (animal ?) in the trunk.

Stylistically, this icon may be ascribed to *circa* eighth century A.D. During 1959-60, Dr. Y.D. Sharma of the Archaeological Survey of India

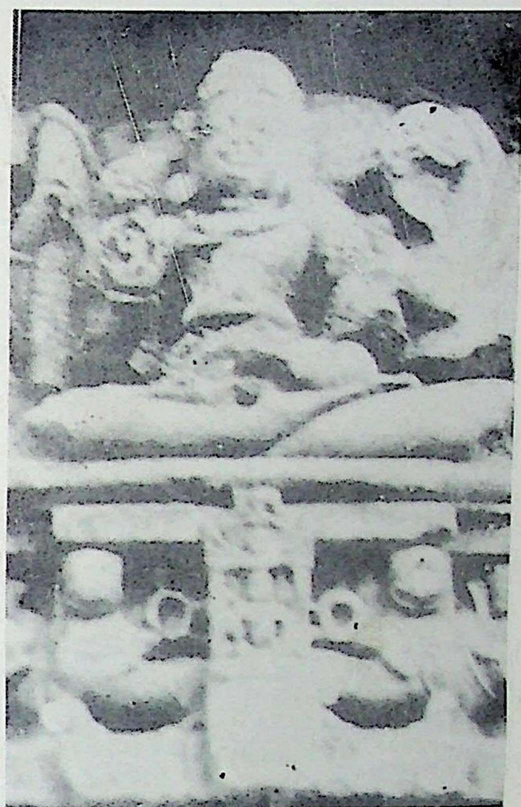
---

13. Devendra Handa, "Some Unpublished Sculptures from Pinjaur", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal,* Hoshiarpur, Vol. XIV, Part i (March, 1976), pp. 112-19, pls, I - XI; "Some Sculptures from Panjab and Haryana", *Panjab University Research Bulletin* (*Arts*), Chandigarh, Vol. VII, No. 1 (April 1976), pp. 95-96, Figs. 6-8; "Some Interesting Medieval Sculptures From Pinjaur", *Ibid.,* Vol. XIII, No. 2 (October 1982), pp. 83-86, Figs. 1-4; Udai Vir Singh, *Pinjaur Sculptures,* Kurukshetra, 1977; D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Medieval Indian Sculpture* (In the Government Museum & Art Gallery, Chandigarh), Chandigarh, 1981; S.P. Shukla, *Sculptures And Terracottas In the Archaeological Museum Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.* 1983 etc.

14. Most of the sculptures from Pinjaur have been removed to the Kurukshetra University and the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana, Chandigarh. This image was published by us in the *Bharatiya Vidya,* Bombay, Vol. XLI, Nos. 3-4, 1981, pp. 26-28.



Surya Narayana
from Khokrakot (Rohtak)
Fig. 1



Yogasana Surya Narayana
from Pinjaur
Fig. 2



Yogasana Surya-Narayana, Rohtak
Fig. 3

discovered some sculptures at Asthal Bohr near Rohtak.[15] These included an icon (Fig. 3) which was identified by him as Vishṇu. The god seated in *yogāsana* on a full-blown lotus with legs folded and palms of normal hands placed one over the other in the lap and holding lotuses by their stalks in his extra hands should actually be identified as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa.[16] The almost closed eyes of the god also indicate his meditative mood. He wears a long cylindrical crown bedecked with jewels, pearls and festoons, beaded ear ornaments, jewelled necklet and a beaded necklace, a lozenge-shaped *Śrīvatsa* on the chest, three-stringed sacred-thread, jewelled *keyūras* double beaded *valayas,* undergarment and the long garland. On his either side stand the male fly-whiskers. At the level of the shoulders are carved adoring figures (donor couple?) seated on lotus flowers sprouting from the back slab while the top corners show *vidyādhara* couples holding floral garlands. Behind the head of the deity is carved a perfectly round halo with incised lotus petals in it. The image may be dated to *circa* tenth century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

We thus see that Haryana was not totally devoid of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa images during the medieval period and has yielded some iconographically interesting specimens.

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1. Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Khokrakot (Rohtak)
2. *Yogāsana* Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Pinjaur.
3. *Yogāsana* Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Asthal Bohr (Rohtak).



15. *Indian Archaeology 1959-60 A Review*, p. 74, Pl.

16. This image was published again in the *Marg,* Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (September 1974), Haryana Heritage Number, p. 16, Fig. 16 as Vishṇu.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC WEALTH OF SĪTĀ DEVĪ TEMPLE AT DEORBĪJA.

Dr. B.L. NAGARCH

Bhopal

The village Deorbījā is located in Bimatara tehsil of Durg district of Madhya Pradesh. Durg is a Railway station on the Nagpur - Raipur section of the South-eastern Railways. Deorbījā is located on Durg Bimetara road, sixty-two kilometres north of Durg and twenty-seven kilometres north of Dhamdha.

Deorbija possesses a magnificient temple of a Devī locally known as Sītā Devī (pl. I). It is a Kalachūrī temple and shares the date and design ofVishṇu temple, Janjgir in Bilaspur district. Like the Vishṇu temple at janjgir, this temple has also a *saptaratha* sanctum and a *jaṅghā* (wall portion) decorated with two registers of sculptures. This temple is assignable to the early thirteenth century A.D. on the basis of its sculptural and architectural styles. It was probably built under the patronage of later Kalachūrīs of Ratanpur branch. The temple is remarkable for its iconographic wealth.

The Sītā Devī temple stands on the western bank of a tank called Devarāhā talāo. The temple faces east and consists on plan of a sanctum and an *antarāla.* The temple is *saptaratha* on plan and in elevation. It is built of white sandstone masonry.

The Sītā Devī temple has a number of sculptures, some of which are kept inside the sanctum and others are fixed into the wall of its sanctum and *antarāla.* The following stone sculptures are kept inside the sanctum:-

1. An image of four-armed Sarasvatī seated in *lalitāsana* and holding a *vīṇā* by her lower right and upper left hands. The attributes in her upper right and lower left hands have been chopped off. She wears *kirīṭamukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, hāra, keyūras, valayas pādakaṭakas* and a *sārī* fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. It is made of white sandstone and measures 52 cms. high, 31 cms. broad and 28 cms. thick.

2. A Śaiva ascetic seated in *lalitāsana*. He is two armed and carries *abhayāksha* and *pustaka*. He is bearded and his *jaṭājūṭa* is arranged above his head. The image is weather-worn and measures 58 cms. high, 29 cms. broad and 19 cms. thick.

3. An image of a two-armed king seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus in *añjalimudrā*. He is bearded and wears a serrated *mukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, hāra, rudrāksha keyūras, rudraksha-valayas, pādakaṭakas* and a loin cloth. He is flanked on either side by a queen also seated in *añjalimudrā*. The oval halo behind his head is carved with lotus-petals and a *rudrākshamālā*. There is a *chhatra* above his head. He is seated inside a niche decorated with a *makaratoraṇa*. On the pedestal are carved stencilled lotus-scrolls. It measures 61 cms. high, 40 cms. broad and 21 cms. thick. The image is probably of a kalachūrī king who built this temple.

4. A stone-slab carved with a frieze of three male warriors each holding a sword and a shield. On the eastern facade of the temple is a frieze showing standing Navagrahas, a scene of dance and music and a seated elephant. The facade is also decorated with a frieze of flying *Vidyādharas* carrying garlands.

The sculpture of an amorous human couple is fixed on the eastern side near the steps leading to the *antarāla* of the temple. The male is holding the hair of the famale by his right hand. It measures 51 cms. high and 41 cms. broad. The friezes of flying Vidyādharas carrying garlands are also shown.

Among the sculptures carved on the *sākhās* of the sanctum-doorway may be seen those of dancing Gaṇeśa, standing Lakshmī, *mithunas,* dancing Vāmana holding a *chhatra* and seated Brahmā carrying *abhaya, sruk, pustaka* and *kalaśa,* standing Gaṇgā, and Yamunā with their respective mounts crocodile and tortoise. Two armed Gaṇeśa carrying *abhaya* and *modakapātra* [Pl. II] is seen seated in *lalitāsana* on *lalāṭabimba*. Seated Gajalakshmī is carved on the *mandāraka*. She is flanked on either side by a male devotee seated in *añjalimudrā*, a flying Vidyādhara carrying a garland, a standing bull and a dancing *gaṇa* [Pl. III].

Among the sculptures on the *pīṭha* mouldings may be seen a beautiful image of eight-armed dancing Gaṇeśa, carrying *abhayāksha, paraśu, nṛtyamudrā, sarpa, sarpa, padma,* chopped off and *nṛityamudrā*. He

wears a *karaṇḍamukuṭa, vaikakshyaka, hāra, keyūras, valayas* and a *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā*. He is flanked on either side by a male-drummer standing in *tribhaṅga* and playing on a drum (pl. IV).

The *adhishṭhāna* mouldings show a frieze of marching elephants and another frieze of humans and deities. The male warriors fighting with lions, flying *vidyādharas* carrying garlands, dance and music scenes, amorous scenes, seated and standing deities and standing *gaṇas* may be noticed in this frieze.

The *jaṅghā* of the temple is ornamented with two rows of sculptures. Among the sculptures in the lower row may be noticed images of a standing male warrior holding a *gadā* by his both hands, dancing *apsarases* standing and dancing males, male-drummers, four-armed naked dancing Bhairava, amorous couples and flying vidyādharas carrying garlands. Among the cult images shown on the lower row may be noticed the following :

1. Eight-armed dancing Gaṇeśa carrying *nṛityamudrā, paraśu,* indistinct, *sarpa, sarpa, padma, modakapātra* and *nṛtyamudrā*. The image is seen inside a niche on the southern wall of *antarāla* [pl. IV].

2. Four-armed Śiva killing the demon Andhaka i.e. Andhakāsuravadhamūrtti of Śiva. Śiva is in *ālīḍha* and holds a *triśūla* piercing through the body of Andhaka by his lower right and upper left hands. His upper right hand has been chopped off and he holds a *kapāla* by his lower left hand. He wears a *jaṭā- mukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, keyūras, valayas, pādakaṭakas,* a long *mālā* and a loin-cloth fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. The image is contained inside a niche on the southern *bhadra* of the sanctum.

3. Four-armed Brahmā standing in *samapāda* and carrying *varadāksha, sruk, pustaka* and *kamaṇḍalu*. He is bearded and wears *jaṭāmukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, yajñopavīta,* a long *mālā* and a *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā*. The image stands inside a niche on the south-western *karṇaratha* of the sanctum where Dikpala Nirriti should have been shown.

4. Two-armed Sūrya standing in *samapāda* and holding long lotus-stalks by his both hands. He wears *kirīṭamukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, hāra, keyūras, valayas,* a long *mālā,* long boots and a *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. The horses carved on the pedestal of the image have

been chopped off. The seated figure of the attendant Piṅgala shown on the right is intact while the seated figure of the attendant Daṇḍī on the left has been chopped off. The image is shown inside a niche on the western *bhadra* of the sanctum [pl. VI].

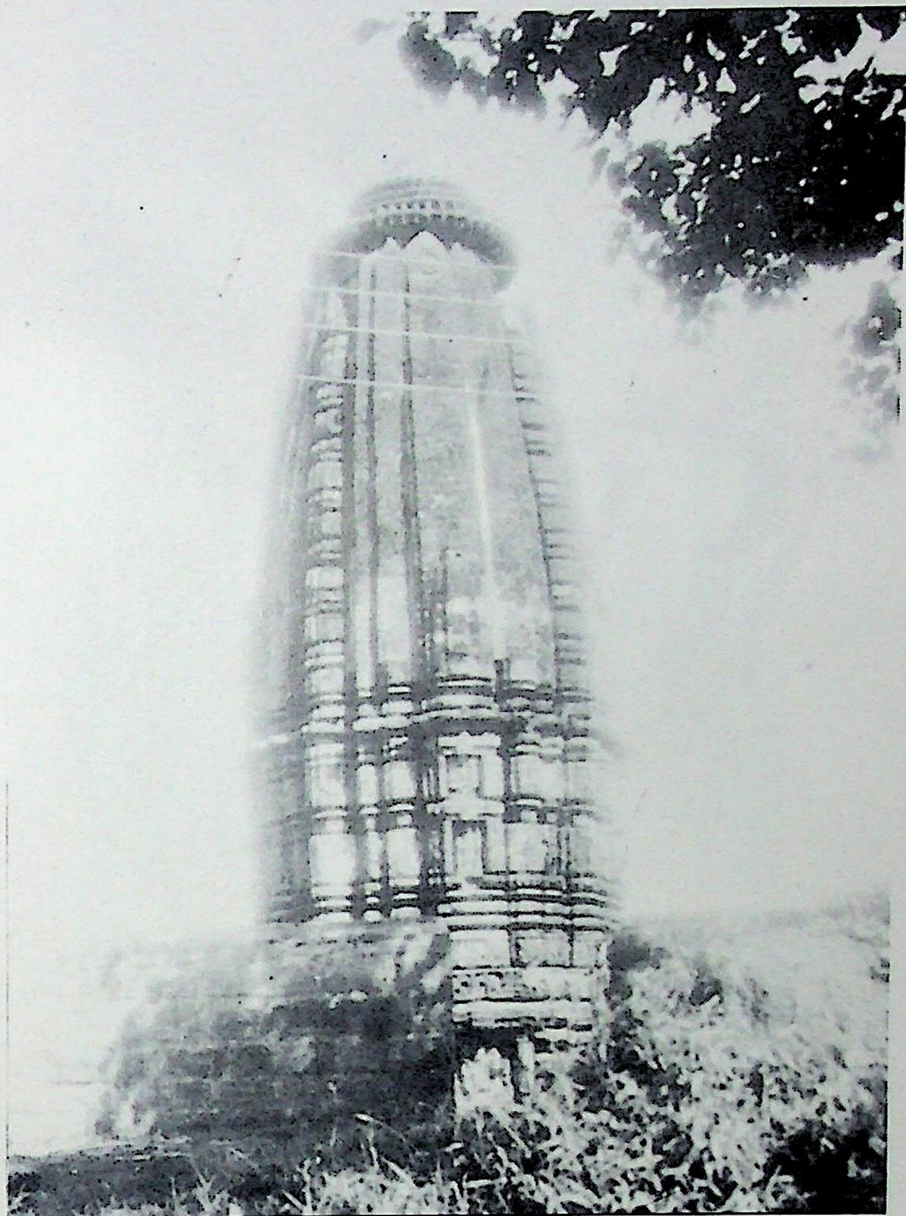
5. Four-armed Śiva standing in *samapāda* and carrying *triśūla, ḍamaru, sarpa* and *khaṭvāṅga*. The seated mount bull is shown on his left. A devotee in *añjalimudrā* is carved on his right. The head of Śiva has been chopped off. This image of Śiva has been shown on the north-western *karṇa ratha* of the sanctum in place of an image of Dikpāla Vāyu.

6. Four-armed Mahishamardinī standing in *ālīḍha* and holding *triśūla* piercing through the body of the buffalo demon, *khaḍga, kheṭaka* and tail of buffalo demon. The mount lion is seen attacking the buffalo demon whose figure has been chopped off. The image is contained inside a niche on the northern *bhadra* of the sanctum.

7. Four-armed Kaumārī seated in *lalitāsana*. She holds *kukkuṭa* in her upper right hand and her lower left hand is placed on her left knee. Her lower right and upper left hands, head, breasts and both the legs have been chopped off. The seated mount peacock is carved on the pedestal. The image is seen inside a niche on the northern wall of *antarāla*.

Among the sculptures in the upper row of sculptures on the *jaṅghā* may also be noticed images of a standing male warrior holding a *gadā* by his both hands, dancing *apsarses,* a standing *apsaras* seen in the act of wearing *nūpura* by her both hands in her right foot, a standing *apsaras* holding a lotus-stalk, *vyālas* amorous couples, flying Gandharvas, flying Vidyādharas carrying garlands, male-drummers playing on drum and dancing male devotees in *añjalimudrā*. An image of a standing *apsaras* showing her genital organ by her both hands is also seen here. An amorous couple is shown in *mukhamaithuna*. Besides, the upper row also shows the following cult images.

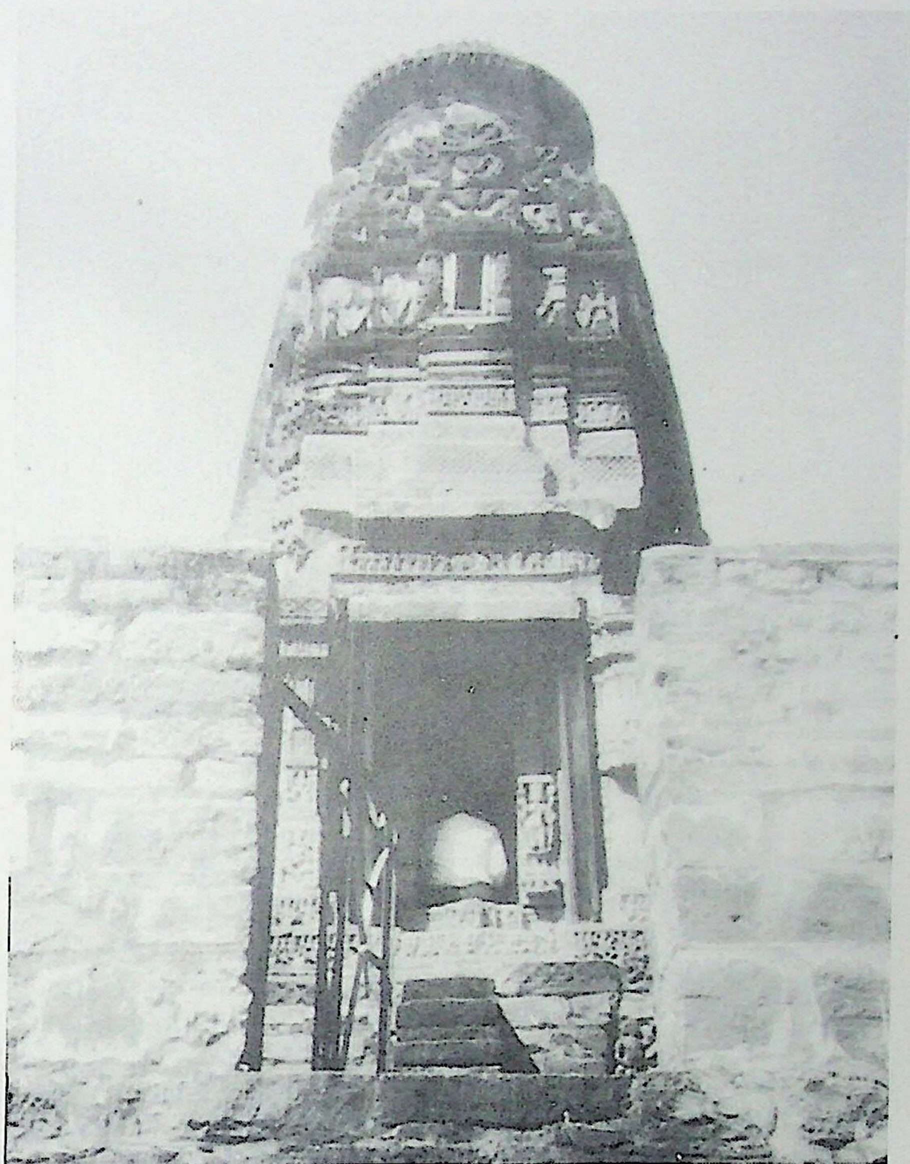
1. Four-armed dancing Bhairava carrying dagger, *ḍamaru* and *kapāla* respectively in his lower right, upper right and upper left hands. His lower left hand has been chopped off. He wears a long *muṇḍamālā*. The image is seen inside a niche on the southern wall of *antarāla*.



Sita Devi Temple, Durga, (M.P.)
General view from west
Plate I



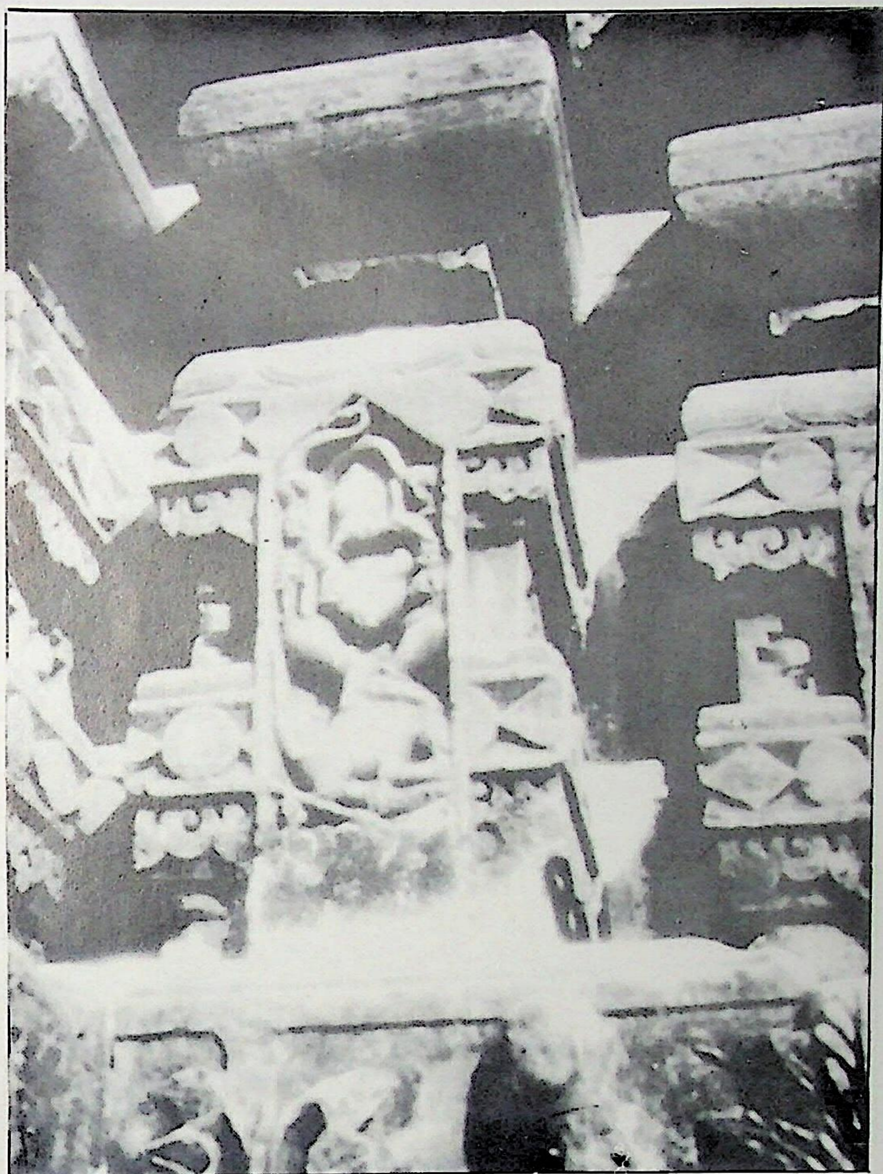
Sita Devi Temple, Durga, (M.P.)
Ganga on the Sanctum-doorway
Plate II



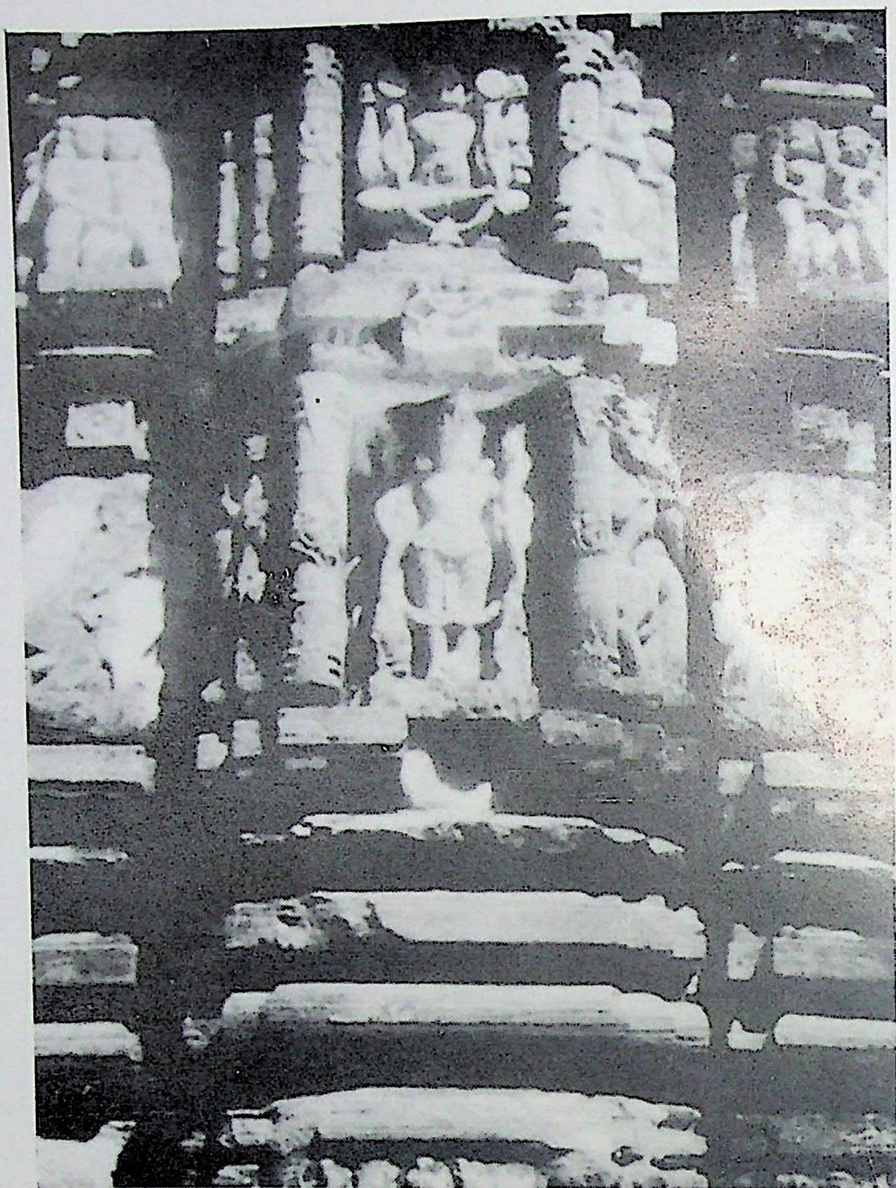
Sita Devi Temple, Durga, (M.P.)
General view from east showing Sanctum-doorway and front portion of the sikhara
Plate III



Sita Devi Temple, Durga, (M.P.)
Dancing Ganesa on the Western putha mouldings of the temple
Plate IV



Sita Devi Temple, Durga, (M.P.)
Dancing Ganesa on the mouldings
Plate V



Sita Devi Temple
Sculptures on the Western Bhadra Showing standing Surya inside a niche on the lower row and seated Hariharahiranya garbha on the upper row.
Plate VI

2. Four-armed Śiva standing in *samapāda* and carrying *bījapūraka, ḍamaru, sarpa* and *kalaśa*. The seated mount bull is seen on his right. Siva wears a jaṭāmukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, yajñopavīta and a dhotī.

3. Four-armed Naṭarāja i.e. dancing Śiva carrying *khaṭvāṅga* and *triśūla* by his lower right and left hands. Both of his upper hands are in *nṛityamudrā*. The standing mount bull is carved on his right. The image is seen inside a niche on the southern *bhadra* of the sanctum.

4. Four-armed Bhairava standing in *samapāda* and carrying *varadāksha, ḍamaru, khaṭvāṅga* and *kapāla*. The seated mount dog is seen on his right.

5. Four-armed Śiva standing in *samapāda* and carrying *varada, ḍamaru, sarpa* and *bījapūraka*. The seated mount bull is carved on his left.

6. A rare and unique image of six-armed Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha seated in *padmāsana* and carrying padma, *śaṅkha* and *triśūla* in his right hands and *khaṭvāṅga, chakra* and *padma* by his left hands. He wears *kirīṭamukuṭa, kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, hāra, yajñopavīta, valayas, pādakaṭakas,* and a *dhotī* fastened by a *mekhalā*. It is a composite image and shows combination of Sūrya, Vishṇu and Śiva. The image is shown inside a niche on the western *bhadra* of the sanctum (see pl. VI).

7. A composite image of four-armed Hara-Pitāmaha standing in *samapāda* and carrying *ghaṭa, ḍamaru, sarpa* and *pustaka*. This is also a unique and rare image showing combination of Śiva and Brahmā. A devotee seated in *añjalimudrā* is shown on his right. The seated mount bull is carved on his left.

8. Four-armed Śiva standing in *samapāda* and carrying *triśūla*, spiral lotus-stalk, *sarpa* and *khaṭvāṅga*. The seated mount bull is carved on his either side.

9. Four-armed Vaishṇavī seated in *padmāsana* and carrying *śaṅkha, chakra, padma* and *gadā*. She wears *kuṇḍalas, vaikakshyaka, hāra, keyūras, valayas, pādakaṭakas* and a *sārī* fastened by a *mekhalā*. The image is contained inside a niche on the northern *bhadra* of the sanctum.

10. Four-armed male-deity standing in *samapāda* and carrying *bījapūraka, khaḍga, kheṭaka* and *kalaśa*. A seated devotee in *añjalimudrā* is seen on his right.

11. A composite image of four-armed Vaishṇavī and Brāhmī carrying *gadā, chakra, sruk* and *kalaśa*. She wears a serrated *mukuṭa, vaikakshyaka, hāra, keyūras, valayas, pādakaṭakas* and *a sārī* fastened by a *mekhalā* with loops and tassels. A male devotee in *añjalimudrā* is seen seated on her left. This is a rare and unique image which shows combination of the two mothers Vaishṇavī and Brāhmī i.e. female energies of Vishṇu and Brahmā. The sculpture is shown inside a niche on the northern wall of *antarāla*.

It may thus be concluded that Sītādevī temple has immense iconographic wealth. It has some unique and rare composite images on the walls of its sanctum. These images are those of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha, Hara-Pitāmaha and Vaishṇavī-Brāhmī. In addition to this the temple has beautiful images of Sarasvatī, Navagrahas, dancing Gaṇeśa, seated Gajalakshmī, Andhakāsuravadhamūrtti of Śiva standing Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya, Mahishamardinī, Kaumārī, dancing Bhairava and Naṭarāja. The images of dancing and standing *apsarses*, dancing males, male drummers, amorous couples flying *vidyādharas* and *Gandharvas* and male devotee in *añjalimudrā* also add to the charm and grace of the temple. It may also be noted that an image of a standing male warrior holding a *gadā* by his both hands has been repeated many times on the walls of the temple. Though the sculptures of this temple are of a decadent style, they are full of life and vigour. The image of an *apsaras* wearing a *nūpura* in her right foot by her both hands in the upper row of sculptures on the *jaṅghā* of this temple reminds one of an *apsaras* in the same act on the *jaṅghā* of the Pārśvanātha temple, Khajuraho. In short this temple is very important for the study of iconographic wealth of Chhattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh.[1]



1. Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 50-54.

The author is grateful to the Director General for the supply of photographs and the copy right of which lies with the Archaeological Survey of India, Janpath, New Delhi - 110011.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA SCENES IN THE SCULPTURAL ART OF INDIA AND INDONESIA

Dr. KAMAL GIRI
Dr. MARUTI NANDAN TIWARI
Varanasi

The cultural history of South-east Asia could be reconstructed through an indepth study of a specific religious theme favoured simultaneously in several countries, of course with local tones and accents. Such a study would reveal currents of close contacts between the two or more cultures. The cultural contact of India with the South-east Asian countries from about the early centuries of Christian era is well known. As a result, the two Indian religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, together with their myths, legends and fables directly reached these countries. Among the ancient Indian contacts, those with Jāvā or Yavadvīpa are the most significant. In Jāvā, the cultural influence of India is in evidence from c. fifth century A.D. through inscriptions. The visual manifestations in terms of divinity and allied sculptures begin to appear from c. seventh, while the monumental architectural form from the late eighth century onwards.[1]

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the two great Indian epics, had played a role of sterling importance in the cultural and religious life of India. Owing to the vitality of the *Rāmakathā* as well as of the *Mahābhārata*, these were bodily taken by the early Indo-Javanese culture. These two epics were also adopted by the people of other South-east Asian countries, all of which had a most common understratum of pre-Indic and pre-historic cultural traditions. Due to the all-pervasive influence of these epics, they had gained high popularity both in the literary creations as well as in the visual manifestations, the most important are those found in Indonesia, Combodia,

---

1. For details consult, A.K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927; A.J. Bernet Kempers, Ancient Idonesian Art, Massachusetts, 1959; H.B. Sarkar, Cultural Relations between India and South-east Asian Countries, New Delhi, 1985.

Burma, and Thailand.[2] Of the two epics, however, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was more favoured due to its compact and solid characters such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Bharata, Hanumanta who had already become the ideals in the Indian society and, by adoption, also by the people of South-east Asia.

The earliest representations of *Rāmakathā* in India are found during the Gupta period, the example of which are to be noticed on the Śiva temple at Nachnā (c. mid 5th century A.D.) and Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (c. late 5th century A.D.).[3] As the time advanced these renderings gained more and more favour in visual representations in stone and later in paintings as well. The most important sites of medieval times enriched with depictions of *Rāmakathā* are Pāpanātha (8th century A.D.) and the Virūpākṣa (c. A.D. 745) temples at Paṭṭaḍakal, Upper Śivālaya at Bādāmī (c. 7th century A.D.), Kailāsha temple at Ellorā (c. A.D. 775, Dist. Aurangabad, Maharastra), Sun temple at Moḍherā (c. A.D. 1026, Dist. Mahesana, Gujarat), Orissan temples in Bhubàneśvara (Śatrughaneśvara and Svarṇajāleśvara temples - 7th century A.D.) and Barambā (Siṁhanātha temple - c. 8th century A.D., Cuttak), the Hoysala temples in Karnāṭaka at Halebiḍ (Hoyasaleśvara temple, 12th century A.D.), Somanāthapur (Keśava temple - A.D. 1268) and Amṛtāpur (Amṛteśvara temple - A.D. 1196) and the Vijayanagar temples at Hampī and Kāñchī. These temples, datable between the seventh and 16th century A.D., depict different episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* starting mostly from the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa.* However, in few examples from *Paṭṭaḍakal,* Amṛtāpur and Somanāthapur, episodes from the *Bālakāṇḍa* are also met with. Almost all the sites yielding episodes from *Bālakāṇḍa* belong to Karṇāṭaka and to the Cālukya and Hoyasala periods. The rendering of a few episodes from the *Bālakāṇḍa* in Indonesia may be suggestive of some literary commonality

2. H.B. Sarkar, *Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India,* 1975; 'The Rāmāyaṇa in South-east Asia : A General Survey', *Asian Variations in Rāmāyaṇa* (Ed. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar), Madras, 1983, pp. 206-20; Zean Filliozat, 'The Rāmāyaṇa in South-east Asian Sanskrit, Epigraphy and Iconography', *Asian Variations in Rāmāyaṇa* (Ed. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar), pp. 192-205; Kapila Vatsyayan, 'Rāmāyaṇa in the Arts of Asia', *The Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Asia* (Ed. V. Raghavan), New Delhi, 1980; pp. 689-702.

3. Besides Nālandā, Bhītargāon and Aphsad also have yielded *Rāmakathā* panels.

between the Prambanan on one hand and Paṭṭaḍakal, Amṛtāpur and Somanāthapur in India on the other.[4]

There appears several versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in different regional languages of India, the ultimate source of all such versions being Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa.* These included the famous *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tamil called the Kamban *Rāmāyaṇa,* the Telugu version known as the *Dvīpa Rāmāyaṇa,* the Malayalam version known as the *Ādhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and likewise several versions of *Rāmakathā* in Bengali, Assamese, Gujaratī, Kashmiri and above all the Hindi version entitled the *Rāmacaritamānasa* by Tulasīdāsa (16th century A.D.). Among these, the *Rāmacaritamānasa* assumes special importance since it portrays Rāma and all other principal characters in the highest of virtues. The rise of Vaiṣṇava - *bhakti* movement in India during the 14th-16th century A.D. gave a further impetus to the *Rāmakathā.*

Although the written versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* in South-east Asia do not go beyond the ninth century A.D., there is sufficient sculptural and inscriptional evidence to prove that the legend was known to these countries atleast by the early centuries of the Christian era.[5] We are encountered with innumerable examples both in painting and sculptures pertaining to the *Rāmakathā* spread over in different countries of South-east Asia, particularly Indonesia, Combodia and Thailand. Among them Indonesia was the most important.[6] It has yielded innumerable instances of the rendering of the *Rāmakathā,* apparently suggestive of the close cultural relations between India and Indonesia.

---

4. Kamal Giri, 'Rāmāyaṇa Scenes in the Sun Temple at Moḍherā' *Bhāratī,* Bulletin of the Department of Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology New Series, No. 2, Varanasi, 1984, pp. 71-77; Kamal Giri and Maruti Nandan Tiwari, 'Narratives from Bālakāṇḍa from Hoyasala Temples', *Bulletin of Museum and Archaeology in U.P.*, No. 37, June 1986, pp. 3-9.

5. The names like Rāvaṇa, Laṅkā, Ayuddhya, Bharata, Rāma, Sītā, Vāli and Lakṣmaṇa in dated inscriptions indicate the knowledge of heroes and heroines and place names of *Rāmāyaṇa* in Indonesia in ninth-tenth century A.D. The above references prove that in the second half of ninth century A.D. there was an oral version, now lost, of Rāma saga. H.B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java,* Vol. I & II, No. 20, 25, 40, 46, 70, 80, 96.

6. Willem Stutterheim, *Rama Legends and Rama Reliefs in Indonesia* (Tr. by C.D. Paliwal and Ed. by Lokesh Chandra), New Delhi, 1987.

Of all the Indonesian sites yielding *Rāmakathā* panels Prambanan (9th-10th century A.D.) and Panatarana (14th-15th century A.D.), both in Jāvā, are the most important in terms of the number of episodes encountered and also the variety of forms and mode of their representation. The present paper, however, endeav-ours to discuss at length the rendering of *Rāmakathā* in Prambanan in a critical manner to gauge the bearing of Indian tradition and art along with the native contribution in selecting the episodes, their details and mode of representation.

The magnificent rendering of the *Rāmakathā* in Prambanan temple complex of central Jāvā is found mainly on Śiva temple, known as Caṇḍī Loro - Joṅgraṅg, and the Brahmā temple in that complex. The scenes are carved on the inner side of balustrade of the circumambulatory path (*pradakṣiṇā*) of the temples. It is suggestive of the importance being attached to such episodes and also the uniform mode of their representation forming as though a separate and an independent feature. However, in India the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* scenes are carved mainly on the *narapītha* (Hoyasala temples), on the pillars (Moḍherā), on the ceilings (Nāgdā and Moḍherā), on the cornice (Siṁhanātha temple, Barambā, Dadhimatī temple - Goṭh Māṅgalod, Sās temple - Nāgdā), and pīṭha (Paṭṭaḍakal, Ellorā - Kailāśa temple, Amṛtāpur). The scenes in Prambanan temples run from left to right (observer's standpoint) in accordance with the circumambulation. Interestingly the episodes are represented in the traditional sequence on these temples and show a continuity from Śiva to Brahmā temple, a rare feature not to be found anywhere else in India or even in the South-east Asian countries. The Śiva temple exhibits scenes from the *Bālakāṇḍa* i.e. Viṣṇu being requested by the gods to incarnate to kill the demon Rāvaṇa and Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa going with Viśvāmitra to kill the demons like Tāṭakā, Subāhu and Mārīca to the beginning of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* depicting the *setubandha* episode i.e. the march of the army of Rāvaṇa over the bridge to reach Laṅkā. The scenes further continue on the Brahmā temple starting from the episode showing Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva and Viśvāmitra[7]

7. The rendering of a bearded and saintly figure identified as Viśvāmitra in the episodes following *setubandha* is surprising. Viśvāmitra sitting in the midst of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva and others, either holding strategic talks or departing to the battlefield, is a peculiar feature to be noticed in Prambanan only. However, Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* or any other version of *Rāmakathā* do not refer to the accompaniment of Viśvāmitra to Laṅkā. Cf. Kaelan, *A Short Guide to the Lara Djoṅgraṅg Temple Group* as quoted by Lokesh Chandra in his preface to Willem Stutterheim's , *Rama Legends and Rama - Reliefs in Indonesia.*

engaged in strategic talks before attacking Laṅkā and Vibhīṣaṇa, the younger brother of Rāvaṇa, appearing before Rāma to express his loyalty after parting with Rāvaṇa. The scene on the Brahmā temple, however, ends with the *Uttarakāṇḍa* showing detailed rendering of the Lava - Kuśa episode. Thus the two temples impart a scene of oneness through the rendering of the *Rāmakathā.*

Further, the rendering of the Vaiṣṇava themes on the Śiva and Brahmā temples is also of consequence suggesting a syncretic aspect and also the amicable relations among the worshippers of Brahmanical trinity in Indonesia during those times. The cult, as also the temples, of Brahmā were popular in Indonesia which is evident from the popularity of the *tripuruṣa prāsāda* dedicated respectively to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The picture in India is viceversa where Brahmā temples are rarely known because independent cult of Brahmā could never be established. Hence the rendering of the *Rāmakathā* on Brahmā temple is also a unique feature. It may also be remarked, in passing, that like Prambanan, in India as well the *Rāmakathā* scenes are mostly carved on Śiva temples, which was indeed a welcome trend suggestive of the sectarian amity.[8]

The *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes in Prambanan undoubtedly represents one of the best examples wherein almost all the important episodes have been selected for depiction and that too in a most vivid and telling manner. These episodes cover the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* starting from the *Bālakāṇḍa* to the *Uttarakāṇḍa.* The episodes from the *Bālakāṇḍa* are fewer as compared to Indian examples but the episodes of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, particularly the Lava - kuśa episode, have been shown in a most exhaustive manner which, on the other hand, are rarely found in Indian art, the examples of which are known only from the Hoyasala, temples and the Sun temple at Moḍherā. In India the *Rāmakathā* depictions usually ends with the killing of Rāvaṇa and at the most return of Rāma - Sītā Lakṣmaṇa to Ayodhyā and Rāmà's coronation.

---

8. Besides a few Viṣṇu temples namely, Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh, Lakṣmaṇa temple at Khajurāho, Hoyasaleśvara temple at Halebid, Keśava temple at Somanāthapur and few others, the most vigorous rendering of *Rāmakathā* is found on Śiva temples namely, Pāpanātha and Virūpākṣa temples at Paṭṭaḍakal, Kailaśa temple at Ellorā, Amṛteśvara temple at Amṛtāpur, Siṁhanātha temple at Barambā, Dadhimatī temple at Goṭh Māṅglod (Nagaur, Rajasthan), Sās temple, Nāgdā (Udaipur, Rajasthan) and others.

The Lave - Kuśa episodes carved on the Brahmā temple start from the exile of Sītā in her pregnancy and consequent birth of twin sons Lava - Kuśa, their childhood in the hermitage of the sage Vālmīki, it ends with the appearance of Lava and Kuśa at the court of Rāma, the deep remorse of Rāma and consequent accession of Lava and Kuśa to the throne of Ayodhyā. The entire episode is represented by as many as 15 panels, the largest for any single episode in the Prambanan temple complex.[9] The episodes namely the slaying of Mārīca and abduction of Sītā and meeting of Rāma - Lakṣmaṇa with Hanumāna and Sugrīva, Vāli - Sugrīva combat (fig. 1) and the killing of Vāli by Rāma are also given the detailed treatment which were the most popular episodes of the *Rāmakathā* in Indian context, the examples of which are found on almost all the important temples yielding the *Rāmakathā* right from the Gupta period. The most important of such examples are found from the Sun temple at Moḍherā Siṁhanātha temple at Barambā, the Kailāśa temple at Ellora, Pāpanātha and Virūpākṣa temples at Paṭṭaḍakal and temples at Halebiḍ, Amṛtāpur (fig. 2) and Somanāthapur.

The other popular episodes in Prambanan temples include Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa going with Viśvāmitra and killing the ogress Tāṭakā and other demons (fig. 3), the marriage of Rāma, the award of punishment to Śūrpaṇakhā, Hanumāna reaching *Aśoka - Vāṭikā* after crossing the ocean for meeting Sītā and his return to Rāma after burning Laṅkā (*Laṅkā-dahana*), the construction of the bridge over the ocean and the march of the army of Rāma to Laṅkā, the deep sleep and awakening of Kumbhakarṇa (fig.. 6), the fight of Indrajit, Rāvaṇa and his army with Rāma and the death of Rāvaṇa and the return of Rāma to Ayodhyā as well as his accession to throne. It may be noted that more or less all episodes find depiction in Indian temples as well. Thus the thematic selection from the *Rāmakathā*, barring a single episode of Lava and Kuśa, shows a harmony between Indian and Indonesian depictions.

However, the *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes in Prambanan follow mostly the earliest version of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* but at the same time show departure which was mainly due to impact of *Kākwin Rāmāyaṇa* contemporaneous

---

9. As contrary to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa,* Sītā in Prambanan depiction dies in the hermitage without meeting Rāma, and Lava - Kuśa reach Ayodhyā at the time of *Aśvamedha* celebration only after the death of Sītā. Thus the Prambanan distinctly shows departure from Indian tradition. For details consult Willem Stutterheim, *op. cit.,* (Preface by Lokesh Chandra, pp. 16-17).

almost with the Prambanan reliefs. The *Kākwin Rāmāyaṇa* mostly bear the influence of the Tamil version of *Kamban Rāmāyaṇa* and Bhavabhūtī's *Uttararāmacarita.*[10] The Jāvānese tradition refers to only two wives, namely Kausalyā and Kaikeyī, of Daśaratha. The other points of departure are : Rāvaṇa is not portrayed as adorer of Śiva and is called mainly by his youth name *Daśamukha* which is a secondary name of Rāvaṇa in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*; Sītā being mentioned as the daughter of Rāvaṇa; mention of two deer in place of one in the episode of the slaying of Mārīca; the dropping of tears of Sugrīva in the quiver of Lakṣmaṇa and consequently leading to the meeting of Rāma with Sugrīva.

Before discussing the features of the *Rāmakathā* panels in Prambanan temples and making their comparison with Indian renderings, it is worthwhile to allude to the rare episodes in Prambanan which are not found in Indian temples. Of these, the mention may particularly be made of the scene wherein different deities are depicted as requesting Viṣṇu lying on *śeṣaśaiyyā* to incarnate to kill the demon Rāvaṇa, the coronation of Bharata, the slaying of Virādha by Rāma, Hanumāna appearing before Rāma after returning from Laṅkā and giving the ornaments of Sītā to Rāma, the funeral of Daśaratha and of Rāvaṇa, the chain-arrow in the shape of a snake (*nāgapāśa*) discharged by Indrajit to bind Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and the death of Sītā before meeting Rāma. Kabandha in Prambanan depiction is shown with head and an additional face on the stomach resembling that of the Gaṇas frequently depicted in Indian art from the Gupta period onwards (fig. 5).[11] The absence of some of the important scenes in Prambanan examples is also worth referring which include *Lakṣmaṇa-mūrcchā*, the performance of *putreṣṭi yajña* by Daśaratha for getting sons, and the scenes of the childhood of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna.

The *Rāmakathā* scenes in Prambanan temples have certain features which may be termed as native or of Indonesian character in respect of dress, ornaments and physical features of the figures and details and treatment of different episodes. The Prambanan *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs panels appearing as an

---

10. Camille Bulke, *Rāmakathā*, Prayag, 1971.

11. Although Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the prayer of deities before Viṣṇu to kill Rāvaṇa and killing of demons like Virādha and Kabandha by Rama but their depiction are not found in Indian art. The Indian works describe Kabandha as headless.

integrated part of the architectural scheme are carved in varying dimensions of large and small panels where in the episodes although running in proper traditional sequence overlap one above the other, suggesting a lively continuity. The scenes are carved into wellproportioned stone bands or panels which engirdled the high base of the elevated body of the sculpture with a balcony like projection, suggestive of their individuality and importance.

The figure, neatly set into symmetrically distributed chambers, are elegant, well-adorned and, above all, full of life and vigorous movement. The slender and tall figures with freer movement distinctly reveal Pallava and Cola influence but the ornaments, oval faces with somewhat muscular treatment of the body, beard, moustaches and also the manner in which the narrative moves forward are Indonesian in character.[12] The invariate feature of such depiction is the rich landscape and sylvan background mixed with the rendering of birds and animals to create a natural background which was particularly in concurrence with the *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes relating to different incidents like abduction of Sītā, combat of Vāli - Sugrīva, Lava -Kuśa episode occurring in the back drop of the nature. Thus the realistic background provided by the Prambanan artist reminds us of alike depictions to be found in Śuṅga art at Bharhut and Sāñchī and consequently followed to some extent in Pallava art as well. The presence of two birds facing each-other over the balconied projections is of particular interest as though the one tells the story to the other, a feature often noticed in the *lokakathā* literature.

The *Rāmakathā* at Prambanan begins with the figure of Viṣṇu reclining on *śeṣaśaiyyā* and being prayed by the gods to kill the demon Rāvaṇa and it is perhaps in this background that Rāma, in all Prambanan scenes, is represented as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and not as a human being. As a result contrary to the *Rāmakathā* depiction in India, Rāma and so also Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are always shown not only as wearing *mukuṭa* and other ornaments but are also endowed with halo. Surprisingly, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are not shown wearing the *chhannavīra*, an indespensible feature in Indian context. Further, the accompaniment of retinues with Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā while in exile is also to be noted. The marked emphasis on the fighting

---

12. The comparison of *Rāmāyaṇa* themes in Panatarana and Vijayanagar temples distinctly reveals autochthonous character of the traditions of the two countries.

scenes between either the two armies or the two main characters of the epic is noteworthy which remind us of the alike scenes on the Dadhimatī temple, Goṭh Māṅglod (Nagaur, Rajasthan - 9th-10th century A.D.) and Amṛteśvara temple at Amṛtāpur in India.[13] Rāma mostly stands in the attitude of discharging an arrow (*śarasandhāna*) wherein the attitude appears more like a dancing posture reminding at once of Cola Naṭeśa figures and consequent examples of the *Rāmakathā* in Hoyasala temples. Lakṣmaṇa standing nearby in all such instances stands calm and quiet.

The Prambanan artist has wonderfully intermingled different shades of contemporary life with the *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes wherein very often dancing, humorous and other scenes intervene the two *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes. The legendary episode of Kumbhakarṇa has been beautifully depicted showing elephant, horse and drum-beaters around the figure of Kumbhakarṇa lying in deep slumber (fig. 6). All these figures are making thunderous noise to awaken Kumbhakarṇa. Almost identical scenes of the awakening of Kumbhakarṇa are found in the Sās temple, Nāgdā and the Amṛteśvara temple, Amṛtāpur (fig. 7). Vibhīṣaṇa, holding a trident, has always been depicted as the worshipper of Śiva. Likewise the rendering of two demon figures in the episode of their killing, suggest the two stages, making the episode more communicative. In the episode of *Mārīca - vadha* as found in India, the demon is not shown as emanating from the head of the deer. The Prambanan reliefs, however, show the demon in a giant human form by the side of deer. These are only some of the features which, however, point to the individuality and forceful graphical character of the Prambanan narrative reliefs.

As mentioned earlier, in common with Indian art, the depiction of the episode of abduction of Sītā and meeting of Rāma with Sugrīva along with Vāli - Sugrīva duel (figs. 1-27, 4) were the most favoured episodes and it may therefore be rewarding to make a comparative study of these two episodes in terms of number of panels to be carved for each episode in India and Prambanan. The apparent reason for the popularity of these scenes lies in the fact that they reflect the mood and sentiments of the people at their best. Both these episodes show respect for women on the one hand and the beastality represented of Rāvaṇa and Vāli on the other. The abduction of Sītā, and so also

---

13. It may be observed that the depiction of the *Rāmakathā* deals mainly with the heroic deeds of Rāma.

the ill-intentions of Vāli towards Tārā, the wife of his younger brother Sugrīva, and the consequent end of the two at the hands of Rāma represent the social milieu. The confrontation of vice and virtue resulting in the ultimate victory of virtue is intended to be suggested by these episodes.

For the comparison we have included Pāpanātha and Virūpākṣa temples at Paṭṭaḍakal, Kailaśa temple at Ellorā (8th century A.D.), Sun temple at Moḍherā, Amṛteśvara temple at Amṛtāpur and Keśava temple at Somanāthapur.

Episode - 1
Abduction of Sītā

PRAMBANAN

1. Lakṣmaṇa is taking care of Sītā and Rāma chases the golden deer.
2. Rāma kills the golden deer with arrow. The deer turns into a giant Mārīca who shouts for help in the voice of Rāma.
3. Sītā is abducted by Rāvaṇa who appears in disguise of a *parivrājaka* (fig. 4).
4. A fierce fight between Rāvaṇa and bird Jaṭāyu. Jaṭāyu is fatally injured and defeated.
5. The dying Jaṭāyu is delivering Sītā's ring to Rāma.

MOḌHERĀ

1. Slaying of golden deer by Rāma and emergence of demon Mārīca from the body of deer.
2. Sītā giving alms to Rāvaṇa in disguise as bearded ascetic.
3. Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā in *Vimāna.*
4. The fierce fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu (three figures suggesting three moments).

ELLORĀ

1. Rāma chasing golden deer.
2. Departure of Lakṣmaṇa on hearing the call of Rāma made by Mārīca in the voice of Rāma.
3. Rāvaṇa in disguise as medicant asking for alm.
4. Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā in *Vimāna.*
5. The fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu. The fighting scene was favoured that it found independent rendering on Kailāśa temple at Ellorā and Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭaḍakal.

PAṬṬAḌAKAL

1. Rāma chasing golden deer and killing the deer.
2. Rāvaṇa appearing before Sītā in disguise.
3. Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā is being resisted by Jaṭāyu.
4. The fierce fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu.

AMṚTĀPUR

1. Rāma slaying golden deer.
2. Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā in *vimāna.*
3. The fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu.
4. Rāma - Lakṣmaṇa meet dying Jaṭāyu.

SOMANĀTHAPUR

1. Rāma slaying golden deer.
2. Rāvaṇa appearing before Sītā in disguise.
3. Rāvaṇa carrying Sītā in *vimāna.*
4. The fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu.

Episode - 2

Meeting of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa with Sugrīva and Vāli - Sugrīva duel.

(In the scene of Vāli - Sugrīva combat the figure of Sugrīva can be identified by virtue of a garland of *gajapuṣpī* creeper)

PRAMBANAN (fig. 1)

1. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa meet Hanumāna.
2. Lakṣmaṇa giving water to quench the thirst of Rāma which is Sugrīva's tears.
3. Rāma demonstrating his strength (*sapta śāla bhedana*).
4. Sugrīva fighting with Vāli.
5. Vāli being killed by Rāma.
6. Sugrīva becomes king.

MOḌHERĀ

1. Vāli and Sugrīva in mortal duel - nearby stands Rāma in *sarasandhāna* aiming at Vāli.

ELLORĀ

1. Vāli - Sugrīva fight and Rāma in the attitude of discharging an arrow from a hiding place.

PAṬṬAḌAKAL

1. Meeting with Sugrīva - Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa in the midst of Sugrīva and other monkey chiefs.

2. Vāli - Sugrīva duel.

3. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa finalizing war strategy with Sugrīva.

AMṚTĀPUR (fig. 2)

1. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa in discussion with Hanumāna and Sugrīva.

2. Hanumāna standing before Rāma with necklace of Sītā.

3. Rāma proving his prowess to Sugrīva by piercing with an arrow seven *śāla* trees (*sapta-śāla-bhedana*).

4. Vāli - Sugrīva duel and Rāma shooting an arrow from a hiding place.

5. Coronation of Aṅgad or Sugrīva.

SOMANĀTHAPUR

1. Sugrīva sitting with monkey chiefs - either in discussion or in curiosity to know about Rāma - Lakṣmaṇa roaming in forest.

2. Rāma - Lakṣmaṇa brought by Hanumāna before Sugrīva.

3. The duel between Vāli - Sugrīva and Rāma shooting at Vāli while the latter was engaged in combat with Sugrīva.

List of Illustrations

Photo Courtesy :

American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.



THE ART OF SCROLL PAINTING IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

Dr. S.K. SHARMA.

Allahabad

The art of scroll painting in India has a hoary antiquity. Painting on long horizontal pieces of cloth to depict narrative episodes from the Jatakas and the avadana as well as from *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* was done for imparting religious education as well as for entertainment in ancient India as is found from the numerous references to this form of art from literature, both secular and religious.

The perishable nature of cloth has caused complete annhibitation of ancient examples of Patas or scrolls in India and South East Asia. The art of narrative cloth painting also travelled to South East Asia with the Indian colonisers and missionaries. There too as in India ancient examples donot survive due to the ravages of time and nature. But extant examples following the old art traditions go back to a period of two hundred years. This art though languishing in India except for a few areas like Bengal, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tamil and Telgu zones is more vigorously practised in south east Asian countries today. Even Indonesia with a predominantly Muslim population has maintained scrolls more as a form of entertainment than with religion in view. In Burma, Thailand and Laos religious Patas concerning Jataks and Avadana stories are more popular. While the Indonesians have a preference for stories from the *Mahabharata,* the *Ramayana* is more popular in Laos and Thailand. In Burma, however, Jataka and Yamapatas scrolls are more in demand. The epics though follow the original Indian version but there is a lot of interpolation in South East Asian countries from their local versions and from folk stories and traditions. As a result the Ramakien of Thailand and the Hikayat Seri Rama of Indonesia are in a shape far drifted from the epics in India. The *Mahabharata* is known as the Bharata Yuddha in Indonesia. A great deal of folk and local elements have been incorporated in its stories.

PAṬṬAḌAKAL

1. Meeting with Sugrīva - Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa in the midst of Sugrīva and other monkey chiefs.

2. Vāli - Sugrīva duel.

3. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa finalizing war strategy with Sugrīva.

AMṚTĀPUR (fig. 2)

1. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa in discussion with Hanumāna and Sugrīva.

2. Hanumāna standing before Rāma with necklace of Sītā.

3. Rāma proving his prowess to Sugrīva by piercing with an arrow seven *śāla* trees (*sapta-śāla-bhedana*).

4. Vāli - Sugrīva duel and Rāma shooting an arrow from a hiding place.

5. Coronation of Aṅgad or Sugrīva.

SOMANĀTHAPUR

1. Sugrīva sitting with monkey chiefs - either in discussion or in curiosity to know about Rāma - Lakṣmaṇa roaming in forest.

2. Rāma - Lakṣmaṇa brought by Hanumāna before Sugrīva.

3. The duel between Vāli - Sugrīva and Rāma shooting at Vāli while the latter was engaged in combat with Sugrīva.

List of Illustrations

1. Vāli - Sugrīva combat, Śiva temple, Prambanan, 9th-10th century A.D.
2. Vāli-Sugrīva combat, Amṛteśvara temple, Amṛtāpur (Chikamagalur, Karnataka), A.D. 1196.
3. The killing of Tāṭakā and other demons, Śiva temple, Prambanan.
4. Abduction of Sītā, Śiva temple, Prambanan.
5. Killing of Kabandha, Śiva temple, Prambanan.
6. Awakening of Kumbhakarṇa, Śiva temple, Prambanan.
7. Awakening of Kumbhakarṇa, Amṛteśvara temple, Amṛtāpur, A.D. 1196.
8. Fighting between Rāvaṇa and Hanumāna, Śiva temple, Prambanan.

Photo Courtesy :

American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.



THE ART OF SCROLL PAINTING IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

Dr. S.K. SHARMA.

Allahabad

The art of scroll painting in India has a hoary antiquity. Painting on long horizontal pieces of cloth to depict narrative episodes from the Jatakas and the avadana as well as from *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* was done for imparting religious education as well as for entertainment in ancient India as is found from the numerous references to this form of art from literature, both secular and religious.

The perishable nature of cloth has caused complete annhibitation of ancient examples of Patas or scrolls in India and South East Asia. The art of narrative cloth painting also travelled to South East Asia with the Indian colonisers and missionaries. There too as in India ancient examples donot survive due to the ravages of time and nature. But extant examples following the old art traditions go back to a period of two hundred years. This art though languishing in India except for a few areas like Bengal, Orissa, Rajasthan and Tamil and Telgu zones is more vigorously practised in south east Asian countries today. Even Indonesia with a predominantly Muslim population has maintained scrolls more as a form of entertainment than with religion in view. In Burma, Thailand and Laos religious Patas concerning Jataks and Avadana stories are more popular. While the Indonesians have a preference for stories from the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* is more popular in Laos and Thailand. In Burma, however, Jataka and Yamapatas scrolls are more in demand. The epics though follow the original Indian version but there is a lot of interpolation in South East Asian countries from their local versions and from folk stories and traditions. As a result the Ramakien of Thailand and the Hikayat Seri Rama of Indonesia are in a shape far drifted from the epics in India. The *Mahabharata* is known as the Bharata Yuddha in Indonesia. A great deal of folk and local elements have been incorporated in its stories.

Like in ancient India 'Saubhikas' there are itenerant showmen in South East Asian countries who perform scroll shows and shadow plays based on the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata.* In Thailand the performance has changed a little and from simple scroll shows it has turned into the 'Nang' or shadow play with movable and painted lether puppets. But stylistically there is identity between the folk scroll paintings and the cutout leather puppets of the 'Nang'. Such shadow plays are known as 'Wayand Kulit' in Indonesia as the figures are cutout of hide for which the Indonesian term is 'Kulit'. But real scroll shows are also equally popular in Indonesia and are known as the whang Beber derived from the word beber of 'muttering' since the Dalang show men mutter and narrate the episodes of the scroll show. These leather puppets are drawn in a style derived from relief sculptures of Panataran in Java belonging to the 14th century thus revealing an intimate relation between sculptural and painting styles. Wayang shows are conducted by Dalangs who are folk priests-cum showmen like the Bhopas of today's Rajasthan. In contemporary India scrolls though derive inspiration from the epics and the Puranas South East Asia is more conservative as regards the themes which are mainly restricted to the old Indian religious literature, secular local stories having not much importance and popularity.

Burma :

India's immediate neighbour Burma had cultural contacts with her as early as the days of emperor Asoka. Along with Buddhism Indian art of different ages and areas did mould the course of Burmese art as is evident from numerous archaeological remains. The wall paintings of Pagan in upper Burma also reveal four stages of painting with strong Indian influences. But we notice a gradual process of Burmanisation in the paintings. Since the 17th century a strong shan influence is also noticed in Burmese paintings giving it a new a definite shape. But due to the perishable nature of scroll and due to the hazards of a tropical climate, Burmese Patas older than two centuries are a rarerity. The impact of Pata painting was so great in Burma that even illustrated manuscripts of the 18th-19th century period are also planned horizontally like a cloth scroll. An eighteenth century cloth scroll from Burma dealing with catching and training of elephants is preserved in the academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta. On such Patas there is the other way influence of book illustration as seen in the detailed captions written either below or on the top

of each panel narrating the episode. Such detailed captions are not noticed in Indian Scrolls though Tamil Yamapatas and the Pabuji Pars and Devnarayan Pars of Rajasthan bear short titles for the paintings.

The colour scheme for Patas and manuscript painting are almost identical in Burma though there are periodic and regional variations. The folded Burmese paper manuscripts or Parabaiks are linear descendants from the Patas. The usual colours used for painting are chalk, Chinese ink, vermillion indigo and yellow orpiment.[1] In both the types of painting "their subjects ranged from Buddhist themes such as Jataka stories and splendid court ceremonials to more everyday scenes such as a monk at the gate of a monastery, a festival dancer, a weaver at her loom, a trader in the market, or a mahaut on his elephant".[2] One such Parabaik or folded manuscript belonging to the 19th century and preserved in the Musee Guimet, Paris depicts the Nimi Jataka story.[3] But many secular scene based on observation of contemporary life of the royal household and that of the common men had been incorporated in such manuscripts and Patas. So much so the Jataka stories are presented in a manner as though they are depicting 19th century Burmese life. An identical situation prevails in the Pata from the academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta. The main purpose is story telling over a long horizontal space though each episode is compartmented conveniently by rock or tree motifs for details.

Another popular subject matter for Burmese Parabaiks and Patas is a Nat or spirit who is much venerated in Burma inspite of the prevalence of Buddhism. Speaking generally, the Nats are supernatural beings of the Buddhists, celestial, terrestrial and infernal, derived from the old Brahmanic cosmogony of India, the titulary spirits that fill the Earth and all that is there on man himself and all the creatures, objects and places amongst which he lives and moves and has his being, derived from the ancient animistic pre-Buddhist beliefs of the people; and the ghosts and spirits of the

---

1. U. Thein Han - *Contemporary Burmese Art.* Perspective of Burma, P. 45, an Atlantic Monthly Supplement, 1958, New York.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

3. N.R. Ray. Frescoes, P. 47, *Marg*, Vol. IX, No. 3. June, 1956.

departed. In such a heirarchy as this, there are, as there plainly must be, many orders, and the object of the present notes - the order of the Thirtyseven Nats-belongs to the category of ghosts and spirits of departed heroes, except in one instance, the chief of the order, Thagya Nat who springs from ancient Indian Brahmanic ideas.[4] The Nats are depicted in an iconographic manner as individual figures with no or very little background or necessary figures and decorations. They are more in the folk style of Shan derivation with three quarter faces, large lucid eyes, clad in flambayant dresses and tall tapering crowns or hats. Often they carry weapons and some are shown on their mounts which tell of their identity. The Nat figures remind us of figures from the Ahom manuscript Phung Chin (1473 A.D.) from Assam.[5] Paintings of Nats are popular in Burmese folk art and hence are produced even today. Often a traditional map of the Jambudwipa or the world[6] and scenes of punishments in hell[7] also accompany painting of the Nat group.

Thailand :

As already stated Thai scroll paintings are religious in content though narrative in character. Scrolls are known as Bot which is derived from the Sanskrit Pata meaning a piece of cloth. Bots are usually of two types, the long narrative ones showing the Vessantara Jataka and the hanging type showing the Buddha flanked by his two chief disciples. Such iconic Patas are hanging. This variety also sometimes show scenes of punishments in hell according to the type and degree of sins committed in life. This kind of hanging vertical Patas are directly derived from ancient Indian Yamapatas.

Available Thai Patas are not very old. The climate too has destroyed all but a few isolated specimens of anything earlier than the 17th century and

---

4. Sir Richard Temple, The Fantastic World of the Thirty Seven Nats, P. 51, *Marg,* Vol. IX, No. 3, June 1956.

5. R. Das Gupta, *Eastern Indian Manuscript Painting Pls.* VI and VII, Figs. 29, 31-34. Bombay 1972.

6. Sir Richard Temple, The Fantastic World of the Thirty Seven Nats, P. 53, *Marg,* Vol. IX, No. 3, June 1956.

7. *Ibid.,* P. 54.

has ruined much of what is left of later examples.[8] The majority of Thais regard painting as a religious act and not from the point of view of an aesthetic experience. The basic purpose of the painting like the paintings of mediaeval Christian Europe, is to instruct, guide and inspire the devout by portraying scenes of religious history. In both world the artist was an anonymous monk or dedicated layman whose aim was to teach and elucidate a sacred text.[9] Some evidence show that in the Pre-Bangkok period (mid. 18th ct.) larger panels showing Jataka stories were more popular than single scenes showing the Buddha and his two disciples. Patas were deposited in the Wats which were often gifts from rich devotees. Paintings on cloth or paper parallel the style and development of the mural paintings although they do not often match them in quality. Perhaps this statement is true only for the Bangkok period as the few surviving Ayudhya (15th to later 18th ct.) examples are extemely fine (Lyons). One such Pata (7'X4') is equal to the murals of Bejrapuri (17th - 18th ct.).

There were regional differences in workmanship as well as in colour scheme. Patas from Ayudhya region are delicate with a greater use of gold paint while Rajapuri examples are noted for sophisticated compositions. But Bejrapuri examples are more traditional and have a wide variety. Chieng Mai examples are free in interpretation and are close to folk idiom. Patas of Nagara Sri Dhamma Raja in Southern Thailand have a white background but with tonality in colours.

In Thai Painting the basic Asian character (derived from ancient India) is present. There is no fixed view and a vanishing point in horizon. The composition is a combination of mass and line. The figures are drawn with an even, flowing contour, then filled in with flat colour and the detail and ornament applied. This is identical with Indian .... Technique "(Lyons). In later works Chinese elements are noticed in decorative motifs derived from Chinese porcelain and room-dividers.

The Patas are primed with a mixture of chalk and boiled tamarind seed pulp which is successful in the case of cotton cloth but flakes on silk. Mineral

---

8. E.A. Lyons, *Note on Thai Painting, The Arts of Thailand*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

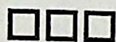
9. *Ibid.*

paints like malachite and Chinnabar were popular while the binder was produced from the glue of the Ma-dua and the Ma-Kwit trees. Brushes were usually made from the Lam-Jiek root and also from Gradangnga bark.

Indonesia

As already stated the advent of Islam was responsible for the gradual decline of Pata Painting in Indonesia, particularly in Java. But Bali with a predominantly Hindu population has preserved the Wyang Beber to this day. Such patas were done on domestic woven textile in lime water colour. Bali patas are vertically depicted as against the horizontal fashion of Indian and Burmese Patas.

"These Paintings are two dimensional in conception, with the same person sometimes being represented in various situation simultaneously."[10] This is also true for Indian Painting, since narration and story telling is the main purpose. Conventional treatment of the subject is one of the main characteristics of such art which is present in the Wyang Scrolls." The space concept is essentially one of patternisation in which systematic linear perspective has no place. Horizontal planes are sometimes titled up so that the observer seems to be viewing the scene simultaneously from several vantage points.[11] Apart from the Bharatayuddha and the Hikayat Seri Rama stories, Balinese Patas are also made to depict astrological charts known as palelintangan. According to Gralapp Polynesian elements influenced a great deal the art of the Wyang between the 9th and the 15th centuries which are more pronounced in Bali. "The Balinese attitude towards reality is one of pronounced dualism - a constant and relentless struggle between positive and negative forces, good and evil, light and darkness, the divine and the demonic." (Gralapp). The concept prompted the Indonesian Scroll painters to choose the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* as the themes for their paintings.



10. F.A. Wanger, *Indonesian Painting*, Indonesia: The Art of the Island-Group.
11. L. Gralapp, *Balinese Paintings in the Raylor Museum, Indonesia*, The Art of the Island Group.

उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति-शिल्प और उसके प्रेरणा-स्त्रोत

डा० ए० एल० श्रीवास्तव

इलाहाबाद

भारतीय मूर्ति-शिल्प में शैव मूर्तियों का प्राधान्य रहा है। शिव के नाना रूप भारतीय मूर्तिकला में अंकित किए गये हैं। शैव मूर्तियाँ मुख्यतः लिंग–विग्रह और प्रतिमा–विग्रह, इन दो वर्गों में विभाजित की जा सकती हैं। लिंग–विग्रह के अन्तर्गत सामान्य लिंग तथा मुखलिंग (एकमुख, चर्तुमुख, पंचमुख आदि) आते हैं। प्रतिमा–विग्रह के अन्तर्गत शिव की एकाकी तथा दम्पति प्रतिमाएं सम्मिलित हैं। एकाकी प्रतिमाओं में नटराज, भैरव, त्रिपुरारी आदि तथा इसी प्रकार दम्पति–प्रतिमाओं में भी कई रूप हैं जैसे कल्याणसुन्दर, वीणाधर, अक्षक्रीडक, रावणानुग्रह और उमामहेश्वर आदि। जिस प्रकार समस्त शैव मूर्ति–शिल्प में सर्वाधिक संख्या लिंग–विग्रहों की है, उसी प्रकार समस्त शैव दम्पति प्रतिमाओं में उमामहेश्वर मूर्तियों की संख्या भी है। इस कथन में कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं कि सम्पूर्ण शैव प्रतिमाओं में सर्वाधिक लोकप्रिय और मनोहारी मूर्ति–शिल्प उमामहेश्वर की ही है।

उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति–शिल्प केवल शैव प्रतिमाओं में ही नहीं, अपितु सम्पूर्ण भारतीय मूर्ति–शिल्प में अनूठा एवं निराला है। इस मूर्ति–शिल्प में शिव को ललितासन, सुखासन अथवा अदर्धपर्यंकासन में वृषभ के ऊपर अथवा आसन पर बैठे अंकित किया गया है। प्रारम्भ में शिव को द्विभुजी किन्तु कालान्तर में चतुर्भजी दिखाया गया है। एकाध अपवादों को छोड़कर सामान्यतः उमा को शिव की बाईं जंघा पर ललितासन या सुखासन में उत्कीर्ण किया गया है। प्रायः शिव तथा उमा को परस्पर आलिंगन करते हुए तथा दोनों को एक दूसरे की ओर देखते हुए सम्मुखीन मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित किया गया है। उमा सर्वत्र द्विभुजी हैं। उनके बाएँ हाथ में दर्पण दिखाई पड़ता है और वह अपने दाएँ हाथ को शिव के कन्धे पर अथवा उनकी कुक्षि पर रखकर उनका आलिंगन करती हुई दिखाई पड़ती है। शिव के दाएँ हाथों में प्रायः मातुलुंग फल और त्रिशूल रहता है। अपने ऊपरी बाएँ हाथ में सर्प पकड़े हुए शिव उस हाथ की कोहिनी उमा के दाये कन्धे पर रक्खे दिखाए गये हैं। अपने निचले बाएँ हाथ से उमा का बायाँ कुच स्पर्श करते हुए उनका आलिंगन करते हैं।

उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति–शिल्प का विधान विभिन्न शिल्प ग्रन्थों में पाया जाता है। गुप्तकालीन **विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण** के अनुसार द्विभुजी शिव का बायाँ हाथ उमा के कन्धे पर और उनके दाएँ हाथ में उत्पल पुष्प तथा उमा का दायाँ हाथ शिव के कन्धे पर और उनके बाएँ हाथ में दर्पण बनाया जाना चाहिए–

युग्मं स्त्रीपुरुषं कार्यमुमेशौ दिव्यरूपिणौ।।
अष्टवक्त्रं तु देवेशं जटाचन्द्रार्द्धभूषितम्
द्विपाणिं द्विभुजां देवीं सुमध्यां सुपयोधराम्।।
वामपाणिं तु देवस्य देव्यस्कंधे नियोजयेत्
दक्षिणं तु करं शम्भोरुत्पलेन विभूषितम्।।
देव्यास्तु दक्षिणं पाणिं स्कंधे देवस्य कल्पयेत्
वासपाणिं तथा देव्या दर्पणं दापयेच्छुभम्।।[१]

एक अन्य गुप्तकालीन शिल्प–ग्रंथ **मत्स्यपुराण** में उमामहेश्वर को लीला से युक्त तथा ललित रूप में अंकित किए जाने की बात कही गई है। इस ग्रंथ में कहा गया है कि शिव का बायाँ ऊपरी हाथ उमा के कंधे पर तथा निचला हाथ उमा के स्तन पर होना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार उनके दाहिने हाथों में उत्पल तथा त्रिशूल होना चाहिए। उमा का दायाँ हाथ शिव के कंधे पर अथवा उनकी कुक्षि पर रक्खा दिखाया जाना चाहिए और उनके बाएँ हाथ में दर्पण या उत्पल दिखाया जाना चाहिए। इस मूर्ति–शिल्प में उमा का दाहिना अंग शिव के बाएँ अंग से स्पर्श करता हुआ निर्मित किया जाना चाहिए।

उमामहेश्वरस्यापि लक्षणं शृणुत द्विजाः।
संस्थानं तु तयोर्वक्ष्ये लीलाललितविभ्रमम्।।
चतुर्भुजं द्विबाहुं वा जटाभारेन्दुभूषणम्।
लोचनत्रयसंयुक्तमुमैकस्कन्धपाणिनम्।।
दक्षिणोनोत्पलं शूलं वामे कुचभरे करम्।
द्वीपिचर्म्मपरीधानं नानारत्नोपशोभितम्।।
सुप्रतिष्ठं सुवेशं च तथादर्धेन्दुकृताननम्।
वामे तु संस्थिता देवी तस्योरो बाहुगूहिता।।
मणिकुण्डलसंयुक्ता कर्णिकाभरणा क्वचित्।
हारकेयूरबहुला हरवक्त्रावलोकिनी।।
वामांसं देवदेवस्य स्पृशन्ती लीलया ततः।
दक्षिणं तु बहिः कृत्वा बाहुं दक्षिणतस्तथा।।
स्कन्धं वा दक्षिणे कुक्षौ स्पृशन्त्यंगुलिजैः क्वचित्।
वामे तु दर्पणं दद्यादुत्पलं वा सुशोभितम्।।
एतद्रूपमुमेशस्य कर्त्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छता।[२]

---

१. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण
२. मत्स्यपुराण, २/२६०/११–२१



उमामहेश्वर, खजुराहो, इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय (सं०सं० २६१)

चित्र सं० १

लगभग ११ वीं शती ई०

युग्मं स्त्रीपुरुषं कार्यमुमेशौ दिव्यरूपिणौ।।
अष्टवक्त्रं तु देवेशं जटाचन्द्रादर्धभूषितम्
द्विपाणिं द्विभुजां देवीं सुमध्यां सुपयोधराम्।।
वामपाणिं तु देवस्य देव्यस्कंधे नियोजयेत्
दक्षिणं तु करं शम्भोरुत्पलेन विभूषितम्।।
देव्यास्तु दक्षिणं पाणिं स्कंधे देवस्य कल्पयेत्
वामपाणिं तथा देव्या दर्पणं दापयेच्छुभम्।।[1]

एक अन्य गुप्तकालीन शिल्प–ग्रंथ मत्स्यपुराण में उमामहेश्वर को लीला से युक्त तथा ललित रूप में अंकित किए जाने की बात कही गई है। इस ग्रंथ में कहा गया है कि शिव का बायाँ ऊपरी हाथ उमा के कंधे पर तथा निचला हाथ उमा के स्तन पर होना चाहिए। इसी प्रकार उनके दाहिने हाथों में उत्पल तथा त्रिशूल होना चाहिए। उमा का दायाँ हाथ शिव के कंधे पर अथवा उनकी कुक्षि पर रक्खा दिखाया जाना चाहिए और उनके बाएँ हाथ में दर्पण या उत्पल दिखाया जाना चाहिए। इस मूर्ति–शिल्प में उमा का दाहिना अंग शिव के बाएँ अंग से स्पर्श करता हुआ निर्मित किया जाना चाहिए।

उमामहेश्वरस्यापि लक्षणं शृणुत द्विजाः।
संस्थानं तु तयोर्वक्ष्ये लीलाललितविभ्रमम्।।
चतुर्भुजं द्विबाहुं वा जटाभारेन्दुभूषणम्।
लोचनत्रयसंयुक्तमुमैकस्कन्धपाणिनम्।।
दक्षिणोनोत्पलं शूलं वामे कुचभरे करम्।
द्वीपिचर्म्मपरीधानं नानारत्नोपशोभितम्।।
सुप्रतिष्ठं सुवेशं च तथादर्धेन्दुकृताननम्।
वामे तु संस्थिता देवी तस्योरो बाहुगूहिता।।
मणिकुण्डलसंयुक्ता कर्णिकाभरणा क्वचित्।
हारकेयूरबहुला हरवक्त्रावलोकिनी।।
वामांसं देवदेवस्य स्पृशन्ती लीलया ततः।
दक्षिणं तु बहिः कृत्त्वा बाहुं दक्षिणतस्तथा।।
स्कन्धं वा दक्षिणे कुक्षौ स्पृशन्त्यंगुलिजैः क्वचित्।
वामे तु दर्पणं दद्यादुत्पलं वा सुशोभितम्।।
एतद्रूपमुमेशस्य कर्त्तव्यं भूतिमिच्छता।[2]

---

१. विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण
२. मत्स्यपुराण, २/२६०/११–२१



उमामहेश्वर, खजुराहो, इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय (सं०सं० २६१)

चित्र सं० १

लगभग ११ वीं शती ई०

सौजन्य : अमेरिकन इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑव इण्डियन स्टडीज़, वाराणसी



उमामहेश्वर, खजुराहो, इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय (सं०सं० २६३)

चित्र सं० २

लगभग ११ वीं शती ई०

सौजन्य : अमेरिकन इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑव इण्डियन स्टडीज़, वाराणसी



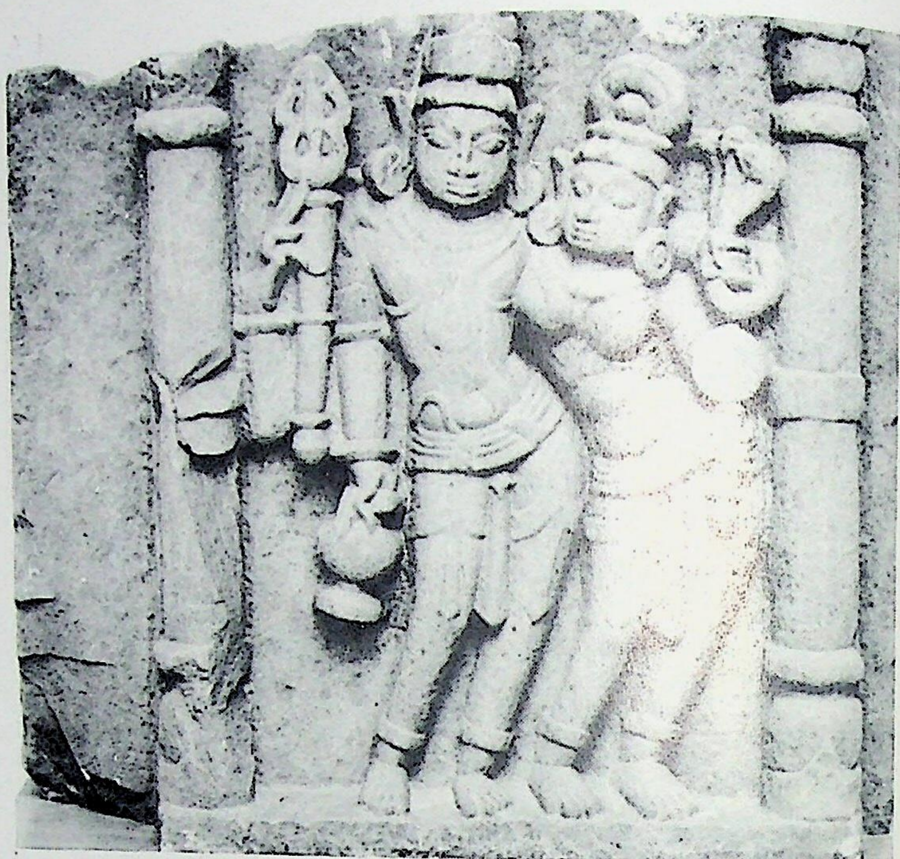
उमामहेश्वर, हिंगलाजगढ़ (मन्दसौर), म०प्र०

चित्र सं० ३

लगभग १० वीं शती ई०

केन्द्रीय संग्रहालय, इन्दौर

सौजन्य : अमेरिकन इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑव इण्डियन स्टडीज़, वाराणसी (निगेटिव सं० ३१७ ३५)



उमामहेश्वर
चित्र सं० ४
बिड़ला म्यूज़ियम, भोपाल (नं० ८७)
१३ वीं शताब्दी
सौजन्य : अमेरिकन इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑव इण्डियन स्टडीज़, वाराणसी

लगभग इसी प्रकार का वर्णन (१२ वीं शती ई० के ग्रंथ) **अपराजितपृच्छा**[3] में मिलता है जहाँ **विष्णुधर्मोतर** जैसा वर्णन है किन्तु वहाँ शिव को चतुर्भुजी बताया गया है। १५वीं शती ई० के शिल्प ग्रन्थ **रूपमण्डन** में उमा के साथ बनाई गई शंकर की प्रतिमा को 'उमामहेश्वर' कहा गया है तथा इसमें शिववाहन, गणेश, कार्तिकेय तथा भृंगी गण के बनाने का भी निर्देश दिया गया है–

उमामहेश्वरं वक्ष्ये उमया सह शंकरम्
मातुलिंगं त्रिशूलं च धत्ते दक्षिणे करे।।
आलिंगन्वामहस्तेन नागेन्द्रं द्वितीये करे
हरस्कन्धे उमाहस्तो दर्पणं द्वितीये करे।।
अधस्ताद् वृषभं कुर्यात्कुमारं च गणेश्वरम्
भृंगिरिटं तथा कुर्यान्निर्मांसं नृत्यसंस्थितम्।।[4]

लगभग यही वर्णन तत्त्वनिधि नामक अन्य मध्ययुगीन शिल्प ग्रंथ में भी पाया जाता है–

वामे शैलसुता पुरस्तु वृषभः पश्चात्सुरेन्द्रादयो
दैत्यारिश्च विधिश्च पार्श्वदलयोर्वाय्वादिकोणेषु च।।
भृंगीनारदबाणभैरवगजास्य स्कन्दवीरेश्वरा
मध्ये शुभ्रसरोजकोमलरुचं शम्भुं भजे पाण्डुरम्।।[5]

उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति के इस शिल्पगत विधान का विवरण जान लेने के बाद दो प्रश्न उभरते हैं– पहला यह है कि उमामहेश्वर की प्रतिमा स्थानक मुद्रा में हो या आसनस्थ मुद्रा में अथवा दोनों में ? और दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि इस मूर्ति–शिल्प के उद्‌भव का आधार या प्रेरणा–स्रोत क्या है ?

विभिन्न शिल्प ग्रंथों में उमामहेश्वर का जो निर्माण–विधान दिया गया है, उसमें कहीं भी उमा और शिव के लिए स्पष्ट रूप से न स्थानक मुद्रा का प्रावधान है और न आसनस्थ मुद्रा का। पूरे विवरण में मात्र इतना बताया गया है कि उमा को शिव की बाईं ओर होना चाहिए, दोनों के हाथ एक–दूसरे के कंधे पर, कुक्षि या कुच पर होने चाहिए और दोनों को परस्पर आलिंगनबद्ध होना चाहिए और यह वर्णन उमा और शिव की बैठी (आसनस्थ) तथा खड़ी (स्थानक) दोनों प्रकार की प्रतिमाओं में समानरूप से लागू होता है। किन्तु विद्वान् प्रायः उमा–शिव की आसनस्थ प्रतिमाओं को ही उमामहेश्वर की कोटि में रखते हैं। स्थानक मुद्रा वाली

---

३. **अपराजितपृच्छा**, २१३/२५–२७, द्रष्टव्य लालमणि दुबे, **अपराजितपृच्छा : ए क्रिटिकल स्टडी**, वाराणसी, १९८७, पृ० ३०२, टि० ३६१

४. **रूपमण्डन**, ४/२७–२९, द्रष्टव्य बलराम श्रीवास्तव (सं०), रूपमण्डनम्, वाराणसी, सं० २०२१, पृ० १५९–६०.

५. **तत्त्वनिधि**, द्रष्टव्य टी० ए० गोपीनाथ राव, **एलीमेण्ट्स ऑव हिन्दू आइक्नोग्रैफी**, वाल्यूम २, पार्ट २, पृ० ७१

प्रतिमाओं को वे या तो आलिंगन मूर्ति कहते हैं या फिर हर–गौरी अथवा शिव–पार्वती। उनके ऐसा समझने का कारण अभी तक स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाया है। किन्तु शिल्प ग्रंथों के आधार पर आसनस्थ और स्थानक दोनों प्रकार की आलिंगन मूर्तियों को उमामहेश्वर शिल्प की कोटि में रखना तर्कसंगत जान पड़ता है।

भारतीय मूर्ति–शिल्प पर दृष्टिपात करने से प्रकट होता है कि भारतीय शिल्पी ने पहले कुषाणयुग में उमामहेश्वर की स्थानक मुद्राओं वाली और फिर गुप्तयुग से स्थानक तथा आसनस्थ दोनों प्रकार की प्रतिमाएं आँकी। कुषाणकालीन स्थानक उमामहेश्वर सर्वप्रथम मथुरा–कला में उकेरे गए थे[६] और छठीं–सातवीं शताब्दी ई० में आसनस्थ उमामहेश्वर उड़ीसा के शत्रुघ्नेश्वर तथा परशुरामेश्वर मन्दिरों में,[७] कर्नाटक के ऐहोल स्थित कुन्तीमन्दिर में[८] और उत्तर प्रदेश के कन्नौज–संग्रहालय में[९] दिखाई पड़ते हैं। आठवीं–नवीं शताब्दी ई० से दोनों प्रकार की प्रतिमाएं सामान्यतः समूचे भारत में और विशेषकर मध्य भारत में उकेरी जाने लगी हैं और तेरहवीं–चौदहवीं शताब्दी ई० तक उनकी अक्षुण्ण परंपरा बनी रही।

दूसरा प्रश्न उमामहेश्वर शिल्प के उद्‌भव के आधार पर प्रेरणा–स्रोत से सम्बन्धित है। इस मूर्ति–शिल्प की उद्‌भावना के प्रेरक तत्त्व साहित्य तथा पुरातत्त्व दोनों में खोजने की आवश्यकता है। कालिदास के **कुमारसम्भव**, **भागवतपुराण** तथा **स्कन्दपुराण** आदि के कतिपय कथानकों से उमामहेश्वर के शिल्प का तादात्म्य बिठाया जा सकता है।

कुमारसम्भव में उल्लेख है कि विवाहोपरान्त उमा को अपने वृषभ पर आगे बिठाकर और उनके स्तनों को पकड़े–पकड़े शिव मेरु, मन्दराचल, कैलास, मलय, नन्दनवन तथा गन्धमादन आदि क्रीड़ाशैलों पर विहार–क्रीड़ा करने के लिए निकल पड़े (८/२१–२६)। एक दिन सूर्यास्त के समय शिव एक स्वर्णशिला पर बैठ गए और अपनी बाईं भुजा के सहारे उन्होंने उमा को बिठा लिया।

तत्र कांचनशिलातलाश्रयो नेत्रगम्यमवलोक्य भास्करम्।

दक्षिणेतरभुजव्यपाश्रयां व्यजहार सहधर्मचारिणीम्।।[१०]

इसी ग्रंथ में आगे कहा गया है कि जिस समय शिव उमा के साथ कैलास पर्वत पर विहार कर रहे थे, एक दिन जब उमा का शृंगार करने के लिए उनकी सखियां जया और विजया ने कक्ष में प्रवेश किया तो देखा कि उमा शिव की गोद में बैठी थीं–

अन्तः प्रविश्यावसरेऽथ तत्र स्निग्धे वयस्ये विजयाजया च।

सुसंपदोपाचरतां कलानामङ्के स्थितां शिखण्डिमौलेः।।[११]

---

६. नीलकण्ठ पुरुषोत्तम जोशी, प्राचीन भारतीय मूर्ति-विज्ञान, पटना १९७७, रेखाचित्र ३३

७. टामस ई० डोनाल्डसन, हिन्दू टेम्पल आर्ट ऑव उड़ीसा, वाल्यूम ३, न्यूयार्क, १९८७, पृ० १११४, चित्र ३६५५ तथा ३६५६

८. सी० शिवराममूर्ति, द आर्ट ऑव इण्डिया, न्यूयार्क, १९७७, चित्र १२८

९. गोपालकृष्ण अग्निहोत्री, कन्नौज : आर्ट ऐण्ड आर्कियोलाजी, कन्नौज, १९७८, चित्र ८८

१०. **कुमारसम्भव**, ८/२६

भागवतपुराण में कहा गया है कि अपनी भुजाओं में उमा को आलिंगनबद्ध किए हुए शिव को कैलास पर्वत पर विचरण करते हुए ऋषि–मुनियों और सिद्ध–चारणों ने देखा था–

गिरिशं दद्दशे गच्छन् परीतं सिद्धचारणैः।

आलिंग्यांगीकृतां देवीं बाहुना मुनिसंसदि।।[१२]

संभवतः इन प्रसंगों से प्रेरणा लेकर ही भारतीय शिल्पी ने उमामहेश्वर शिल्प की अवतारणा की होगी। प्राचीनतम होने के कारण **कुमारसम्भव** के प्रसंग उमामहेश्वर की आसनस्थ तथा स्थानक दोनों प्रकार की प्रतिमाओं के उद्भव के आधार माने जा सकते हैं। कांचनशिलातल पर बैठने तथा शिव की गोद में उमा के बैठने वाले प्रसंग उमामहेश्वर की आसनस्थ प्रतिमाओं के तथा क्रीड़ाशैलों पर उमा और शिव का परस्पर बाहों में बाहें डालकर विचरण करने वाले प्रसंग उनकी स्थानक प्रतिमाओं के प्रेरणा–स्रोत ठहराए जा सकते हैं।

उमामहेश्वर की प्रतिमाओं का एक वर्ग ऐसा भी है जिसमें उन्हें चलते हुए वृषभ पर बैठे दिखलाया गया है। इन प्रतिमाओं की प्रेरणा भी **कुमारसम्भव** तथा **भागवतपुराण** दोनों से ली गई जान पड़ती है क्योंकि दोनों ग्रंथों में आलिंगनबद्ध शिव और उमा को अपने वाहन वृषभ पर बैठकर क्रीड़ा–शैलों पर विचरण करते हुए अंकित किया गया है। चूँकि **कुमारसम्भव** अधिक प्राचीन है, इसलिये शिल्पी को सबसे पहले प्रेरणा संभवतः उसी से मिली होगी।

डा० नीलकण्ठ पुरुषोत्तम जोशी ने वृषभारूढ़ उमामहेश्वर को मालव–शिल्प की नई उद्भावना बताया है। **स्कन्दपुराण** के अवन्ति खण्ड में कुण्डेश्वरा माहात्म्य के अन्तर्गत एक कथा आती है। एक समय उज्जयिनी के निकट महाकालवन में पार्वती–पुत्र वीरक कठोर तप में लीन था। एकाएक पार्वती ने शिव से अपने पुत्र को तत्काल देखने की इच्छा प्रकट की। फलतः अपने वृषभ पर बैठकर शिव और पार्वती अत्यन्त वेग से चल दिए। वृषभ की तीव्र गति से जो झटके लग रहे थे, उनसे बचने के लिए पार्वती कसकर शिव से लिपट गयीं।[१३]

स्कन्दपुराण का यह आख्यान वृषभारूढ़ उमामहेश्वर प्रतिमाओं पर कथमपि बैठाया तो जा सकता है, परन्तु प्रतिमाओं के शास्त्रीय विवेचन तथा उनके शिल्पगत अंकन से इसका सम्यक् तादात्म्य नहीं स्थापित किया जा सकता है। क्योंकि इस प्रसंग में पार्वती का शिव से लिपटना भयवश संकेतित है जैसा रावणानुग्रह प्रतिमाओं में है। किन्तु इसके विपरीत शिल्प–ग्रंथों में तथा प्रतिमाओं में उमा को शिव के प्रति अनुरागी भाव में अंकित किया गया है। **मत्स्यपुराण** में उन्हें

११. **वही**, ६/३१

१२. **भागवतपुराण**, ६/१७/८

१३. नीलकण्ठ पुरुषोत्तम जोशी, 'रीजनल ट्रेण्ड्स इन सम ऑव द मेडिवल ब्रह्मैनिकल स्कल्पचर्स ऑव मालवा', **जर्नल ऑव द इण्डियन सोसाइटी ऑव द ओरियण्टल आर्ट**, न्यू सीरीज, वाल्यूम, १५, पृ० ४५–४६, टि० १४

शिव को क्रीडया स्पर्श करते हुए (स्पृशन्ती लीलया ततः)[१४] बताया गया है और अधिकांश प्रतिमाओं में भी उन्हें शिव की ओर अनुराग भरी दृष्टि से निहारते हुए उत्कीर्ण किया गया है।

चलते हुए वृषभ पर उमामहेश्वर के अंकन की उद्भावना का श्रेय मालव–शिल्प को दिया जाना तर्कसंगत जान पड़ता है, यद्यपि तत्कालीन कतिपय वृषभारुढ़ उमामहेश्वर की मूर्तियां हरियाणा और पंजाब से भी मिली हैं।[१५] हाँ, यह निर्विवाद सत्य है कि इस प्रकार की एक से बढ़कर एक प्रतिमाएँ हिंगलाजगढ़ (मालव क्षेत्र) में गढ़ी गई थीं जो सम्प्रति इन्दौर के केन्द्रीय संग्रहालय की शोभा बढ़ा रही है। परन्तु जहाँ तक वृषभारूढ़ उमामहेश्वर प्रतिमा के प्रेरणा–स्रोत का प्रश्न है, उसका सर्वाधिक तर्कसंगत उत्तर हमें कालिदास के **कुमारसम्भव** में ही उपलब्ध हो सकता है, क्योंकि यह प्रसंग **स्कन्दपुराण** से अधिक प्राचीन है और मुखमुद्राओं के आधार पर भी **स्कन्दपुराण** की अपेक्षा **कुमारसम्भव** से ही अधिक प्रेरित जान पड़ता है। **कुमारसम्भव** के प्रसंग में उमा और शिव का पारस्परिक आलिंगन प्रेमजन्य है जो प्रतिमाओं पर यथावत् दृष्टिगोचर होता है। किन्तु **स्कन्दपुराण** में, उमा द्वारा शिव का आलिंगन भयवश है। वस्तुतः वह आलिंगन नहीं लिपटना मात्र है। अस्तु, हमें ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि कालिदास की लोकप्रिय रचना **कुमारसम्भव** को ही सभी प्रकार की उमामहेश्वर प्रतिमाओं के उद्भव का प्रेरक स्रोत समझना अधिक तर्कपूर्ण है।

इन साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों के अतिरिक्त कतिपय मूर्ति–शिल्प भी ऐसे हैं जो उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति–शिल्प के प्रारूप और प्रेरणा–स्रोत समझे जा सकते हैं। आसनस्थ उमामहेश्वर जैसा मानव–मिथुन अंकित करने वाला एक प्रस्तर–फलक पीतलखोरा (महाराष्ट्र) से प्राप्त हुआ है।[१६] सातवाहनकालीन द्वितीय शती ई० पू० में निर्मित होने वाला यह फलक राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय, नई दिल्ली में संरक्षित है। अंशतः खण्डित इस फलक में आसन पर बैठे हुए एक मानव–मिथुन का अंकन है। ललितासन में बैठे पुरुष का दाहिना पैर नीचे को तथा बायाँ मुड़ा हुआ है। नारी पुरुष के दाहिने पैर की जंघा पर सुखासन में बैठी है। उसका बायाँ पैर तो नीचे पादपीठ पर टिका है, किन्तु दाहिना पैर मुड़ा हुआ आसन पर अवस्थित है। पुरुष का बायाँ अंग अंशतः खण्डित हो चुका है, किन्तु उसका दाहिना हाथ नारी की कटि पर स्थित है जिससे उसने प्रेयसी को आलिंगनबद्ध कर रक्खा है। सामने देखने वाले अपने प्रियतम के मुख की ओर नारी ने अपना वक्ष और मुख मोड़ रक्खा है। उसने अपना बायाँ हाथ पुरुष के कंधे पर टिकाया है तथा दाहिने

---

१४. **मत्स्यपुराण**, २/२६०/११

१५. हरियाणा में रोहतक जिले के गुज्जरखेरी नामक स्थान से खड़े वृषभ पर बैठे उमामहेश्वर की १०वीं शती ई० में निर्मित एक सुन्दर प्रतिमा मिली है (द्रष्टव्य अमेरिकन इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑव स्टडीज़ वाराणसी, निगेटिव नम्बर ए२–८७)। पंजाब में ढोलबाहा तथा घनौली नामक स्थानों में इसी प्रकार की एक–एक प्रतिमा पाई गई है (ढोलबाहा प्रतिमा के लिए देखें देवेन्द्र हाण्डा, 'साइट्स ऑव संघोल ऐण्ड ढोलबाहा', **पंजाब हिस्ट्री कान्फ्रेन्स (७वाँ अधिवेशन) की स्मारिका**, पंजाब हिस्टारिकल स्टडीज़ डिपार्टमेण्ट, पंजाबी यूनीवर्सिटी, पटियाला, पृ० १७, चित्र १५ तथा घनौली प्रतिमा के लिए देखें **पंजाब गवर्नमेण्ट म्यूज़ियम होशियारपुर** (प्रकाशन की तिथि तथा स्थान का कोई उल्लेख नहीं)। पंजाब से मिली दोनों उमामहेश्वर की प्रतिमाओं के सन्दर्भ के लिए लेखक डा० देवेन्द्र हाण्डा का ऋणी है।

१६. द्रष्टव्य सी० शिवराममूर्ति, चित्र ६६,

से वह उस पात्र से कुछ उठाती सी जान पड़ती है जिसे उसके निकट खड़ी एक सेविका ने अपने हाथों में पकड़ रक्खा है। इस फलक में दो अन्य शीशविहीन सेविकाओं को बैठे दिखाया गया है। इस मानव–मिथुन की नारी अपने प्रियतम के मुख की ओर अनुराग–भरी दृष्टि से अपलक निहार रही है। सुन्दर केशसज्जा, सुरुचिपूर्ण आभूषण और संभ्रान्त वेशभूषा वाला यह मानव–मिथुन निश्चय ही उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति–शिल्प का प्राचीनतम प्रारूप कहा जा सकता है।

ऐसा ही एक अन्य मानव–मिथुन साँची के विशाल स्तूप के पूर्वी तोरण पर उत्कीर्ण है।[१७] निचली बड़ेरी के दाहिने सिरे पर एक फलक में पर्वतीय वन का दृश्यांकन है जिसमें एक शिलातल पर एक प्रेमी युगल को बैठे दिखाया गया है। ललितासन में बैठे पुरुष ने अपनी मुड़ी हुई बाईं जंघा पर अपनी प्रेयसी को बिठा रक्खा है और अपने बाएँ हाथ से न केवल अपनी प्रिया को तकिए सा सहारा दे रक्खा है, अपितु उसी से उसका आलिंगन भी कर रहा है। नारी भी अपने दाहिने हाथ को अपने प्रिय के कंधे पर रखकर उसके आलिंगन का आनन्द उठा रही है। इस प्रकार, पुरुष की मुड़ी हुई बाईं जंघा पर बैठी नारी तथा उन दोनों की पारस्परिक आलिंगन मुद्रा के कारण वे दोनों साक्षात् उमा–महेश्वर के प्रारूप दिखाई पड़ते हैं।

आसनस्थ उमामहेश्वर की प्रतिमाओं के लिए जैसे **कुमारसम्भव** का उदाहरण सम्पूर्ण भारतीय साहित्य में सर्वाधिक प्राचीन साक्ष्य है, उसी प्रकार प्रारंभिक मूर्तिकला में पीतलखोरा और साँची के ये उदाहरण मात्र ऐसे उदाहरण हैं जिन्हें उमामहेश्वर का प्राचीनतम प्रारूप माना जा सकता है। स्थानक मुद्रा वाले उमामहेश्वर मूर्ति–शिल्प की प्रेरणा देने वाले मिथुन प्रारूप कार्ले, कन्हेरी, साँची आदि स्थानों की मूर्तिकला में सहज ही देखे जा सकते हैं।



---

१७. ए० एल० श्रीवास्तव, लाइफ इन साँची स्कल्पचर, नई दिल्ली, १९८३, फलक ५१,

THE GODDESS HĀRĪTĪ

Dr. U.C. DWIVEDI

Hārītī is one of the most popular Buddhist deity, who is closely associated with the children as their protectress. Originally a killer of the children, she was converted by the Buddha into a protectress of child as well as a presiding deity of fertility and child-birth. Before her birth as a Yakṣī, she was a herdman's wife in Rājagṛha, the capital of the then Magadha, when she was forced to dance at one of its numerous festivals while pregnant, resulting in her miscarriage. The incident made her so angry that for taking revenue, she took a most cruel vow of devouring the children of the city.[1]

According to Bhattasali, the legend of Hārītī is perhaps to be traced to *Mahāvastu*, where it has been mentioned that it was the arrival of Buddha at the Vaiśālī which caused the disappearance of all supernatural diseases from the place, which was being caused by 1000 children of Yakṣiṇī Kuṇḍalā. The next step in the development of the legend of Hārītī can be traced in the *Vinayapiṭakam* of the Sarvāstivāda school which is preserved only in a translation in China, the original having disappeared from India, the homeland of Buddhism. According to this work, at Rājagṛha, there lived a Yakṣinī named 'Huanshi' (meaning joy). She was supposed to be a gawdian deity of the people of Magadha. But as the result of a spiteful wish in previous life, she started stealing and eating the children of Rājagṛha, for feeding herself and her 500 sons. When the people knew about her activity, they gave her the name 'Hārītī' which means the thief. Then the people of Rājagṛha approached Lord Buddha for relief. To put an end to the Yakṣī's cannibal mode of life, the Lord enlarged his begging bowl miraculously and hid her youngest and favourite son, in one account called Pingala, in it. When the Yakṣī approached Lord Buddha, he gave him upto her mother on her promise to renounce cannibalism and become a lay member of his communion. Then, to provide for the subsistence of the mother and her

---

1. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pt. ii, p. 5.

numerous offspring, the Buddha ordained that in all monasteries food should be set out for them every morning. In return for this service, the Yakṣiṇī and her sons were to become and continue guardians of the Buddhist sacred buildings.[2] That is how, according to Zimmer,[3] this incarnation of the plagues that destroy the children was cured of her obsession and admitted to the order. Coomaraswamy has remarked, "We may say that having had her complex cured by the Great Master of psychology, she reverts to normal".[4] Hārītī was turned as guardian of the Buddhist sacred building is further testified as Itsing's account. The Chinese traveller observes, "For this reason, the image of Hārītī is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining hall of the Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arm and round her knees three or four children."[5] It is interesting to note that the excavation of the monastic site at Chirand in the Saran district of Bihar in the year 1964 has yielded a terracotta figure of Hārītī with a babe held close to the breast of the goddess.[6]

The story appears to have been further developed in the *Samyukta-ratna-sutra* of the Chinese Sūtra-Piṭaka of the Hinayana school. Here the youngest child is called Pingala in one place and Pilengka in another. Hārītī has now turned a protectress and giver of children.[7] According to I-tsing, she is not only the giver of child but also of wealth.[8]

In Kṣemendra's *Bodhi Sattvavadana-Kalpalata*[9] the story is given with much poetic embellishment. Here the name of the child removed is Pṛyaṅkara, which was probably translated in Chinese as Pileṅgka. There, it is recorded, that the citizens of Rājagṛha made their complaint to king Bimbisāra in the first instance who moves the Lord Buddha.

---

2. Watters, *ON Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 216.
3. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 136.
4. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, pt. ii, p. 5.
5. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, p. 37.
6. B. Sahai, *Iconography of Some Important Minor Hindu and Buddhist Deities*, p. 254.
7. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 216, f.n. 3.
8. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
9. J.B.T.S. Part I (Translated by S.C. Vidyabhusana) 1897, p. 26 & 29.

The cannibal nature of the goddess was not forgotten for long is evident from the following observations of Getty.[10] "She was also sometimes represented holding a pomegranate, for Gautama Buddha is believed to have cured her of cannibalism by giving her a diet of pomegranate, the red fruit being supposed to resemble human flesh. "Getty, however, does not quote any authority in support of his statement. He further says that Hārītī devoured all her own children except the last one Piṇḍala, whom the Buddha saved by hiding him in his begging bowl. Bhattasali[11] observes, "I have nowhere come across this version of the story and the name Piṇḍala also appears to be new. The only two variants of the name of the child hitherto met with, appear to be Piṅgala and Pṛyaṅkara."

D.H. Gordon holds that Hārītī was the important Mother Goddess of the Gāndhāra, with whom philosophy of Buddhism had to share its sanctuaries and its worship, no lesser one than the Great Mother Goddess herself, patron of Pushkalavati as Athene of Athena.[12] He believes in her foreign origin and thinks that real deities immediately behind the inadequate Hārītī and Kuvera are Anaiti's and Mithra and that they alone can fulfil the conditions of style and period.[13]

Hārītī is basically a mother goddess, is also proved by her characteristic iconographic feature showing her with a babe in her lap. In view of Shrivastava, she is essentially a Buddhist folk goddess.[14] Foucher on the other hand calls her Buddhist Madonna.[15]

However, Hārītī has also Hindu ancestry. We have an interesting account given in the *Mahābhārata*.[16] According to that work, Jarāsandha was the King of Magadha ruling at Rājagṛha and was one of the enemies of Śrī

---

10. A Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 86.
11. N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist & Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum.*
12. D.H. Gordan, *Antiquity*, XI, 1937, p. 71.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 72-73.
14. M.C.P. Shrivastava, *Mothergoddess in Indian Art, Archaeology and Literature*, p. 166.
15. Foucher, *The Beginning of Buddhist Art*, p. 141.
16. *Mahābhārata*, II, 18, 1-6.

Kṛṣṇa. Jarāsandha was originally born in two halves and it was due to Ogress Jarā that two discarded halves were brought back to life on being joined together. It is only due to this his name was given Jarāsandha meaning 'United by Jarā'. Jarā had the power to assume many shapes and was a Rākṣasī (Kāmarupiṇī). She was worshipped not only in the royal household but also venerated by the people in general making her gṛha-devī. If she was painted on the walls of the house in youthful appearance surrounded by her children, the house-holder was to be blessed with plenty. Banerjee observes that "There is little doubt about the ideological affinity between Hārītī and Jarā and the popularity of the cult of the former both in and outside India is fully vouchsafed by literary and archaeological data."[17]

Getty informs us that Hārītī was worshipped in Northern India by bereaved parents and in Nepal she was believed to prevent small-pox.[18] She is represented both in form of saint and Ogress in Japan and is worshipped under the names of Koyasa Kwan-Noa as Saint and Kishi-no-jin as Ogress.[19] On the basis of sculptures of Hārītī with Kuvera, Waddell thinks that she is none other than a form of Vasundharā, goddess of Abundance, and consort of Kuvera, god of wealth.[20]

The above discussion has clearly shown that Hārītī with whatever origin she might be connected, was a popular goddess who was worshipped for the prevention of disease, need of progeny and wealth. She was an effective deity of her cult is proved by the fact that she was worshipped both by the Hindus as well as Buddhist. The legends connected with her as preserved in the literature definitely connect her with Rājagṛha but she was given an important place even in the Gāndhāra art. Most probably, it was because the artist found familiarity of the myth as it was similar with one connected with the western legends. In the Gāndhāra art we find a number of her representations which made Yuan Chwang to associate the very conversion of this goddess with Taxila.

---

17. J.N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 381.

18. A. Getty, *The Gods of the Northern Buddhism*, p. 75.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 75 : also 'Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its gods, images and art' - Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, Jan., 1912.

The Chinese traveller refers to the Hārītī stūpa said to have been erected by Aśoka and which was located by Foucher at Sare-Makhedheri in Pesawar and narrates how her worship migrated outside India to Eastern China (through Chinese Turkistan and Kashmir), Korea and Japan, though in transformed character.[21] This shows that the antiquity of the worship of this goddess can be traced back to the Mauryan period, however, it is very doubtful. To believe that Aśoka was associated with the erection of Stūpas over such a cannibal goddess is also very doubtful. However, on the basis of Gāndhāra sculptures we can safely believe that in Kuṣāṇa period her iconographical representation had started.

In the art, Hārītī is readily recognised from the children hanging round her. Sometimes she is shown seated with a child resting in her lap and childishly playing with her necklace or at times simultaneously sucking her breast. Then again, she is found standing with her favourite child clinging to her bosom, placed astride on her hip in the manner women usually carry their children.

The earliest known sculptures uptill now of Hārītī are from Gāndhāra school of art. The figure of Hārītī from Takhti-Bāhī (now in Peshawar Museum)[22] is shown standing on a vase under a canopy of leaves, carrying the youngest of her many children on her left hip in the local fashion. The figure of the goddess, as usual, is full of motherliness, her pose dignified and stately - giving her a Madonna like appearance. She puts on an Indian dress and her ornaments include necklace, bracelets and anklets. On her head is a chaplet of leavers from which a viel falls down her back.

Another figure of Hārītī from Sikari, in the Lahore Museum,[23] also shows her standing with her favourite child clinging to her breast. She has one child between her feet, three at each side of whom two on the left are wrestling recalling the expression as mentioned in the Ratnakuṭa-Sūtra that each of her children was possessed of the strength of a great wrestler. At least two of the children have succeeded in climbing as far as her shoulders.

---

21. J.N. Banerjee, Some Folk Goddesses of Ancient and Medieval India, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1938, p. 101 ff.

22. J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 84, fig. 112.

23. A. Foucher, *The Beginning of Buddhist Art*, p. 283, pl. XLVII. 2.

There are several figures of Hārītī belonging to the Gāndhāra school on the Indian Museum, Calcutta in which she is shown with her husband Pāñcika.[24] One of the sculptures hailing from Jamalgarh[25] represents the couple standing under a tree in blossom, the male occupying a place to the right of the female. Here Hārītī stretches out her right hand towards her husband, while in the left, she carries an object looking like a noose. A naked child is shown standing between them and another in the upper background. Another sculpture of the same school in the Indian Museum[26] shows the male standing to the left of female. Here again is the figure of a child in the upper background another such figure standing between the couple. The right hand of the male, which is partly missing, seems to be clasping the left hand of the goddess. In still another sculpture,[27] Hārītī holds the handle of a pan-shaped vessel, evidently containing eatables by her right. Again a naked child stands between them and another seated to the left of Pāñcika. In another representation of the same school in Indian Museum itself,[28] Pāñcika seems to be offering something, while a child is striding towards Hārītī.

In the seated variety also, Hārītī is represented with Pāñcika. One of the finest and largest reliefs hailing from Sahari-Bahlol (excavated by Spooner in 1907)[29] both Hārītī and Pāñcika seated side by side. Here Pāñcika holds the lance in his right hand and money-bag in the left hand. Hārītī, however, is not carrying any child here and is represented with only

---

24. *Ibid.,* p. 141. Foucher observes, "In the man it has long been proposed and recognise Kuvera, the 'King of the Spirits' but the texts merely designate him as their 'general' by his name Pancika and is in virtue of this title that he is nearly always leaning upon a lance." The evolution of Pancika most probably was from the Yaksas who are essentially guardians of the treasures and the purse of gold in his hand prove that he got himself transformed from a 'jealous gaolar into a generous dispenser of riches.'

25. N.G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum,* pt. II, p. 110, No. 1000, pl. XII, b.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 100, No. 111.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 100, NO. 113.

28. *Ibid.,* p. 100, No. 115.

29. A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism,* p. 87; Foucher, L'art gercobouddhique du Gandhara, II, fig. 387.

the symbol of fecundity, the cornu copiae. In another sculpture of this school discovered from Takht-i-Bahi,[30] Hārītī holds the corn copiae and Pāñcika is shown only with money-bag. Another large composition from Sahri-Bahlol[31] exhibits both Hārītī and Pāñcika seated on a common pedestal side by side, the male seated to the right of the goddess, with both their legs pendent. In his hands, both broken, the pot bellied figure of Pāñcika may have held a lance in his right hand and a purse in the left. Hārītī is holding a baby in her left hand who is childishly playing with her necklace. Besides the child in her lap we notice five other children around them. In addition to these, sixteen more children are represented playing about on the pedestal.

In the contemporary Mathurā art of the Kuṣāṇa period also, Hārītī is represented in the company of her lord. In a specific example from Mathurā, now displayed in the Mathurā Museum,[32] Hārītī along with a male figure who is identified as Jambhala have been shown seated side by side, sharing the common pedestal, with both their legs pendent, Jambhala being seated to the right side of the goddess. Jambhala is holding a lance in his right hand and a cup of wine in the left hand. Hārītī is identified by the baby held in her left and resting on her left lap, who is touching the mother's left breast. The object held in her right hand is too indistinct to be identified. Another piece of sculpture depicting Hārītī and Pāñcika has been reported from Mathurā. Here Pāñcika and Hārītī has been shown squatting in a rectangular slab. Between the rectangular pedestals of these figures a child figure kneels with an object raised in his right hand. We notice torso of an infant seated on Hārītī's left leg and a round object probably lotus flower in her right hand. A small figure stands between the two. This Patna Museum piece is defaced and weathered.[33]

Another piece of sculpture, probably of the Gupta period, is preserved in the Allahabad Museum, where a couple is shown seated with a child seated

---

30. A. Getty, op. cit., p. 37, ASIAR, 1911-12, p. 8.

31. ASIAR, 1906-07, pl.XXXII, c; Foucher, *The Beginning of Buddhist Art*, p. 283, pl. XLVIII. 1.

32. B. Sahai, op. cit., p. 257, fig. 45.

33. *Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 22.

on their left leg.[34] This pair can be identified as that of Kuvera[35] and Hārītī. In another representation preserved in Allahabad Museum, this couple is shown under a tree, both holding a child.[36] A very much similar piece is also noticed in this museum, where seat is rather elaborate.[37]

The Sārnātha Museum preserves a lintel of a large doorway which has been placed in the Gupta period by Marshall.[38] Here, in one of the niches a female is shown standing and she is giving something to a child squating on either side. This figure presumably represent Hārītī, the female energy of Kubera, the god of wealth, whom we find pictured in the fields at the end of the lintel.[39] We notice another female figure standing in one of the niches here between a pair of jars filled with gold or sweets. She holds a lotus in her left hand and a bunch of buds in the right. This figure also has been identified by P. Upadhyaya as Hārītī.[40] However, to identify this deity as Vasudhārā or Valundharā will be more apropriate, who is also connected with Jambhala or Kubera.

We notice so many sculptures of Harītī without her consort also. One of the earliest and beautiful sculpture of Hārītī in the British Museum,[41] is shown seated on a throne with both her legs pendent and a child resting in her lap and childishly playing with her necklace. The head of the child in the lap of the goddess is partly broken. Other persons, one of whom on the right is feeding a parrot, while two others on the left are wrestling, a fourth raising

34. P. Upadhyaya, *Female Images in the Museum of U.P. and Their Social Background*, p. 258.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 198, It is interesting to note that ancestory of Kuvera and Hārītī are of common nature. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa Kubera, the lord and master of the Yaksas and Yakhis of later times, is called a Rākṣasa and a lader of miscreants. It was perhaps this feature of the god and the goddess that fired the fear of the people and they began to worship them in order to appease them and thus save themselves from the malevolence of the divine couple.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 242-43.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

41. *Journal of Indian Art and Industries*, 1898, pl. 4, 2.

a fruit to his mouth, and a fifth is crouched on the front of the stand, evidently from part of the progeny of Hārītī. The figure of Hārītī reminds us distinctly of the type of Demeter. The bosoms are placed very high, as are usual in the school of Gāndhāra.

Representation of Hārītī in the Mathurā art also show the goddess surrounded by children and playing with them. The Archaeological Museum at Mathurā possesses few such figures.[42] The Patna Museum, Patna also preserves one sculpture of Hārītī from Mathurā belonging to Kuṣāṇa period, where the goddess is shown alone.[43] Here Hārītī is shown seated with legs wide apart with a child on her left leg. The boy touches her breast with his left hand. The Devi holds the thighs of the child with her left hand. The right hand raised above shoulder height holds a round object. A halo-like projection rises from the child's head to the object. This weathered image's lower portion is also missing.

Patna Museum, Patna preserves another sculpture of Hārītī from which can be placed in 3rd-4th Century A.D.[44] Here the goddess is shown seated in Pralambapāda āsana with legs wide apart. The head and arms of the goddess are broken. We notice one infant sitting on her left leg and another yaksha like infant squats between her legs. Nose of infant and lower part of image is also missing.

Sarnath Museum, Sarnath possesses fragment of a sculpture showing the left arm of a female holding a child.[45] This is probably part of a Hārītī figure and was unearthed to the north-west of the Jagat Singh Stūpa. This piece can be placed in the late Gupta age.

Beside this we have information about few very good representations of Hārītī both in stone as well as bronze. In one of the representations in bronze preserved in Nalanda Museum,[46] Hārītī is shown

42. Nos. F8 & 144; V.S. Agrawal, *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeologi*, Muttra, p. 25.

43. *Patna Museum Catelogue of Antiquities*, p. 22.

44. *Patna Museum Arch.* No. 6337.

45. D.R. Sahni, *Cat. of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, p. 154, No. B (f) 50.

46. A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Nalanda*, pp. 30-31, No. 1-372.

seated in Lalitāsana with a child on the left knee and a fruit held in her right arm. An inscription at the back of the figure suggests it to have been carved in the reign of Devapāla. In front of pedestal, on its lower section, are a mirror, a dish with offerings and a vase.

We have another very good sculpture of Hārītī from Silour, Dist. Saran presently preserved in Patna Museum, Patna.[47] Here, the goddess is shown seated with her leg pendent. A child is noticed seated with añjalimudrā on her left leg. Another child is noticed standing on her right. Vessel and flying Vidyādharas have been represented on the top of the stela. Below Hārītī on her semi-circular seat, two women making butter and one woman with anjalimudrā have been represented. On the pedestal we notice a female in anjalimudrā, another with a child on her lap, two musicians and a dancer. This sculpture can be dated in the 11th-12th Century A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi preserves a bronze of 9th Century A.D. from Nalanda depicting Hārītī.[48] Here also the goddess is shown seated as the above mentioned bronze on a lotus seat placed over a pedestal marked by lions and devotees. She is having sweetmeat in her right hand while left is holding a child seated on her lap. Another brass image from Pandua, Dist. Malda datable in 10th Century A.D. depicts Hariti seated with a child on her left lap. While her right hand is in Varadamudrā holding sweet-meat, the left one is touching the lotus seat. The image is under a umbrella. This image is preserved in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, now in Bangladesh.

A crude bronze from Kurkihar, presently preserved in Patna Museum, Patna depicts Hārītī in Mahārājalilā āsana with a child on her left lap. Her right hand resting on knee holds a fruit. This bronze can be dated in 12th Century A.D.

Gaya Museum, Gaya preserves a bronze statuette from Fatehpur in Gaya district representing Hārītī in the ardhaparyaṅkaattitude on a single pettaled flower.[49] Her right hand stretched down on the right knee holds

---

47. Patna Museum, Arch. No. 6362.

48. B. Bandhyopadhyay, *Metal Sculptures of Eastern India*, p. 111.

49. B. Sahai, Bronzes from Fatehpur, *J.B. :P.*, Vol. I, p. 181; R.D. *Banerji, Eastern India School of Medieval Sculptures*, p. LXXIII, e.

conical object probably casket of wealth, while she supports a small child seated on her left thigh by her left hand. She puts on a number of ornaments on her person. Here the goddess is seated in ardhaparyaṅka mudrā with a child in her left lap being supported by left hand and a conical object probably casket of wealth in her right hand. This image which has been identified as Durga is undoubtedly of Hārītī because no symbol of Durga is there.

However, the most interesting figure of Hariti from Paipārā is preserved in the Dacca Museum.[50] Here the four armed Hārītī is seated on a lotus seat with her legs locked. The upper right hand of the goddess holds a fish and the upper left hand has a drinking bowl. With the two normal hands, she holds a child in her lap. The child is playing with his necklace placed near her left breast. A devotee is noticed under the lotus seat on the pedestal of the stone image. The presence of two extra hands with the new symbols - a fish and a skull cup - appears to be a novel method and probably is reminiscent of the cannibal nature of the goddess.

Besides the above mentioned figures, few other pieces have also been identified as that of Hārītī. One of those is a circular plaque having an outer row of pearls (most of them missing) set in channel - gold repousse with pearls and cut garnets - from the Taxila area, datable in Circa 3rd-4th Century A.D., now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[51] It portrays in low relief in the centre the goddess Hārītī wearing a tiara and holding a flowering stem in each hand.

Another image, discovered from Nalanda,[52] depicts the goddess with her right hand held in the varada-mudrā and the left holding a stalk supporting a vase with a foliage issuing out of it. Five overturned jars on the pedestal, a characteristic of Jambhala, leave no doubt as to her identity.

But to identify the first representation as that of Tārā and the second as Vasudhārā will be more appropriate because we notice so many sculptures

---

50. N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 63, pl. XXV.

51. L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 47.

52. A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 31, No. 1-459.

of standing Tārā of Pāla period with both his hands carrying lotus and Vasudhārā, who is also connected with Jambhala, with a vase or so many vases. .

Thus we see that cult of Hārītī had wide prevalence and popularity and the artist from atleast Kuṣāṇa period down to Pāla and Sena period produced sculptures of this deity both in stone as well as bronzes. Again she was popular with both Hindu and Buddhists.



मृत्तिका-कला में हारीती

कुमारी विभा मिश्र

इलाहाबाद

हारीती प्रधानतया बौद्ध देवी हैं यद्यपि हिन्दू ग्रंथों में षष्ठी या भद्रा के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हैं। हारीति से सम्बन्धित कथानक **रत्नकूट** में मिलता है। यक्षी के रूप में जन्म लेने से पूर्व वह राजगृह में एक चरवाहे की पत्नी थी। एक बार गर्भावस्था के समय उसे बलपूर्वक एक उत्सव में नृत्य करने को कहा गया जिससे उसका गर्भपात हो गया। फलतः उसने यह प्रतिज्ञा ली कि वह राजगृह के समस्त बच्चों का भक्षण करेगी।[१]

विनयपिटक (सर्वास्तिवाद शाखा) के चीनी अनुवाद के अनुसार उसने राजगृह में हुआंशी[२] (संस्कृत नन्दा या नन्दिनी) के नाम से पुनर्जन्म लिया तथा ५०० बच्चों की माँ बनी। किन्तु पूर्वजन्म में ली गई प्रतिज्ञा के अनुसार उसने राजगृह के बच्चों को चुराना एवं खाना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। बच्चों को हरण करने, चुराने के कारण उसका नाम 'हारीती' पड़ा। राजगृह के निवासी भगवान बुद्ध की शरण में गये। भगवान बुद्ध ने उसके सबसे छोटे सर्वप्रिय पुत्र जिसका नाम **संयुक्तरत्न सूत्र** में पिंगल तथा क्षेमेन्द्र कृत **बोधिसत्वावदानकल्पलता** में प्रियंकर मिलता है, को छिपा दिया। हारीति अपने शिशु को ढूँढती बुद्ध के समीप आई। बुद्ध ने उसे अहिंसा एवं प्रेम की शिक्षा दी तथा हारीती ने बच्चों से प्रेम करने की प्रतिज्ञा की। बुद्ध ने उसके तथा उसके बच्चों के लिये अन्न की व्यवस्था कीं। इसी कथानक के आधार को लेकर चीनी यात्री ईत्सिंग[३] ने हारीती की प्रतिमा राजगृह के भोजनालय तथा मठ में देखी थी ऐसा वर्णन मिलता है। हारीति के प्रारम्भिक घोर रूप की तुलना **महाभारत** (II १८,१–६) में वर्णित जरा नामक राक्षसी से की जा सकती है। इसे भी बच्चों के साथ अंकित किया जाता है। **श्रीमद्भागवत** में (दशमस्कंध अध्याय ६ श्लोक २७,८,२७–२६) कृष्ण को मारने के लिए उद्यत पूतना नामक राक्षसी से इसकी तुलना की जा सकती है जिसे बालघातिनी, बालग्रह, लोकबालघ्नी आदि नामों से अभिहित किया गया है।

---

१. कुमारस्वामी, यक्ष पार्ट सेकेण्ड, पृष्ठ ५

२. जे०न० बनर्जी, डेवलेपमेण्ट आफ हिन्दू इकोनोग्राफी पृष्ठ ३८१

३. तकाकुशु ईत्सिंग ए रिकार्ड आफ बुद्धिस्ट रिलिजन, पृष्ठ ३७.

हिन्दू ग्रन्थों में वर्णित षष्ठी देवी हारीती का ही परिवर्तित यप है। डॉ० वासुदेवशरण इसे भद्रा से अभिन्न बताते हैं। "आरंभ में घोर नाम की राक्षसी और कुरुक्षेत्र में उलूखल मेखला नाम की यक्षी उसी के रूप थे।" यह मांस शोणित से तृप्त होती थी। किन्तु बौद्ध धर्म के साँचे में ढलकर वह शिवात्मक बन गई और मगध से गंधार तक बच्चों की रक्षक देवी के रूप में वह सर्वत्र फैल गई। ऋग्वेद में बहुप्रजा, परम्परा लोक में बहुपुत्रा हारीती या भद्रा के रूप में विकसित हुई[४]"।

चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग ने हारीती की पूजा का उल्लेख गांधार में किया है। उसने अशोक द्वारा निर्मित **हारीती स्तूप** का भी वर्णन किया है, जिसकी पहचान फूशे ने सारे माइवे ढेरी में (पेशावर) की है।[५]

हारीती की पूजा भारत के अतिरिक्त चीन, जापान एवं कोरिया में भी प्रचलित थी। गान्धार कला में हारीती का अंकन तख्ते बही, सिकरी, सहरी बहलोल आदि से प्राप्त हुआ है। गंधार शैली से निर्मित हारीती की मूर्ति पर यूनानी प्रभाव है। कौशाम्बी, मथुरा, साँची एवं अमरावती से हारीती की अतीव सुन्दर मूर्तियां उपलब्ध हुई हैं। कला में हारीती दो विभिन्न रूपों में प्रदर्शित की गई है–

१. **एकाकी मूर्तिः** जिसमें हारीती के साथ बच्चे दिखाये गये हैं।

२. **युग्म मूर्तिः** जिसमें हारीती के साथ कुबेर या पंचिक की प्रतिमा रहती है। मृत्तिका कला में ये दोनों ही प्रकार सुरक्षित हैं।

कौशाम्बी के उत्खनन से हारीती की तीन मृण्मूर्तियाँ प्रकाश में आई हैं।

१. पहली मृण्मूर्ति रक्षा प्राचीर क्षेत्र से मिली है। हाथ से निर्मित इस मूर्ति में सिर पर उत्कीर्ण शिरोभूषण, मस्तक पर टीका, कान में छिद्रों से युक्त कुण्डल, गले में अलग से चिपका उत्कीर्ण ग्रैवेयक, हाथ में उत्कीर्ण वलय एवं पैरों (बांये) में पायल स्पष्ट है। देवी की नाक तथा पैर नीचे से खण्डित हैं। आँख एवं ओठ उत्कीर्ण हैं। देवी के बांये भाग में एक छोटा बच्चा स्तन से चिपका दिखाया गया है जो हारीती के वात्सल्य प्रेम को दर्शाता है।

(कौशाम्बी एक्सकैवेशन रिपोर्ट १९५७–५९ चित्र ३०)(चित्र १)

"२. घोषिताराम विहार क्षेत्र के उत्खनन से हारीती की विशालकाय मृण्मूर्ति मिली हैं। देवी स्टूल पर बैठी हैं। देवी की शिरोभूषा अलंकृत है, मस्तक पर टीका, कान में लटकते सुन्दर कुण्डल, गले में दो ग्रैवेयक तथा एक हार स्पष्ट है। हाथ में केयूर, वलय तथा पैरों में अलंकृत पायल पहने हैं। अधोभाग में साड़ी है जिसकी परतें अत्यन्त कुशलता के साथ बनाई गई हैं। देवी के दोनों हाथ घुटनों पर हैं। (चित्र २)

---

४. डॉ० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल, भारतीय कला, पृष्ठ ३४५

५. डॉ० जे० एन० बनर्जी, डेवलपमेण्ट आफ हिन्दू इकोनोग्राफी पृष्ठ ३८१



हारीती
चित्र 1



हारीती
चित्र 2

सांचे से निर्मित यह कुषाणकालीन मृण्मूर्ति हारीती कुबेर पत्नी अथ्वा राज्ञी के रूप को प्रकट करती है।

३. राजप्रसाद क्षेत्र से हारीती की एक विशालकाय मृण्मूर्ति डी/२६६,ksxv G-६ उसके घोर रूप को प्रकट करती है। देवी के बाल, कुण्डल, ग्रैवेयक (अलंकार से चिपका है) वलय उत्कीर्ण हैं। पायल स्पष्ट है। देवी का मुख उसके रौद्र रूप को व्यक्त करता है। स्टूल पर बैठी देवी के दाहिनें हाथ में मधुपात्र है तथा बाँया हाथ एक शिशु के ऊपर है।

उक्त तीनों मृण्मूर्तियाँ इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के कौशाम्बी संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय में ४ सुरक्षित कौशाम्बी की बैठी हुई दो मृण्मूर्तियों सं० ३६८४,४५२६ में देवी के बांये स्तन के समीप बच्चा दिखाया गया है। नं० १०३४ में देवी के बांयें हाथ में तथा नं० ४५३२ में गोद में बच्चा है। उक्त समस्त मूर्तियों में देवी बैठी हुई है। ये मूर्तियाँ आर्ष हैं तथा हाथ में डौलिया कर निर्मित हैं।

लखनऊ संग्रहालय में कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त हारीती की एक मृण्मूर्ति है जिसमें वह बच्चे को गोद में लिये है (७६.१६.६–२१x१६ से.मी.)। कौशाम्बी से कुबेर के साथ हारीती की कोई मृण्मूर्ति नहीं मिली है, यद्यपि मथुरा से ऐसी एक सुन्दर मूर्ति मिली है।

टिप्पणी : कौशाम्बी से पाँच ऐसी अन्य मूर्तियां मिली हैं जिनमें स्त्री को स्टूल पर बैठे दिखाया गया है। इनके हाथ घुटने पर हैं, जैसा कि बृहत्काय प्रतिमा में अंकित है। बहुत संभव है कि ये भी हारीती के शान्त राज्ञी रूप को व्यक्त करती हों।

ये मूर्तियां रक्षा प्राचीर क्षेत्र से प्राप्त (नं० डी/१२६) हैं। अशोक स्तम्भ क्षेत्र से प्राप्त मूर्तियों की संख्याएं KSIII IVAI (2), MASI No 74, Pl XXXVIA 1,23 हैं।



एकलिंगजी की कतिपय मातृका-प्रतिमाएँ

डॉ० कुसुम कुमारी जायसवाल

लखनऊ

मातृका–पूजन की परम्परा भारतीय संस्कृति की मूल धरोहर है। अन्य देशों की भाँति भारत में भी मातृदेवी के रूप में इनकी पूजा अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से प्रचलित है।[१] वैदिक देवी अदिति में मातृदेवी के अस्तित्व को ढूँढने का प्रयास किया गया है।[२] **ऋग्वेद** में वर्णित अग्नि की सात जिह्वाओं में विद्वानों के अनुसार मातृकाओं की संख्या सात का मूल निहित है।[३] इस संख्याा की पुष्टि **महाभारत**[४] में वर्णित शिशुओं की सात माताओं –काकी, हलिमा, मालिनी, वृहन्ता, आर्या, पलाला एवं वैमित्रा से भी होता हैं जिन्होंने स्कन्द का पुत्रवत् पालन किया तथा स्कन्द की कृपा से जगत् की माता के रूप में विख्यात हुईं। इस प्रकार तत्कालीन समाज में ये मातृकाएं निम्नकोटि की लोकदेवियों के रूप में मान्य ज्ञात होती हैं।[५]

बृहत्संहिता में उपलब्ध मातृकाओं से सम्बन्धित विवरण सर्वाधिक प्रमाणिक है। वराहमिहिर ने मातृः, मातृगणः, मातृणां, मातृभिः आदि शब्दों का उल्लेख किया है[६] किन्तु वे मातृकाओं की संख्या व नामों के विषय में पूर्णतया मौन हैं। इस ग्रन्थ की टीका में उत्पल ने मातृकाओं का नामोल्लेख इस क्रम में किया है– ब्रह्माणी, वैष्णती, रौद्री, कौमारी, ऐन्द्री, यामी, वरूणी एवं **कौबेरी**।[७] बाद में अन्य मातृकाओं के रूप में नारसिंही, वाराही एवं वैनायकी का भी उललेख हुआ है।[८] **अमरकोश**[९] की सप्तमातृका सूची–ब्राह्मी, माहेश्वरी, ऐन्द्री, रौद्री, वाराही,

---

१. E.J.H. Mackay, Early Indus Civilization, pp. 53-54; j., Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, I,p. 135.

२. V.S., Agarawala, " Mathura Terracottas", *JUPHS*, Vol. IX. pt. 2,July, 1936,pp. 19-26.

३. M.K. Dhavalikar, " To Origin of Saptamatrika", *BDCRI*, Vol. XXI, 1960-61 pp. 21-22.

४. **महाभारत**, ३. २२८, ७–१०

५. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, प्राचीन भारतीय लोकधर्म, पृ० ५२.

६. A.M. Shastri, *India as Seen in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, p. 154.

७. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

८. *Ibid.*, p. 154 fn. 3; J.M., Banerjea, *Development of Dindu Iconography*, p. 504

कौबेरी और कौमारी–उपर्युक्त पहली सूची से अधिक भिन्न नहीं है। **कुमारसम्भव**[१०] में काली सहित मातृकाओं को शिव का अनुगमन करने वाली कहा गया है। स्कन्दगुप्त के विहार स्तम्भ लेख[११] से स्कन्द के साथ मातृकाओं के सम्बन्ध पर प्रकाश पड़ता है। इस प्रकार गुप्त काल तक मातृका–पूजन का शैव धर्म में समन्वय हो चुका था और शैव सम्प्रदाय के साथ–साथ मातृका–उपासना भी विकसित होती गई।

पौराणिक काल में प्राचीन काल से चली आ रही सात माताओं की कल्पना का समावेश ब्राह्मण धर्म में हुआ और वे विभिन्न देवताओं की शक्तियों के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हुईं। पुराणों में मातृकाओं का प्रदुर्भाव अन्धक[१२] अथवा शुम्भ– निशुम्भ[१३] दैत्यों के वध के सन्दर्भ में हुआ बताया गया है। इन दैत्यों की सेना से घिरी देवी (अम्बिका) की सहायता हेतु ब्रह्मा, शिव, कार्त्तिकेय, विष्णु, वराह, यम आदि देवताओं ने अपने–अपने शरीर से शक्तियों को उत्पन्न किया, जो अपने–अपने देव के समान रूप, पराक्रम एवं वाहन से युक्त थीं। इन देवियों को मातृगणों के नाम से सम्बोधित किया गया है।

मातृकाओं की संख्या सामान्यतः सात है।[१४] किन्तु कभी–कभी यह बढ़कर आठ[१५], नौ[१६], दस[१७] सोलह[१८], अथवा असंख्य[१९] हो गई है। इस प्रकार सप्त मातृकाएँ हैं– ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, कौमारी, वैष्णवी, वाराही, इन्द्राणी एवं चामुण्डा। इसके अतिरिक्त शास्त्रों में नारसिंही, वैनायकी, अग्नेयिका, याम्या, वारुणी और वायव्यी मातृकाओं का उल्लेख भी मिलता है। उत्तर भारत की पूर्वमध्य युगीन मूर्तिकला में सप्तमातृकाओं के स्वतन्त्र चित्रणों के समान नारसिंही, वैनायकी, अग्नेयिका आदि के भी चित्रण यदा–कदा मिलते हैं।

एकलिंगजी (उदयपुर,राजस्थान) के विन्ध्यवासिनी मन्दिर में अनेक मातृकाओं की मूर्तियां उत्कीर्ण हैं। इन मूर्तियों में से कतिपय मातृकाओं – ब्रह्माणी, महेश्वरी, वैष्णवी, वाराही, चामुण्डा, नारसिंही एवं अग्नेयिका– की मूर्तियों के पृथक्–पृथक् विवरण निम्नलिखित हैं :

---

९. **अमरकोश**, १,१,३५.

१०. **कुमारसंभव**, ७/३८–३९.

११. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicaram*, III, p. 47.

१२. **वाराहपुराण**, अ० २७, **शिवपुराण** २,५५ अ० ४४–४६, **मत्स्यपुराण**, अ० १७९.

१३. **मार्कण्डेयपुराण**, अ० ८२–८७.

१४. **अग्निपुराण**, ५०, १८–२३, **अपराजितपृच्छा**, २२३,१५–२१, **मानसोल्लास**, २,३१,७९–९९.

१५. **वाराहपुराण**, २७,२९–३२, **मत्स्यपुराण**, २६०,२४–३८, **गरूडपुराण**, १,१३४,३–४. **देवीभगवतपुराण**, ६,५०,७६–८०; **चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि**, **व्रतखण्ड**, अ० १ पृ० ८२–८४; **देवतामूर्तिप्रकरण**, ८,६१–७५.

१६. **स्कन्दपुराण**, ४,२,८३,३३.

१७. **देवीभागवतपुराण**, ३,६–१४.

१८. J.N., Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p. 504.

१९. **मत्स्यपुराण**, ११८,६–१८; **ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण**, ६४,८७–८८.

ब्रह्माणी :

इस मातृका की प्रस्तुत मूर्ति (चित्र १) में देवी एक मुख और चार भुजाओं से युक्त द्विभंग मुद्रा में खड़ी है। उनका एक हाथ अक्षसूत्र लिए हुए वरद–मुद्रा में स्थित है और शेष हाथ क्रमशः पद्म, पद्म (?) एवं कमण्डल से युक्त है। देवी के मस्तक पर जटामुकुट है और वे सामान्य आभूषणों से अलंकृत हैं। देवी के बायें पार्श्व में वाहन हंस अंकित है। मातृका ब्रह्माणी ब्रह्मा की शक्ति है।

शास्त्रों में इन्हें ब्रह्मा के सदृश ही निर्मित करने का विधान बताया गया है। इस मातृका के प्रतिमा लक्षण पुराणों[२०], शिल्प एवं वास्तु शास्त्रों[२१] में मिलते हैं। इन शास्त्रों में ब्रह्माणी की प्रायः चार मुखों से युक्त चतुर्भुजी मूर्तियों का वर्णन है। इन मूर्तियों के हाथों में निम्नलिखित आयुधों में से कोई चार होते हैं; अक्षसूत्र, स्रुव, पुस्तक, कमण्डलु आदि । इस मातृका के वाहन के रूप में प्रायः हंस का उल्लेख है। उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा में ब्रह्माणी के एक मुख, चार हाथों, अधःकरों के आयुधों और वाहन का चित्रण **अपराजितपृच्छा** और **रूपमण्डन** के ब्रह्माणी–विवरण से साम्य रखता है किन्तु **अपराजितपृच्छा** में ब्रह्माणी के मुखों की संख्या चार बतायी गयी है। इस मातृका के लिए 'पद्म' आयुध का उल्लेख देवतामूर्ति प्रकरण[२२] में मिलता है,किन्तु षड्भुजी मूर्ति के लिए।

माहेश्वरी:

माहेश्वरी की स्थानक मूर्ति उदाहरणस्वरूप उल्लेखनीय हे (चित्र २)। इसमें चतुर्भुजी देवी द्विभंग मुद्रा में स्थित हैं। उनके दक्षिणाधः कर में मातुलिंग और वामाधः कर में कमण्डलु है, शेष ऊर्ध्वकरों में से दाएँ में त्रिशूल और बायें में खट्वांग है। जटामुकुटधारी देवी कुण्डलों, हारों, केयूरों, कंकणों, मेखला, नूपुरों आदि अलंकरणों से विभूषित हैं। वाहन का चित्रण स्पष्ट नहीं है। माहेश्वरी शिव की शक्ति हैं। इस मातृका का विवरण अनेक लक्षण ग्रन्थों में मिलता है। इन लक्षण ग्रन्थों[२३] में इस मातृका को प्रायः महेश्वर के सदृश तीन नेत्रों, चन्द्रांकित जटाजूट और सर्पाभरणों से अलंकृत तथा वृषभ वाहन पर आरूढ़ निर्मित करने का निर्देश है। इनमें माहेश्वरी की चतुर्भुजी मूर्तियों का वर्णन है। देवी का एक हाथ प्रायः त्रिशूलधारी होता है तथा शेष हाथों में निम्नलिखित आयुधों अक्षसूत्र, खड्ग, खट्वांग, कपाल, मातुलिंग आदि में से तीन होते हैं। इस प्रतिमा में माहेश्वरी का चित्रण **अपराजितपृच्छा** और **रूपमण्डन** के प्रतिमा–लक्षणों से निकटता रखता है, लेकिन पूर्णतया नहीं।

---

२०. मत्स्यपुराण, २६०,२४–२५; अग्निपुराण, ५०,१८; मार्कण्डेयपुराण, ८५,१४.

२१. अपराजितपृच्छा, २२३,१६; रूपमण्डन ५,६३.

२२. देवतामूर्तिप्रकरण, ८,६१–६३.

२३. मत्स्यपुराण, २६०,२५,२६; अग्निपुराण, ५०,१८–१६; अपरापितपृच्छा, २२३,२१; रूपमण्डन, ५,६४०

वैष्णवी :

इस मातृका की चतुर्भुजी मूर्ति में देवी द्विभंग स्थानक मुद्रा में स्थित हैं (चित्र ३) । देवी का पहला हाथ वरद मुद्रा में स्थित है और शेष हाथ क्रमशः अंकुश, पाश और चक्रधारी है। आभूषणों से अलंकृत देवी का वाम पार्श्व में वाहन गरुड़ (पुरुषाकृति) की आकृति है। विष्णु की शक्ति वैष्णवी को शास्त्रों[२४] में प्रायः अपने देवता विष्णु के समान श्यामवर्ण, पीताम्बरधारी, वरदमाला से अलंकृत, शंख, चक्र, गदा, पद्म आदि आयुधों से युक्त एवं गरुड़ पर आरूढ़ बताया गया है। इस मूर्ति में वाहन से युक्त चक्रधारी वैष्णवी का चित्रण शास्त्रीय विवरणों के अनुरूप है। यद्यपि यहाँ देवी द्वारा लिये गये दो आयुध पाश और अंकुश शास्त्र निर्दिष्ट नहीं है तथापि आशापुरी (मध्य प्रदेश) से उपलब्ध एक अष्टभुजी प्रतिमा[२५] में वैष्णवी के आयुध के रूप में पाश और अंकुश का चित्रण उललेखनीय है।

वाराही :

इस मातृका की प्रस्तुत प्रतिमा (चित्र ४) में वराहमुखाी देवी नृत्यमुद्रा में स्थित हैं। उनका दक्षिणाधः कर वरद–मुद्रा में स्थित अक्षसूत्रधारी है और शेष तीनों हाथ क्रमशः गदा[२६], चक्र और शंखधारी हैं। सामान्य आभूषणों से अलंकृत वाराही के बायें पार्श्व की आकृति सम्भवतः वाहन की है। यह मातृका विष्णु के वाराह रूप की शक्ति हैं। वाराही को शास्त्रों[२७] में प्रायः वराह के सदृश सूकर मुख से युक्त निर्मित करने का निर्देश है। देवी की चतुर्भुजी मूर्तियों के हाथों में निम्नलिखित आयुधों में से कोई चार होते हैंः शंख, चक्र, गदा, पद्म, दण्ड, शिर, चामर, खड्ग, अक्षसूत्र, घण्टा, कमण्डलु आदि । वाहन के रूप में प्रायः महिष का उल्लेख हुआ है। इस मूर्ति में अधिकांश आयुधों से युक्त वाराहमुखी देवी का चित्रण पुराणों एवं शिल्पशास्त्रों के वाराही–विवरण से साम्य रखता है।

चामुण्डा :

इस मातृका की प्रस्तुत मूर्ति (चित्र ५) में उग्र मुखाकृति से युक्त निर्मांसा और कृशोदरी देवी प्रेतवाहन पर नृत्य मुद्रा में खड़ी हैं। देवी की अधिकांश भुजाएं एवं दायां चरण खण्डित हो चुके हैं। अतः भुजाओं की संख्या का अनुमान लगाना कठिन है। अवशिष्ट हाथों में से एक दायाँ कर्तरीधारी तथा एक बायाँ कपालधारी है, एक बाएं हाथ की उंगली मुख के निकट है (कोहिनी

---

२४. मत्स्यपुराण, २६०,२८–२६; अग्निपुराण,८८,१५; मार्कण्डेयपुराण, ८८,१५; गरुडपुराण, १,२१०,५; अपराजितपृच्छा,२२३, २०; रूपमण्डन, ५,६६.

२५. M. Rao " Some Notable Paramara Sculptures of Birla Museum, Bhopal", Art of the Paramaras of Malwa, p. 80,pl.VIII.

२६. रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल के अनुसार यह आयुध खट्वांग है (मेवाड़ के दो दुर्गा भवन; शोध-पत्रिका, उदयपुर, वर्ष १७, अंक ३, १९६६, पृ० १४)।

२७. मत्स्यपुराण, २६०, ३०–३१ अग्निपुराण, ५०,२०; मार्कण्डेयपुराण, ८५,१८; अपराजितपृच्छा २२३,१६; रूपमण्डन, ५,६७–६८.

में खट्वांग दबा है)। प्रभामण्डल से युक्त देवी व्याघ्रचर्म का परिधान (अधोवस्त्र) पहने हैं। वे जटामुकुट, मुण्डमाला और भुजंगाभरणों से अलंकृत हैं। देवी के चरणों के पीछे वाहन प्रेत है। देवी के दाएँ पार्श्व में कर्तरी और कपालधारी प्रेत का चित्रण है। यह मातृका किसी देव विशेष की शक्ति न होकर स्वतन्त्र रूप से वर्णित है।[२८] चामुण्डा के प्रतिमा लक्षण विभिन्न पुराणों[२९] और अनेक शिल्प एवं वास्तुशास्त्रों[३०] में उपलब्ध हैं। इन शास्त्रों में चामुण्डा की कृशोदरी मूर्ति का वर्णन है। इन मूर्तियों में देवी को दो, चार, आठ, इस, बारह अथवा सोलह भुजाओं से युक्त बताया गया है, जिनमें भुजाओं की संख्या के आधार पर कपाल, कर्तरी, खट्वांग, नरमुण्ड, खड्ग, खटक, पट्टिश, घण्टा, डमरू, पाश, वज्र, धनुष, बाण, पानपात्र, दर्पण, शंख, चक्र, गदा आदि आयुधों का चित्रण होता है। वाहन के रूप में प्रायः प्रेत अथवा शव का उल्लेख है। इस मूर्ति में वाहन एवं अधिकांश आयुधों से युक्त कृशोदरी व निर्मांसा चामुण्डा का चित्रण प्रतिमा–शास्त्रीय विवरणों के अनुरूप है।

नारसिंही :

इस मातृका की प्रतिमा (चित्र ६) में सिंहमुखी देवी चार भुजाओं से युक्त नृत्य मुद्रा में खड़ी है। उनके नेत्र गोल और जिह्वा लटक रही है। देवी के ऊर्ध्व करों में से दायॉ खड्ग और बाँया खेटकधारी है तथा दोनों अधःकर सम्भवतः नृत्य मुद्रा में स्थित (अथवा शंख से युक्त) हैं। देवी के मस्तक पर करण्ड मुकुट है और वे कुण्डल, हार, वरमाला, केयूर, कंकण, नुपुर आदि आभूषणों से विभूषित हैं। मातृका नारसिंही विष्णु के नरसिंह अवतार की शक्ति हैं। पुराणों[३१] में इस मातृका को नरसिंह के सदृश निर्मित करने का निर्देश है किन्तु उनके विस्तृत रूप का वर्णन नहीं है। अतः पौराणिक विवरण के आधार पर नारसिंही–मूर्तियां नरसिंह (मुख सिंह का और शेष शरीर मनुष्य का) के समान निर्मित हुई प्रतीत होती हैं। प्रस्तुत प्रतिमा में नारसिंही के खड्ग एवं खेटक आयुधों का चित्रण **मत्स्यपुराण**[३२] में उपलब्ध नरसिंह विवरण से प्रभावित है। नारसिंही मातृका की नृत्य मूर्तियां दुर्लभ हैं।

अग्नेयिका:

इस मातृका की प्रस्तुत मूर्ति (चित्र ७) विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। इसमें देवी चतुर्भुजी है और द्विभंग मुद्रा में खड़ी है। उनके निचले हाथों में से दायाँ वरद मुद्रा में स्थित अक्षसूत्रधारी है और बायाँ कमण्डलुधारी है तथा ऊपरी हाथों में से दायाँ स्रुवधारी और बायाँ पुस्तकधारी है। बाऍं पार्श्व में वाहन मेष चित्रित है। यह मातृका अग्नि देवता की शक्ति है। **लिंगपुराण**[३३] में अग्नेयिका

---

२८. वाराहपुराण में इस मातृका को यम की शक्ति कहा गया है (T.A.G. Rao *Element of Hindu Iconography*, p.381).

२९. मत्स्यपुराण,२६१,३३–३६;मार्कण्डेयपुराण,८४,५–७; देवीभागवतपुराण,५,२६,३६–४३; अग्निपुराण,५०,२१–२३.

३०. अपराजितपृच्छा, २२३,१५; २२३,१७; रूपमण्डन, ५,७०–७२; देवतामूर्तिप्रकरण, ८,७२–७४.

३१. मार्कण्डेयपुराण, ८५,१६, देवीभागवतपुराण, ५,२८,२५; स्कन्दपुराण, ४,२,७०,३१.

३२. मत्स्यपुराण, २६०,३१,३५.

३३. लिंगपुराण, पूर्वादर्ध, ८२,६६–६७.

का उल्लेख मातृका–रूप में हुआ है। इस प्रतिमा में वाहन मेष से युक्त चतुर्भुजी अग्नेयिका का चित्रण **अपराजितपृच्छा**[३४] और **रूपमण्डन**[३५] में उपलब्ध अग्नि देवता के मूर्ति–विवरण से उचित ही साम्य रखता है। मूर्तिशिल्प में मातृका अग्नेयिका के चित्रण दुर्लभ हैं।[३६]

उपर्युक्त अध्ययन से यह स्पष्ट है कि एकलिंगजी की लगभग दसवीं शती ईसवी की मातृका–मूर्तियां प्रतिमाशास्त्रीय विवरणों मुख्यतः **अपराजितपृच्छा** एवं **रूपमण्डन** से अधिक निकटता रखती हैं। मातृकाओं में ब्रह्माणी, माहेश्वरी, वैष्णवी, वाराही एवं चामुण्डा की प्रतिमाएं लक्षण–ग्रन्थों में उपलब्ध अपनी–अपनी मूर्तिगत विशेषताओं से साम्य रखती हैं। नारसिंही और अग्नेयिका के मूर्ति विवरण शास्त्रों में विस्तार से नहीं मिलते हैं।

अतः इन मातृकाओं को शिल्पियों द्वारा उनके देवताओं के प्रतिमा–लक्षण के अनुरूप उचित की उकेरा गया है। इस प्रकार एकलिंगजी के उपर्युक्त मातृका–समूह में सप्तमातृकाओं[३७] के साथ आठवीं और नवीं मातृका के रूप में क्रमशः नारसिंही एवं अग्नेयिका का अंकन उल्लेख्य है। उत्तर भारत की मूर्तिकला में राजस्थान क्षेत्र से प्राप्त मातृकाओं के ये चित्रण प्रतिमा–विज्ञान की दृष्टि से विशेष महत्त्व रखते हैं।



---

३४. **अपराजितपृच्छा**, २१३,१०.

३५. **रूपमण्डन**, २.३२.

३६. इस सन्दर्भ में गुजरात के लाडोल U.P. Shah " Some Mediaeval Sculptures from Gujarat and Rajasthan", *JISOA*. Vol. I, N.S., spl. No. १९६५–६६, पृ. ८१, चित्र ८६ और बड़ौदा M.N.P. Tiwari., & K. Giri, " A Note on the Matrika Figure from E.M.E. Dakshina Murti Temple, Baroda", Sambobhi, से उपलब्ध मातृका अग्नेयिका की एक–एक पूर्व मध्ययुगीन मूर्तियाँ उल्लेखनीय हैं।

३७. इस मातृका समूह में कौमारी और इन्द्राणी की मूर्तियां लेखिका को नहीं मिली हैं। सम्भव है, इन मातृकाओं की मूर्ति एकलिंगजी के विन्ध्यवासिनी मन्दिर में उत्कीर्ण हो।

ओसिया के वैष्णव मन्दिरों के भद्र रथिकाओं की देव प्रतिमाओं का शास्त्रीय विवेचन

डॉ० शशिबाला श्रीवास्तव

भारत के मरुस्थलीय अंचल में बसे हुए ओसिया ग्राम के प्राचीन मन्दिर सिकता राशि के अनन्त विस्तार में एकाकी खड़े हुए अपने अतीत की गौरव गाथा सुना रहे हैं। यह स्थान जोधपुर से पोखरन के मार्ग पर बत्तीस मील दूर स्थित है तथा सम्पूर्ण राजस्थान में ओसवाला वणिकों के मूल निवास के रूप में सुविदित है। जैन ग्रन्थों में यह "उपकेशपट्टन" के नाम से उल्लिखित है। प्रतिहार शासकों के संरक्षण में पल्लवित इन मन्दिरों में गुप्त कालीन मन्दिर–वास्तु का अगला चरण दृश्यमान होता है। वस्तुतः यहाँ नागर शैली अपनी शैशवावस्था में दृष्टिगत होती है। कालक्रम की दृष्टि से ओसिया के मन्दिर तीन वर्गों में विभक्त किये गये हैं। प्रथम वर्ग में वे समस्त देवायतन आते हैं जो पहाड़ी से दक्षिण की ओर पूर्व से पश्चिम हैं और लम्बवत् स्थित हैं। इनका निर्माण आठवीं से नवीं शताब्दी में हुआ। जैन मन्दिर एवं सच्चियमाता के प्रांगण में अवस्थित लघु मन्दिरों की गणना द्वितीय वर्ग के अन्तर्गत की जाती है। ये ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में निर्मित किए गये। अन्तिम युग में सच्चियमाता मन्दिर का निर्माण हुआ जिसकी तिथि मन्दिर में उपलब्ध अभिलेखों के अनुसार बारहवीं शताब्दी है।

गर्भगृह के बाह्य भित्ति की मूर्तियां

ओसिया के समस्त मन्दिरों[१] तथा उनके गौण मन्दिरों के गर्भगृह में पृष्ठवर्ती तथा दोनों पार्श्ववर्ती भित्तियों पर मूर्तियां उत्कीर्ण हैं। ये मूर्तियां भित्ति से उभरी हुई हैं। प्रत्येक पार्श्व की भित्ति पर मध्य में एक एक मुख्य रथिका का निर्माण किया गया है, जिसे वास्तुशास्त्र के ग्रन्थों में "भद्ररथ" की संज्ञा दी गयी है। इसके दोनों पार्श्व में एक अनुरथ निर्मित है। तत्पश्चात् कर्णरथों का निर्माण हुआ है। इस प्रकार प्रत्येक पार्श्ववर्ती भित्ति पर निर्मित रथिकाओं की संख्या पाँच–पाँच है।

भद्र रथिकाओं पर विष्णु के विभिन्न अवतारों, शिवपार्वती तथा सूर्य की मूर्तियां हैं। कतिपय मन्दिरों में अनुरथों पर लौकिक प्रतिमाएँ उपलब्ध हैं अन्यत्र देव मूर्तियां प्रदर्शित हैं। अधिकांश मन्दिरों में कर्णरथ विश्वपति आकृतियों द्वारा अलंकृत हैं।[२] ओसिया में मात्र एक मूर्ति

---

१. अपवाद स्वरूप गान्धार शैली में निर्मित स०मा० मन्दिर तथा लघु मन्दिरों सं० ५,६ एवं ७ में भी मात्र भद्र रथिकाओं का अंकन हुआ है।

२. अपवादों का उल्लेख यथा समय यथास्थान किया गया है।

अंकित (पंक्ति) है। स०म० के तीन लघु मन्दिर एवं जैन लघु मन्दिरों में रथिकाओं के मध्यवर्ती भाग में शार्दूल आकृतियां बनाई गयी हैं। देव मन्दिरों में यह सादे ही हैं।

भद्र रथिकाओं की मूर्तियां

ओसिया मन्दिरों के बाह्य भित्ति में निर्मित भद्र रथिकाओं की मूर्तियों का अध्ययन प्रवेश द्वार के संदर्भ में करना समीचीन होगा। यहाँ पर निर्मित मुख्य द्वादश देवालयों में से उड़ीसा की भाँति कतिपय मन्दिर[३] पूर्वाभिमुख हैं, अधिकांशतः पश्चिमाभिमुख हैं।[४] उल्लेख्य है कि भारत के अन्य मन्दिर केन्द्रों के विपरीत यहाँ तीन मन्दिर सं० ५,१० (पिप्पलदेवी) तथा जैन मन्दिर उत्तराभिमुख निर्मित हैं। इन मन्दिरों की भित्ति पर एक भद्र रथिका है, जिसे अनिवार्यतः देव मूर्ति से अलंकृत किया गया है।

वैष्णव मन्दिर

ओसिया में मं० स० १,२,३,४,८ तथा स०मा० के प्रांगण में स्थित उ०पू०, उ०प०, द०प० लघु म० एवं सं० १ का उ०प० गौण म. वैष्णव मन्दिर है। इन मन्दिरों की भद्र रथिकाओं में विष्णु के अनेकानेक अवतार, लक्ष्मी नारायण, हरिहर, सूर्य, महिषमर्दिनी तथा गणेश की प्रतिमाएं उपलब्ध हैं।

पूर्वी भद्र रथिका

अधिकांश वैष्णव मन्दिर पश्चिमाभिमुख होने के कारण उनमें पूर्वी भद्र रथिका उपस्थित है।[५] म०स० ८ में इस स्थान पर सूर्य की मूर्ति है। म०स० १ तथा २ में स्थानक मुद्रा में चतुर्भुज हरिहर की प्रतिगा है। शेष स्थानों पर विष्णु का विभिन्न रूपों में अंकन हुआ है।

स०मा० के उ०पू० लघु मन्दिरों की इस रथिका में लक्ष्मी–नारायण की युगल प्रतिमा स्थानक मुद्रा में स्थापित है, (द्र० चि०)। दोनों मन्दिरों में देवता का अंकन प्रायः समान रूप में हुआ है। पद्म कलिका[६] एवं वामाधः कर में शंख है, जो लक्ष्मी के वाम स्कन्ध पर स्थित है।[७] द्विभुज देवी का दक्षिण कर देवता के दक्षिण स्कन्ध पर है, एवं वाम कर में पद्म कलिका प्रदर्शित है। देवता किरीट–मुकुट तथा सभी आभूषणों एवं वैजयन्ती माला से अलंकृत है, उनकी कटि में पीताम्बर सुशोभित है। देवी रत्न जटित केश सज्जा, हार, कंकण, कटिबन्ध, भुजबन्ध तथा नुपुर धारण किये हैं। उनका शरीर साड़ी एवं कंचुकी से आवृत है।[८] युगल प्रतिमा की मुख मुद्रा लालित्य भाव से पूर्ण है। पार्श्व अंकन की दृष्टि से दोनों प्रतिमाओं में आंशिक भिन्नता

---

३. म०सं० ३,६, तथा ७

४. स०मा०, म०सं० १,२,४,८ तथा ६

५. अपवाद स्वरूप सं० ३ पूर्वाभिमुख है।

६. उ०पू० में वह कर खण्डित है।

७. उ०पू०मं० में देवी का वाम कर खण्डित है।

८. द्र०चि०सं० १

परिलक्षित होती है। उ०प० लघु मन्दिर में देवता के दक्षिण पार्श्व में गरुड़ की मानव रूपी सपक्ष प्रतिमा स्थानक मुद्रा में अंकित है। उनके कर स्तुति मुद्रा में जुड़े हैं। वे धोती, हार, कुण्डल, भुजबन्ध एवं वलय धारण किए हैं। देवता के वाम पार्श्व में एक अनुचर की लघु आकृति उत्कीर्ण है। उ० पू० लघु म० में गरुड़ प्रतिमा का अभाव है। यहाँ देवता के दक्षिण पार्श्व में एक भक्त अंजलि मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है। राव के अनुसार लक्ष्मी नारायण की प्रतिमा आलिंगन मुद्रा में प्रस्तुत की जानी चाहिए।[९] इस मूर्ति में विष्णु का नारायण रूप उपस्थित है। ध्यातव्य है कि प्रायः समस्त शास्त्रों में मूर्ति निर्मित करने का उल्लेख आग्नेय, नैर्ऋत्य, वायव्य एवं ईशान कोणों पर हुआ है परन्तु मन्दिरों में कोणों पर अष्ट दिक्पति विराजमान है, तथा भद्र रथिकाएँ भित्ति के माध्य भाग में निर्मित की गयी हैं। अतः प्रत्येक कोण के नाम से उनमें सम्मिलित दोनों दिशाओं का अर्थ ग्रहण करना समीचीन होगा । **परमेश्वर संहिता**[१०] में अन्तर्मण्डल के चतुःकोण पर निर्मित देवताओं में नारायण को ईशान कोण पर रक्खा गया है।[११] **अ० पु०** में नवायतन के सन्दर्भ में लक्ष्मी को पूर्व दिशा में निर्मित करने का आदेश है।[१२] वर्तमान मन्दिरों में नारायण का अंकन लक्ष्मी के साहचर्य में पूर्व दिशा में हुआ है।

स०मा० मन्दिर के द० प० लघु मन्दिर की इस रथिका में विष्णु के वाराह अवतार की अत्यन्त रोचक प्रतिमा उत्कीर्ण की गयी है। चतुर्भुज देवता आलोढ़ मुद्रा में अंकित है। उनका द० पाद भूमि पर टिका है तथा वाम पाद पद्म पत्र पर स्थित है। विष्णु के दक्षिणोर्ध्व कर में विशाल गदा है एवं दक्षिणाधः कर में एक नाग की पुच्छ है, जो देवता के द० पार्श्व में जानु के सन्निकट अंकित है। वाराह अपने वामोर्ध्व कर में चक्र धारण किये हैं। उनके वामाधः भुजा की स्थिति में मौलिकता प्रकट होती है। दुर्भाग्यवश यह भुजा खण्डित है तथापि सुरक्षित अंश से स्पष्ट है कि कोहनी जानु पर आधृत है और ऊपर उठे करतल पर पृथ्वी की त्रिभंग प्रतिमा स्थान मुद्रा में अंकित है। देवी प्रतिमा भी दुर्भाग्यवश खण्डित अवस्था में है। सर्वाभरण विभूषित द्विभुजी देवी दक्षिण कर ऊपर उठा कर देवता द्वारा गृहीत चक्र का स्पर्श कर रही हैं, तथा उनका वाम कर नीचे लटक रहा है। देवता के शीर्ष पर विशाल पद्म पत्र का छत्र प्रदर्शित है जो प्रतीकात्मक रूप से इस घटना के स्थान को इंगित कर रहा है। वे किरीट मुकुट रत्नजटित भुजबन्ध, वैजयन्तीमाला, कटिबन्ध, नुपुर, कौस्तुभ मणि तथा कटि में पीताम्बर धारण किये हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश वाराह एवं पृथ्वी का मुख मण्डल खण्डित है। देवता के वाम वार्श्व में आयुध शंख अंकित है। वाराह का वाम चरण जिस पद्म पत्र पर अंकित है उसके नीचे सपत्नीक हिरण्याक्ष की आकृति है, जिसके शरीर का पृष्ठ भाग सर्पाकार है।

---

९. ई० एच० आई० ख० १ मा० १ पृष्ठ २५८–५६

१०. यह ग्रन्थ पौष्कर संहिता पर आधारित है। उत्पल के उद्धरणों की दृष्टि से यह दसवीं शती से पूर्व का है। परमेश्वर सं० में वर्णित मूर्तियों के स्थानों के नियम के अनुसार ही दक्षिण भारत श्री रंगम् मन्दिर के विभिन्न अंगों में निर्मित देवताओं की स्थापना की गयी है। इस दृष्टिकोण से यह ग्रन्थ वैष्णव मछिनों के लिए विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

११. प०स० तालिका श्री रंगाख्य वृत्तान्त दिव्य विमानदेवता।

१२. "लक्ष्मी वैश्रवणी पूर्वे......" अ०पु० ४३/६

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा की सामान्य विशेषता **वै० आ०, शिल्पत्न, रु० म०, अ० पु०** तथा **वि०ध०पु०** के विवरण के अनुसार है।[१३] उनके ऊर्ध्व करों के प्रदर्शन में **रु० म०, शिल्प रत्न** तथा **वै० आ०** के नियमों का अंशतः पालन हुआ है। अर्थात् दक्षिणोर्ध्व कर में गृहीतआयुध,गदा का उल्लेख **रु०म०**[१४] एवं **शिल्परत्न** में हुआ है, तथा **वै० आ०** में वामोर्ध्व कर में चक्र का विधान है। यद्यपि उपलब्ध ग्रंथों में देवी का प्रदर्शन वाम करतल पर करने का निर्देश नहीं है, तथापित **शिल्परत्न, अ०पु०** एवं **वि०ध०पु०** में भूमि को देवता के वाम कर की कुहनी पर निर्मित करने का उल्लेख अवश्य हुआ है।[१५]

हय० प० में वैष्णव मन्दिरों की पूर्वी भित्ति पर, अर्थात् इन्द्र की दिशा में वारह अवतार की मूर्ति निर्मित करने का निर्देश हुआ है। "महावराहमैन्द्रान्त.......।" प. १३/३१

इस प्रकार **अ०पु०**[१६] एवं **हय० प०**[१७] के चौदहवें पटल में वाराह को ईशान कोण में उत्कीर्ण करने का आदेश दिया गया है। उपर्युक्त मूर्ति के अंकन में इन नियमों का अक्षरशः पालन किया गया है।

म०स० ४ की इस रथिका में विष्णु की चतुर्भुज मूर्ति उपलब्ध है। सर्वाभरण विभूषित देवता समभंग मुद्रा में पद्म पीठिका पर स्थित है। उनके ऊर्ध्व करों में पूर्ववत् गदा एवं चक्र प्रदर्शित है, वामाधः कर में शंख है तथा दक्षिणाधः कर खण्डित हो गया है। देवता के दोनों पार्श्व में चमरधारिणी स्थानक मुद्रा में अंकित है। चक्र पुरुष एवं शंख पुरुष की पद्मपीठिका पर ललितासीन आकृतियां विष्णु के क्रमशः दक्षिण एवं वाम पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित हैं। चक्र तथा वाम कर नीचे लटकता हुआ प्रदर्शित है। इसी प्रकार शंख पुरुष के वाम कर में शंख है एवं दक्षिण कर जानु पर स्थित है।

उपर्युक्त विष्णु मूर्ति के आयुध क्रम त्रिविक्रम विष्णु के आयुध क्रमों के समरूप हैं।[१८] **प० सं०**[१९] में ईशान कोण पर वासुदेव को स्थापित करने का निर्देश दिया गया है।[२०] स्पष्ट है कि यह सभी विष्णु के स्वरूप हैं, अतः अपर्युक्त विष्णु प्रतिमा इन्हीं नियमों के अनुसार निर्मित की गयी है।

---

१३. ई० एच० आई०, ख० १ भाग १, पृ० १३२–३४

१४. नृवराहो गदाम्बुजम्........ रु०म० ३/२४

१५. ई० एच० आई० ख० १ मा० १ पृ० १३२–३४, उल्लेख है कि बादामी की प्रसिद्ध भूवराह प्रतिमा के वामाधः कर के करतल पर देवी का स्थानक मुद्रा में अंकन हुआ है। राव, वही, चित्र ३७

१६. **अ०पु०** अ० ४३–२

१७. **हय०पं०प०** १४/२–३

१८. **अ०पु०**......... रू०म० बलराम श्री, द्वारा अनु० पू० ५१, तलिका सं० १५

१९. **प०स०** तालिका श्री रंगाख्य वृत्तायत दिव्य विमान देवता

२०. "वामनं च वायव्यां वासुदेवमथापरे" **हय० पं०** १३/३३

म०स० १ के उ०पू० गौण मन्दिर की यह रथिका नर–नारायण द्वारा अलंकृत है। यहाँ दो द्विभुज पुरुषाकृतियाँ आसन मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित हैं। यह मूर्ति इस दृष्टि से विलक्षण है कि यहाँ दोनों आकृतियों में से एक का दक्षिण तथा दूसरी का वाम चरण एक ही योग पट्ट द्वारा बँधा हुआ है। दक्षिण पार्श्ववर्ती आकृति का दक्षिण कर योग पट्ट पर तथा वाम कर वक्ष पर स्थित है। वामवर्ती आकृति के करों की स्थिति ठीक इसके विपरीत है, अर्थात् उनका वाम कर योगपट्ट पर तथा दक्षिण कर वक्ष पर प्रदर्शित है। दोनों आकृतियों के कोणों में वृत्ताकार कुण्डल तथा शीर्ष पर मनकों का आभरण सुसज्जित है।[२१] इस दृश्य में नर–नारायण को योग मुद्रा में चित्रित किया गया है।

महाभारत में शान्ति पर्व में तपस्यारत नर–नारायण, जो कृष्ण एवं अर्जुन के स्वरूप हैं, का उल्लेख करते हुये उनके शीर्ष पर जटाभार, चौड़ा ललाट, सुन्दर भृकुटी एवं नासिका का वर्णन किया गया है। उनका तपस्या में लीन ऋषि के रूप में वर्णन है जिनके वक्ष पर श्रीवत्स का चिह्न अंकित था।[२२] उनके कर एवं चरण आबद्ध थे। उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के प्रदर्शन में यद्यपि **वि०प०पु०** के नियमों का अंशतः पालन किया गया है– इसके अनुसार उन्हें वृक्ष के नीचे बैठा हुआ एवं शीर्ष पर जटाभार धारण किये हुये निर्मित करने का उल्लेख है,[२३] तथापि अधिकांश प्रदर्शन में मौलिकता दृष्टिगत होती है जैसे शास्त्रों के विपरीत दोनों आकृतियाँ द्विभुज हैं एवं एक ही योग पट्ट द्वारा आबद्ध हैं। उनके कर भी रोचक रीति से प्रदर्शित हैं। इस प्रकार का उल्लेख न ही उपलब्ध शास्त्रों में हुआ है और न ही यह विशेषताएँ देवगढ़ के दशावतार मन्दिर की प्रतिमा में द्रष्टव्य है यद्यपि वहां भी नर–नारायण तपस्या रत ही निर्मित हैं।[२४]

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा में विष्णु को नारायण के रूप में अंकित किया गया है। **प०स०** में ईशान कोण पर नारायण को निर्मित करने का निर्देश है।[२५] अतः उपर्युक्त नर–नारायण की मूर्ति का पूर्वी भद्र पर प्रदर्शन इसी ग्रन्थ के नियमानुसार हुआ है। ध्यातव्य है कि पूर्वकालिक दशावतार मन्दिर की नर–नारायण प्रतिमा भी उसके पूर्वी भद्र पर ही उत्कीर्ण है।

म०स० ८ की इस भद्र रथिका में सूर्य की स्थानक मूर्ति अंकित है। द्विभुज देवता समभंग मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है। वे किरीट मुकुट, वर्म, कटिबन्ध, परत्राण तथा ग्रीवा में रुद्राक्ष की विशाल माला धारण किए हैं। उनके करों में पूर्ववत् सनाल पद्म अंकित है तथा दोनों पार्श्व में दण्ड एवं पिंगल प्रदर्शित हैं। उपर्युक्त मूर्ति के अंकन में **रू०म०** के नियम का पालन हुआ है।[२६] इसके अनुसार सभी लक्षणों से युक्त सर्वाभरण विभूषित द्विभुज सूर्य एक मुख वाले हों

---

२१. त्रिपाठी ने इन्हें नरनारायण की संज्ञा दी है, पृ० १७, भण्डारकर इनका अभिज्ञान करने में असमर्थ है।

२२. ई० एच० आई०, ख० १ भ० १, पृ० २७५

२३. वही, पृ० २७५–७६

२४. मे० आफ० आर्क० सं० आफ० ई० सं० ७०, चित्र ६ (अ)

२५. प०स० तालिका श्री रंगाख्यवृत्तायतदिव्यविमानदेवता।

२६. रु०म०अ० १/१८

तथा करों में श्वेत पद्म धारण किये हों। वि० ध० पु० में उनके पार्श्व में दण्ड एवं पिंगल को निर्मित करने का उल्लेख हुआ है।[२७]

मान के अनुसार भास्कर को ईशान में स्थापित करना चाहिए – "ईशाने भास्करं तथा" (३२/६६) इसी प्रकार वि० ध० पु० में सूर्य तथा शुक्र को पूर्व दिशा में स्थापित करने का निर्देश (८७/३१) है।

प्रा० म० में पूर्व एवं पश्चिमाभिमुख निर्मित किये जाने वाले देवताओं का वर्णन करते हुये यह उल्लिखित है कि ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, शिव, सूर्य, इन्द्र और स्कन्द का मुख दक्षिण या उत्तर दिशा में नहीं रखना चाहिये। ये सदैव पूर्व एवं पश्चिम दिशाभिमुख होने चाहिए –

"पूर्वापरास्यदेवानां कुर्यान्नो दक्षिणोत्तरम्
ब्रह्माविष्णुंशिवार्केन्द्रगुहाः पूर्वापरांगमुखाः" (२/३७)

अतः वैष्णव मन्दिर के पूर्वा भद्र पर सूर्य का अंकन इन्हीं उपर्युक्त नियमों के अनुसार हुआ है।

म० स० १ तथा २ की यह रथिका हरिहर की चतुर्भुज मूर्ति द्वारा अलंकृत है। शास्त्रीय विधानानुसार प्रतिमा के दक्षिणोर्ध्व में शिव की तथा वामादर्ध विष्णु की विशेषताएं उपस्थित हैं। समभंग देवता के दक्षिणवर्ती करों में से एक अभय मुद्रा में हैं तथा अन्य त्रिशूल धारण किये प्रदर्शित हैं। इस अदर्धांश में जटामुकुट, सर्पमेखला, तथा व्याघ्र चर्म अंकित है। इसी प्रकार वे वाम करों में चक्र एवं शंख धारण किये हैं तथा इस अदर्धांश में किरीट–मुकुट रत्नजटित मेखला एवं पीताम्बर सुशोभित है। कर्णाभरण के प्रदर्शन में रोचकता का आश्रय लिया गया है। उड़ीसा के विपरीत उनके दोनों कर्णों में समान आकृति के कुण्डल अंकित हैं।[२८]

पार्श्व अंकन की दृष्टि से दोनों प्रतिमाएं भिन्न हैं। सं० १ में देवता के पार्श्वों में वाहन प्रदर्शित हैं। मूर्ति के पृष्ठ भाग में नन्दी की स्थानक मुद्रा में आकृति उत्कीर्ण है जो मुख मोड़ कर देवता को निहार रहा है। हरिहर के वाम पार्श्व में मानव रूप गरुड की लघु प्रतिमा आसन मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है। इसी प्रकार उनके दक्षिण पार्श्व में एक भक्त की आकृति स्तुति मुद्रा में अंकित है।

हरिहर मूर्तियों के स्वरूप के प्रदर्शन में तथा पार्श्व अंकन में रु०म० के नियमों का पालन किया गया है। इसके अनुसार इनके दक्षिणादर्ध में शिव एवं वामादर्ध में ऋषिकेश की आकृतियों को बनाना चाहिए। उनके पार्श्व में दाहिने वृष एवं वाम में गरुड हों।[२९] आयुध की दृष्टि से मात्र ऊर्ध्व करों के आयुध ही साम्य रखते हैं।

---

२७. वि०ध०पु०, अ० २१ लेखक बद्री नाथ मालवीय लगभग वैसी ही प्रतिमाएं राजपुताना अजमेर संग्रहालय में संगृहीत हैं। ई० एच० आई०, ख १, भा० २ चित्र सं० ६०–१–३

२८. उड़ीसा की प्रतिमाओं के द० कर्ण में अनिवार्यतः सर्प कुण्डल एवं वाम में वृत्ताकार कुण्डल प्रदर्शित है।

२९. रु०म०अ० ४/३१–३

म०स० २ में वृषभ दक्षिण पार्श्व में अंकित हैं वह सम्मुख दर्शन प्रदर्शित है। वृष के दक्षिण पार्श्व में त्रिशूल पुरुष की स्थानक मुद्रा में त्रिभंग आकृति उत्कीर्ण है। उनके वाम कर में त्रिशूल है तथा दक्षिण कर जानु पर स्थित है। वे जटा, मुकुट, उत्तरीय तथा मृगछाला धारण किये हैं। इसी प्रकार देवता के वाम पार्श्व में चक्र पुरुष की त्रिभंग प्रतिमा उपलब्ध है जिसका दक्षिण कर चक्रधारी है एवं वाम कर जानु पर स्थित है। वेकरण्डमुकुट, उत्तरीय तथा अधोवस्त्र धारण किये हैं।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के पार्श्व में रु०म० में उल्लिखित आयुधों त्रिशूल एवं चक्र दर्शन आयुध पुरुष के रूप में किया गया है।

अ० पु०[३०] एवं हय०प०[३१] में वैष्णव मन्दिरों में ईशान कोण पर रुद्र अथवा लिंग निर्मित करने का निर्देश हुआ है। अतः इसी नियम का पालन करते हुये उपर्युक्त मन्दिरों की पूर्वी भद्र रथिका पर रुद्र के एक रूप हरिहर को प्रदर्शित किया गया है।

पश्चिमी भद्र रथिका की प्रतिमाएं

चार मन्दिरों – स०मा० के द०प०,उ०प० तथ उ०पू० लघु मन्दिर एवं सं० ३ में पश्चिमी भद्र रथिका उपलब्ध हैं।[३२] इनमें प्रथम स्थान पर लक्ष्मी नारायण की प्रतिमा स्थापित है। अवशिष्ट मन्दिरों में विष्णु के त्रिविक्रम अवतार को आंशिक परिवर्तन के साथ उत्कीर्ण किया गया है।

प्रथम मन्दिर की लक्ष्मी नारायण की प्रतिमा इसी मन्दिर के प्रांगण में स्थित उ०पू० एवं उ०प० लघु मन्दिरों के पूर्वी भद्र पर स्थित आलिंगन मूर्ति की समरूप है। यहां गरुड मूर्ति का अभाव है तथा उ०पू० लघु मन्दिर के समान देवता के दक्षिण पार्श्व में एक भक्त स्थानक मुद्रा में विनीत भाव से उनकी स्तुति कर रहा है। इस प्रतिमा का लक्षण पूर्व वर्णित है। यद्यपि यहाँ देवता के आयुधों का क्रम श्रीधर के आयुध क्रम से साम्य रखता है,[३३] तथापि उनके ऊर्ध्व कर में गदा एवं चक्र का क्रम भिन्न है। सम्भवतः अन्य ग्रन्थों में यही क्रम हो। हय० पं० में पश्चिमी दिशा में श्रीधर को स्थापित करने का उल्लेख किया गया है।[३४]

अन्य तीन मन्दिरों में यह रथिका त्रिविक्रम की चतुर्भुज प्रतिमा द्वारा अलंकृत है। इनका वामपाद मस्तक तक उठा हुआ है। इस पाद के नीचे वामन रूप विष्णु द्वारा बलि से दान लेने का दृश्य अंकित है। सर्वत्र त्रिविक्रम किरीट–मुकुट, हार, कंकण, भुजबन्ध, वैजयन्ती एवं कटि में

---

३०. अथवा रुद्ररूपन्तु अथवा नवधामसु..... अ०पु०अ० ४३/३–४

३१. "ऐशान्यां स्थापयेल्लिंगमथवा रुद्ररूपकम्" हय०प०प० १४/५

३२. शेष मन्दिरों के इस भित्ति पर प्रवेश द्वार निर्मित किया गया है।

३३. ....रु०म०त०स० १४ पृ० ५०/२ ख० की दे०प्र० अवस्थी पृ० ८६

३४. "प्रतीच्यां श्रीधरं......."हय०प०प० १३/३२–३

व्याघ्र चर्म धारण किये हैं। वामन के शीर्ष पर जटाभार, कटि में मेखला तथा एक कर में छत्र प्रदर्शित है। बलि नृपोचित वेश भूषा में हैं तथा शुक्राचार्य जटाभारयुक्त और प्रायः लम्बकूर्च प्रदर्शित हैं। उड़ीसा की त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमाओं के विपरीत यहाँ मुकुट के दोनों किनारे नीचे – ऊपर तक लगभग समानान्तर हैं। इसी प्रकार यहाँ वैजयन्ती माला का अंकन भी भिन्न प्रकार से किया गया है। उल्लेखनीय है कि सभी मूर्तियों में पार्श्व अंकन एवं देवता के करों की स्थिति भिन्न है। उ०प० लघु मन्दिर में चतुर्भुज देवता का दक्षिण चरण पद्मपीठिका पर दृढ़तापूर्वक स्थित है (द्र०चि०) उनका वाम पाद मस्तक तक उठा हुआ आकाश में झूलते हुये असुर के विकराल प्रसारित मुख में प्रविष्ट है। असुर के गोल नेत्र कोटर में हैं एवं विशाल दंत द्रष्टव्य हैं। देवता के ऊर्ध्व करों में अन्य विष्णु मूर्तियों के समान गदा एवं चक्र हैं, तथा दक्षिणाधः कर वक्ष पर ज्ञान मुद्रा में स्थित है संयोगवश वामाधः कर पूर्णतः खण्डित है। त्रिविक्रम के वाम पाद के नीचे तुन्दिल वामन हैं जिनके दक्षिण पार्श्व में बलि तथा शुक्राचार्य की आकृतियां प्रदर्शित हैं। इसके शीर्ष पर जटाभार है। नमुचि असुर देवता के दक्षिण पार्श्व में घुटने पीछे मोड़कर आसीन हैं। इसका मुख देवता के विपरीत दिशा में है तथा दोनों कर पृष्ठ पर बंधे हैं। यह मुख ऊपर करके विस्मित मुद्रा में देवता को निहार रहा है। त्रिविक्रम के वाम पाद के नीचे तथा वामन के पीछे एक अश्व की आकृति अंकित है जो अपने पिछले खुरों पर खड़ा है। देवता के शीर्ष एवं असुर मुख के मध्य स्थान पर ब्रह्मा की चतुर्भुज मूर्ति अंजलि मुद्रा में उत्कीर्ण है। उनके दोनों अधः करों में देवता के पद प्रच्छालन हेतु एक अजपात्र है। वे त्रिविक्रम की ओर विस्मयपूर्वक देख रहे हैं।[३५]

त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमाओं का विवरण वै० आ० में उल्लिखित वर्णन से प्रायः साम्य रखता है। उनके करों की मुद्रा एवं आयुध वेशभूषा तथा दृश्य में ब्रह्मा, बलि, वामन, शुक्राचार्य एवं नमुचि की उपस्थिति उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थ के विवरण के अनुरूप है।[३६] इस दृश्य में अश्व का अंकन मांगलिक प्रतीक के रूप में किया गया है। इसी प्रकार ब्रह्मा के पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित विकराल मुख ब्रह्माण्ड का प्रतीक है, जिसका उल्लेख वाराह पु० में हुआ है।[३७]

उ०पू० लघु मन्दिर की प्रतिमा यद्यपि अंशतः खण्डित है, तथापि पार्श्व अंकन की दृष्टि से उल्लेखनीय है। यहाँ देवता का दक्षिणाधः कर ज्ञान मुद्रा के स्थान पर पद्म कलिकायुक्त प्रदर्शित है। उनके दक्षिण पार्श्व में एक अनुचर स्थानक मुद्रा में उत्कीर्ण है। देवता के वाम पार्श्व

---

३५. पुरी स्थित जगन्नाथ मं० के प्रांगण में स्थित एक मन्दिर के मुख्य झरोखे में त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमा का अंकन ऐसा ही है। यहाँ ब्रह्मा की आकृति देवता के उठे हुए चरण पर रखे पद्म पीठिका पर आसीन, उत्कीर्ण किया गया है, जिसके दोनों करों में एक जलपात्र है। पूर्वकालिक त्रिविक्रम मूर्तियों का अंकन भी प्रायः ऐसा ही हुआ है। राव वही, चित्र १,५२, पृ० १७५, चित्र सं० ५१,५०,४६ तथा ४८।

३६. ई० एच० आई०, ख० १, भा० १ पृ० १६४–६५

३७. वाराह पुराण में वर्णन है कि जब वामन ने त्रिविक्रम का विशाल रूप धारण कर लिया और आकाश नापने हेतु चरण उठाए तब उनके चरण के प्रहार से खण्डित ब्रह्माण्ड द्वारा जल प्लावन होने लगा, यह आकृति उसी खण्डित ब्रह्माण्ड की प्रतीक है। राव–वही, पृ० १६८

में बाएं से दाएँ तीन आकृतियां हैं– प्रथम वामन की मूर्ति है, द्वितीय आकृति घुटने टेके दोनों हाथ पीछे किए हुए अंकित है, सम्भवतः यह राजा बलि हैं। तृतीय मूर्ति स्थानक मुद्रा में है, जो शुक्राचार्य की सम्भावित है। दुर्भाग्यवश तीनों आकृतियों के शीर्ष भाग खण्डित हैं। इस प्रतिमा में देवता के उठे हुए चरण के वामपार्श्व में एक आकृति पद्म पीठिका पर उत्कूटिकासीन है। इनके कर स्तुति मुद्रा में हैं तथा ये सन्यासी वेष में है। सम्भवतः यह **वै०आ०** में उल्लिखित शिव हैं जो त्रिविक्रम की प्रशंसा में स्तुति कर रहे हैं।[३८] शेष विवरण प्रथम मूर्ति के समान है। पार्श्व अंकन की दृष्टि से कतिपय भिन्नता सं० ३ की प्रतिमा में मिलती है। यहां अश्व की ग्रीवा मात्र प्रदर्शित है। देवता के प्रसारित वाम पाद के नीचे उत्कीर्ण अन्तिम आकृति छत्रधारी वामन की है जो वाम कर द्वारा संकल्प ले रहे हैं। उनके दक्षिण पार्श्व में बलि हैं जो पात्र द्वारा वामन के करतल पर जल गिरा रहे हैं। बलि के पृष्ठ भाग में दो आकृतियाँ हैं। इन में पिछली आकृति, अगली की भुजा पकड़ कर अपनी ओर खींच रही है। यह वै० आ० में वर्णित गरुड हैं जो संकल्प कार्य में बाधक होने के कारण शुक्राचार्य पर आक्रमण कर रहे हैं।[३९] लगभग ऐसा ही अंकन म०स० २ की दक्षिणी भद्र रथिका के त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमा में उपलब्ध है।

जया० स० के अनुसार नृसिंह से वाराह पर्यन्त तीन देवताओं की क्रमशः दक्षिण से उत्तर तक स्थापना करनी चाहिए।[४०] स्पष्ट है कि इन तीन देवताओं में नृसिंह, त्रिविक्रम एवं वाराह का उल्लेख किया गया है। अर्थात् त्रिविक्रम को पश्चिम में निर्मित करने का विधान है। अतः उपर्युक्त त्रिविक्रम मूर्तियों का अंकन जया सं० के नियमानुसार हुआ है।

उत्तरी भद्र रथिका

सभी वैष्णव मन्दिरों की यह रथिका मूर्तियों द्वारा अलंकृत है। म०स० ८ के अतिरिक्त शेष सभी मन्दिरों में विष्णु के विभिन्न अवतारों का अंकन है। म०स० १,२,३ तथा ४ की इस रथिका में नरसिंह अवतार की भव्य प्रतिमाएं प्रतिष्ठित हैं। स०मा० के प्रांगण में अवस्थित उ०पू० एवं उ० प० लघु मन्दिरों में वाराह अवतार का अंकन हुआ है। म०स० १ के अ०पू० गौण म० में हरिहर मूर्ति उपलब्ध है। परन्तु म०स० ८ की इस रथिका में विष्णु के विपरीत महिषमर्दिनी की चतुर्भुज प्रतिमा अंकित की गयी है।

सभी स्थानों पर नरसिंह आसन मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित हैं। वे हार, कंकण, भुजबन्ध, कटिबन्ध एवं धोती धारण किये हैं। अधिकांश प्रतिमाओं के शीर्ष खण्डित हैं फलतः शिरोभूषण का अनुमान लगाना दुष्कर है। सभी प्रतिमाओं में देवता अपने मुख्य करों द्वारा हिरण्यकश्यपु का उदर विदीर्ण करते हुये प्रदर्शित हैं। परन्तु दृश्य के अन्य पात्रों और उनकी स्थिति में विभिन्नता परिलक्षित होती है। यथा म०स० १ में चतुर्भुज देवता के दक्षिण पाद पर असुर असहाय पड़ा है। वे अधः

---

३८. **वही**, पृ० १६७

३९. **वही**, पृ० १६३

४०. अत्रैव नारसिंहाख्यं वराहान्तत्रयं क्रमात्।

करों द्वारा उसका उदर विदीर्ण कर रहे हैं। उनके ऊर्ध्व कर शीर्ष के समानान्तर ऊपर उठे हैं। देवता का वाम पाद एक अन्य असुर के पृष्ठ पर स्थित है, यह असुर भूमि पर घुटनों एवं भुजाओं के बल अधोमुख पड़ा है। नरसिंह के वाम पार्श्व में प्रह्लाद की स्थानक मुद्रा में लघु आकृति उत्कीर्ण है, वे देवता के विकराल रूप की स्तुति कर रहे हैं। नरसिंह विशाल माला तथा अन्य आभूषण धारण किये हैं। देव प्रतिमा का शीर्ष दुर्भाग्यवश खण्डित है। प्रह्लाद कटि में धोती धारण किये हैं। उनके शीर्ष पर लम्बी केश राशि है जो स्कन्धों तक झूल रही है तथा मुख पर हर्ष एवं विस्मय के लक्षण विद्यमान हैं। नरसिंह अवतार की ऐसी सजीव मूर्ति खजुराहो तथा उड़ीसा में कम उपलब्ध है।

म०स० २ की प्रतिमा उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के प्रायः समरूप है परन्तु यहाँ देवता के मुड़े हुए पाद पर असुर खड़ा है तथा दक्षिण पाद भूमि पर स्थित है। पार्श्व अंकन में भी पर्याप्त अन्तर मिलता है। वहां प्रह्लाद मूर्ति का अभाव है, तथा नरसिंह के दक्षिण एवं वाम पार्श्व में क्रमशः पाशधारी एवं गदाधारी दो असुर आक्रामक मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश इस प्रतिमा का भी शीर्ष खण्डित है।

स० ३ में षष्ठभुज नरसिंह पूर्ववत् प्रदर्शित हैं। वे अपने निचले दो करों द्वारा असुर राज को जानु पर लिटाए हैं। इनके ऊर्ध्व कर खण्डित हैं तथा मुख और दोनों कर पूर्ववत् उदर विदीर्ण करने में संलग्न हैं। देवता का चरण एक असुर के पृष्ठ पर था परन्तु अब इसकी मूर्ति विनष्ट हो चुकी है। हिरण्यकश्यपु के दक्षिण कर में एक लघु खड्ग प्रदर्शित है।

म०स० ४ रथिका अष्टभुजी नरसिंह प्रतिमा द्वारा अलंकृत है। यहाँ इनके चरणों की स्थिति सं० २ के समान है। अन्य मूर्तियों के समान देवता दो करों द्वारा असुर का उदर विदीर्ण कर रहे हैं। द्वितीय कर युग्म खण्डित है। तृतीय कर युग्म से असुर की अन्त्रि रज्जु के समान खींच कर ऊपर अन्तिम कर युगल उठाए हैं। अन्तिभ कर युगल स्कन्ध तक उठे हैं और वे इनमें पुष्प धारण किये हैं। यहां देवता की दो सुदीर्घ लटें उनकी भुजाओं तक झूल रही हैं। भूमि पर एक असुर साष्टांग पड़ा है तथा देवता के दोनों पार्श्व में एक एक असुर दण्ड लिए हुए आक्रमक मुद्रा में उत्कीर्ण हैं। यह दण्ड मूसल की आकृति का है।

उपर्युक्त समस्त नरसिंह प्रतिमाओं की सामान्य विशेषतायें **वै०आ०** के स्थौण नरसिंह के वर्णन से प्रायः रखती है।[४१] देवता के वाम पाद पर असुर की असहाय देह यष्टि, दो मुख्य करों द्वारा उसका उदर विदीर्ण करना, असुरों द्वारा देवता पर आक्रमण हिरण्यकश्यपु के कर में खड्ग का प्रदर्शन तथा पार्श्व में विस्मयकारी मुद्रा में प्रह्लाद का अंकन, सभी तत्त्व उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थ के अनुसार हैं। प्रायः समस्त मूर्तियों में देवता के दो कर कर्ण तक उठे हुए निर्मित हैं, इनमें यद्यपि असुर की अंतड़ियों को खींच कर माला के सदृश उठाए हुए का अंकन नहीं है तथापि उनके करों की स्थिति से स्पष्ट है कि इन करों में अंतड़ियों का प्रदर्शन अवश्य हुआ होगा जो अब खण्डित

---

४१. ई० एच० आई० ख०१, भाग १, पृ० १५२–१५४

हो गया है। **वि०ध०पु०** के नियमानुसार यह सभी मूर्तियां आलीढ़ासन में प्रदर्शित हैं।[४२] **वै०आ०** में उल्लिखित आयुध मूर्ति के करों के खण्डित हो जाने के कारण द्रष्टव्य नहीं है।

परमेश्वर संहिता में वैष्णव मन्दिरों के "अन्तर्मण्डलकोणचतुष्टये" में वर्णित देवताओं के सन्दर्भ में वायव्य कोण पर नरसिंह अवतार की मूर्ति निर्मित करने का विधान दिया गया है।[४३] अतः उपर्युक्त मन्दिरों की उत्तरी भद्र रथिका पर नरसिंह–मूर्ति के अंकन में **प०सं०** के नियम का पालन हुआ है। स०मा० के उ०पू० एवं उ०प० लघु मन्दिरों में वाराह अवतार की प्रतिमाएं उपलब्ध हैं। यह मूर्तियां द०प० लघु म० के पूर्वी रथिका में उपलब्ध वाराह मूर्ति के समरूप हैं परन्तु इनकी कतिपय विशिष्टताएं वहाँ नहीं मिलतीं।

उ०प० लघु म० में चतुर्भुज देवता आलोट मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है। उनके करों में पूर्ववत् गदा एवं चक्र है तथा उनको वामोर्ध्व कर मुड़े हुए वामपाद के जानु पर स्थित है। सर्वाभरण विभूषित देवता के दक्षिणाधः कर में नर रूपी सर्प की पुच्छ है तथा वामाधः कर कुहनी से मुड़कर वक्ष पर स्थित, पृथ्वी की लघु प्रतिमा ललितासन मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है। देवता इसी कर में शंख धारण किए हैं। देवी की भुजाएं तथा मुख खण्डित हैं। वाराह आल्हादित मुद्रा में उनकी ओर निहार रहे हैं। इस प्रतिमा की विशिष्टता यह है कि वहां पर देवता के शीर्ष पर किरीट मुकुट के स्थान पर रत्न ग्रथित केश राशि का जूड़ा प्रदर्शित है,[४४] जो वाराह रूप को और अधिक मुखरित कर रहा है। देवता के दोनों पार्श्व में अनुचर एवं अनुचरी हैं। अन्य प्रतिमाओं के विपरीत यहाँ हिरण्याक्ष की पत्नी उसके वाम पार्श्व में प्रदर्शित है तथा पद्म पत्र उनके मस्तक के ऊपर आच्छादित है जिसे वे दोनों अपने भुजाओं पर उठाए हैं तथा अन्य भुजाएं भूमि पर टिकी हैं। उनके पुच्छ आपस में गुंथे हैं। वे नृपोचित आभूषणों से अलंकृत हैं।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा का लक्षण प्रायः पूर्व उल्लिखित मूर्तियों के समान ही है।[४५] यहाँ पृथ्वी का अंकन देवता के वामाधः कर की कुहनी पर हुआ है जो **अग्नि पु०** के वर्णन से साम्य रखता है।[४६] देवता के दक्षिणाधः कर द्वारा गृहीत नर रूपी सर्प का किसी शास्त्र में उल्लेख नहीं हुआ है। सम्भवतः यह आदि शेष के परिवार के अन्य सदस्यों का देवता द्वारा हनन दिखाने हेतु निर्मित किया गया है। उल्लेखनीय है कि ओसिया तथा खजुराहो की समस्त वाराह प्रतिमाओं में सपत्नीक आदि शेष का अंकन जिस रीति से हुआ है वह शास्त्रों में उल्लिखित नहीं है। ऐसा अंकन मारवाड़ की एक प्रतिमा में उपलब्ध है।[४७]

---

४२. वही, पृ० १५४

४३. **प० सं०** श्री रंगाख्यवृत्तायतदिव्यविमानदेवतातालिका।

४४. महाबलिपुरम् की मूर्ति के शीर्ष पर भी ऐसी ही जटा निर्मित है। राव, चित्र ३६

४५. द्र० पूर्व भद्र रथिका की मूर्तियां।

४६. ई० एच० आई०, ख० १ भाग १, पृ० १३४

४७. वही, चित्र सं० ३६–२

उ०पू० लघु मन्दिर की उत्तरी रथिका में प्रदशित वाराह प्रतिमा उपर्युक्त मूर्ति के समरूप है, अंशतः भिन्नता परिलक्षित होती है, यथा– यहां देवता का दक्षिणाधः कर जानु पर स्थित है। ऐसा ही प्रदर्शन मारवाड़ की प्रतिमा तथा कलकत्ता संग्रहालय की मूर्ति में भी द्रष्टव्य है।[४८] यहाँ पृथ्वी का वाम कर उनके कर्ण पर रक्खा है। सपत्नीक असुर का अंकन परम्परागत है।

अ०पु०[४६] तथा **हय०प०**[५०] के नियमानुसार वैष्णव मन्दिरों में ईशान कोण पर "सूकर" की मूर्ति प्रदर्शित करनी चाहिए । अतः उपर्युक्त वाराह मूर्तियों का उत्तरी भद्र पर अंकन इन्हीं ग्रंथों के अनुसार हुआ है।

म०स० १ के उ०पू० गौण मन्दिर में इस रथिका में हरिहर की प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठित है। इस स्थान पर देवता का अंकन इसी गौण मन्दिर के मुख्य मंदिर की पूर्वी भद्र रथिका में निर्मित हरिहर मूर्ति के समान है। मात्र वाहन का यहां अभाव है तथा देवता के अधः कर खण्डित हैं।[५१]

म०स० ८ की यह भद्र रथिका महिषमर्दिनी की भव्य प्रतिमा द्वारा अलंकृत है। यहाँ सर्वाभरण विभूषित चतुर्भुजी देवी सिंह पर आरूढ हैं। उनका द० पाद महिष की ग्रीवा पर स्थित है। वामोर्ध्व कर में सर्प है तथा वामाधः कर द्वारा वे असुर की ग्रीवा पकड़े हैं। देवी दक्षिणाधः कर में गृहीत शूल से महिष की ग्रीवा को वेध रहीं हैं एवं दक्षिणोर्ध्व कर में खड्ग धारण किये हैं। उड़ीसा की प्रतिमाओं के समान यहाँ भी महिष के कटे हुए ग्रीवा से नए रूप में असुर उद्भूत हो रहा है। उसके दोनों पैर महिष के कण्ठ के अन्दर ही है तथा वह देवी पर आक्रमण कर रहा है। सिंह भी महिष के पृष्ठ पर दंत प्रहार कर रहा है। प्रफुल्लवदना देवी के मुख पर शौर्य के लक्षण विद्यमान हैं तथा वे असुर संहार में मग्न हैं। इस प्रतिमा में देवी की मुद्रा म०स०१ तथा ३ की अनुरथ में उत्कीर्ण प्रतिमा की मुद्रा से साम्य रखती है, परन्तु आयुध एवं असुर के अंकन की दृष्टि से तीनों मूर्तियों में पर्याप्त अन्तर दृष्टिगत होता है।

उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा का लक्षण **शिल्प रत्न, वि०प०पू०** तथा राव द्वारा प्रस्तुत कात्यायनी के विवरण से साम्य रखता है।[५२] यद्यपि उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के अनुरूप दशभुजी, बीस भुजी एवं दश भुजी देवी का वर्णन है तथापि उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा के अनुरूप ही उनके दक्षिण करों में त्रिशूल एवं खड्ग का उल्लेख हुआ है। वामाधः कर के अंकन में मौलिकता दृष्टिगत होती है। वामोर्ध्व कर के सर्प का प्रत्यक्ष वर्णन नहीं है तथापि सभी ग्रन्थों में असुर को नागपाश में आबद्ध

---

४८. वही, चित्र २–३

४६. **अ०पु०** अ० ४३/२

५०. आग्नेये नैर्ऋत्ये चैव वायव्यां त्वीशगोचरे। वामनं नारसिंहश्च हयशीर्षनृशूकरम्।। **हय०प०प०** १४/२–३

५१. द्रष्टव्य पृ० सं० (५३)

५२. ई० एच० आई०, ख० १, भाग २ पृ० ३४६–४७

किया गया है। उल्लेख्य है कि चतुर्भुजी महिषासुर मर्दिनी की मूर्ति कुषाण काल से निर्मित होने लगी थी।५३

मान के अनुसार वायु तथा सोम दिशा के मध्य दुर्ग को स्थापित करने का विधान है।५४ उपर्युक्त मूर्ति के प्रदर्शन में इस नियम का अक्षरशः पालन हुआ है। इसी प्रकार सम्भवतः यहाँ महिषमर्दिनी अथवा कात्यायनी की उपस्थिति का कारण पंचदेवों सूर्य, गणेश, अम्बिका, शिव का प्रदर्शन है। **प्रा० म०** के अनुसार विष्णु के पंचायतन देवों में मध्य में विष्णु को स्थापित कर के उनके प्रदक्षिणा क्रम से गणेश, सूर्य, अम्बिका और शिव को स्थापित करने का निर्देश है।५५ रथिकाओं की संख्या तीन होने के कारण चार देवताओं की मूर्तियाँ नहीं बनायी जा सकती थीं। अतः तीन देवता गणेश, दुर्गा एवं सूर्य को ही भद्र रथिकाओं में स्थान दिया गया है। उल्लेख्य है कि शिव द्वार उत्तरंग में उपस्थित हैं।

दक्षिणी भद्र रथिका

सभी वैष्णव मन्दिरों के इस भद्र रथिका में मूर्तियां उपलब्ध हैं। म०स० १,२ तथा ४ में यहां पर त्रिविक्रम अवतार की मूर्तियां उत्कीर्ण हैं। म०स० १ के उ०पू० गौण मन्दिर में यह रथिका विषणु की गरुडासीन मूर्ति द्वारा अलंकृत है। शेष तीन मन्दिरों सं० ३,८ तथा स०मा० के प्रांगण में स्थित द०प० लघु मन्दिरों से प्रथम में हरिहर, द्वितीय में गणेश तथा अन्तिम मन्दिर में नरसिंह अवतार की प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठित की गयी हैं।

म०स० १,२ तथा ४ में अंकित त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमाएं यहाँ के अन्य मन्दिरों के विभिन्न रथिकाओं में निर्मित मूर्तियों के समान ही हैं। सर्वत्र देवता का अंकन समान रीति से हुआ है। आयुध के प्रदर्शन में भिन्नता उपलब्ध होती है। पार्श्व अंकन की दृष्टि से सभी मूर्तियों में आकृतियों की यद्यपि समानता मिलती है, तथापि उनका प्रस्तुतीकरण भिन्न है। अतः सभी प्रतिमाओं में आंशिक विभिन्नता परिलक्षित होती है।

म०स० १ में चतुर्भुज देवता का वाम पाद भूमि पर स्थित है। वे त्रैलोक्य नापते हुए दक्षिण पद आकाश में उठाए हैं। उनके दक्षिणोर्ध्व कर में गदा, वामोर्ध्व में चक्र है तथा दक्षिणाधः कर उदर पर स्थित है। देवता के दक्षिण पाद को नमुचि बलपूर्वक थामे हैं। यहाँ इनके पृष्ठ भाग में अश्व का मात्र मुख अंकित है। उठे हुए चरण के नीचे वामन की छत्रधारी प्रतिमा संकल्प लेते हुए उत्कीर्ण है। उनके वाम पार्श्व में बलि स्थानक मुद्रा में हैं जलपात्र द्वारा वामन देवता के कर तल पर जल गिरा कर संकल्प कर रहे हैं। बलि के पृष्ठ भाग में शुक्राचार्य स्तुति मुद्रा में उपस्थित हैं। वामन के दक्षिणपार्श्व में दो आकृतियां उत्कीर्ण हैं, जो झुक कर इस कौतुक को निहार रही हैं। यह सम्भवतः बलि के यज्ञ में सम्मिलित होने वाले अन्य असुरगण

---

५३. द्र० मथुरा कला ।

५४. वायुसोमोभयोर्मध्ये विष्णुदुर्गतथालयम्। मान० ३२–७३

५५ "विष्णोः प्रदक्षिणेनैव" गणेशार्काम्बिका शिवाः । प्रा०म०अ० २/४३

हैं।[५६] त्रिविक्रम की विशाल प्रतिमा के साथ शेष सभी मूर्तियां यथोचित वस्त्राभूषण द्वारा अलंकृत हैं, परन्तु सभी प्रतिमाओं के अधोवस्त्र मात्र जानुओं तक ही प्रदर्शित हैं।

इस प्रतिमा का लक्षण पूर्ण वर्णित त्रिविक्रम मूर्तियों के समान ही है, परन्तु यहाँ देवता के चरणों की स्थिति उन प्रतिमाओं के विपरीत **शिल्परत्न** के अनुसार है अर्थात् ग्रन्थानुसार उनका वाम पद भूमि पर स्थिर है तथा दक्षिण चरण ऊपर उठा है।[५७] इसी प्रकार दक्षिणाधः कर का प्रदर्शन कटि पर हुआ है। ऐसी ही मुद्रा मध्य प्रदेश के रायपुर से उपलब्ध त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमा में द्रष्टव्य है।[५८]

म०स० २ में यद्यपि देवता का अंकन पूर्व रीति से ही हुआ है तथापि अन्तर द्रष्टव्य है यहाँ देवता का दक्षिण पाद भूमि पर स्थित है तथा अश्व सशरीर उपस्थित है। वामन देवता के दक्षिणपार्श्व की अन्तिम आकृति अपने आगे वाली आकृति की भुजा पकड़ कर अपनी ओर खींच रही है, मानों बलि को शुक्राचार्य संकल्प कृत्य से रोक रहे हैं। त्रिविक्रम दक्षिणाधः कर में पद्म धारण किए हैं।

सं० ४ में प्रतिष्ठित त्रिविक्रम प्रतिमा का दक्षिणाधः कर वरद मुद्रा में है एवं झूलते हुए वामाधः कर में शंख प्रदर्शित है। उनके दक्षिण पाद के समीप दो असुर उपस्थित हैं इनमें एक पाश धारी है। यहां उठे चरण के नीचे वामन सिर पर छत्र धारण किए तथा वाम कर ऊपर उठाए ललितासीन निर्मित हैं। उनके वाम पार्श्व में नीचे सपत्नीक बलि की आसीन मूर्ति उपलब्ध है, तथा ऊपर की ओर महोदर शुक्राचार्य उपस्थित हैं। नीचे की समस्त आकृतियों के मुख दुर्भाग्यवश खण्डित हैं अतः मुख मुद्रा द्रष्टव्य नहीं है।

अग्नि पुराण[५९] तथा **हय०प०**[६०] में आग्नेय कोण पर वामन को स्थापित करने का निर्देश है। दक्षिणी भद्र पर उपर्युक्त त्रिविक्रम मूर्तियों के प्रदर्शन में इसी नियम का पालन हुआ है।

म०स० ३ की यह रथिका हरिहर प्रतिमा से अलंकृत है। यह मूर्ति म०स० १ के हरिहर प्रतिमा के समान ही है[६१]। भेद यह है कि यहां पर देवता का दक्षिणोर्ध्व कर पद्म कलिका युक्त उनके वक्ष पर स्थित है एवं वामाधः कर खण्डित है। वाहन अनुपस्थित है तथा दोनों पार्श्व में एक एक खण्डित आकृतियाँ हैं जिनका एक कर वक्ष पर तथा दूसरा जानु पर स्थित है परन्तु आयुध पुरुषों के समान इनके करों में आयुधों का अंकन नहीं हुआ है।

---

५६. ई० एच० आई०, ख० १ भाग १ पृ० १६४–६७

५७. **वही**, पृ० १६७

५८. **वही**, चित्र सं० ४८

५९. **अ०पु०अ०** ४३/२–३

६०. **हय०प०** आदि काण्ड प० १४/२–३

६१. द्र० उत्तरी भद्र रथिका की मूर्तियाँ।

हरिहर की ग्रीवा में विशाल माला है जिसका दक्षिणार्ध नरमुण्डों एवं वामार्ध वैजयन्ती पुष्पों द्वारा अलंकृत है।

अ०पु० में वैष्णव मन्दिरों के दक्षिण दिशा में शिव को निर्मित करने का उल्लेख हुआ है।[६२] हरिहर मूर्ति शिव एवं विष्णु का मिश्रित स्वरूप है अतः इस रथिका में उनका अंकन नियम के अनुसार हुआ है।

म०स० ८ में इस स्थान पर चतुर्भुज गणेश ललितासीन मुद्रा में उपस्थित हैं। उनका अंकन अन्य गणेश मूर्तियों के समान ही है परन्तु दक्षिण कर खण्डित है। वामोर्ध्व कर में कुठार एवं वामाधः कर में पूर्ववत् मोदक पात्र है। सर्वाभरण अलंकृत देवता के प्रभावली के दोनों पार्श्व में खजुराहो मूर्तियों के समान विद्याधर आकृतियां प्रदर्शित हैं। गणेश का दक्षिण भद्र पर प्रदर्शन **अ०पु०** के उपर्युक्त नियम के अनुसार ही हुआ है।[६३]

स०मा० के द०प० लघु मन्दिर के इस रथिका में ृसिंह अवतार की भव्य प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठित है। (चित्र सं०) अष्टभुज देवता के मात्र दो ार अवशिष्ट हैं। यद्यपि प्रतिमा अन्य नृसिंह मूर्तियों के समान ही है तथापि आकृतियों के ्रदर्शन एवं भुजाओं की स्थिति में विभिन्नताएं उल्लेखनीय हैं। देवता दो भुजाओं द्वारा हिरण्य क्शयपु को अपने दक्षिण जानु पर लिटाए हैं। असुर के केश उनके दक्षिण कर में तथा ज ानु वाम कर में है। वे मुख्य करों द्वारा असुर का उदर विदीर्ण कर रहे हैं। असुर के दक्षिण कर में खड्ग है तथा वाम कर उसके सिर के नीचे रखा है। नृसिंह का वाम पाद यहाँ धरती पर स्थित है एवं दक्षिण पाद घुटने से मुड़कर एक अन्य असुर के वक्ष पर रखा है। यह असुर भूमि पर वक्ष ऊपर उठा कर गिर पड़ा है। देवता के दक्षिण पार्श्व में दो असुर भयभीत मुद्रा में छिपते हुए प्रदर्शित हैं, मानों वे नृसिंह की क्रोधाग्नि से बचने का असफल प्रयास कर रहे हैं। प्रह्लाद की आसीन आकृति भूमि पर स्थित है। उनका वाम कर खण्डित है तथा दक्षिण कर ऊपर उठाकर विस्मय एवं प्रसन्नता व्यक्त कर रहे हैं। शीर्ष पर केश राशि की जटा बाँधा है। दुर्भाग्यवश इस विराट् प्रतिमा का मुख खण्डित है। उनके शीर्ष के दोनों पार्श्व में तथा वक्ष पर लहराते हुए अयाल सुस्पष्ट हैं। वे हार, मुक्तावली, भुजबन्ध एवं नुपुर द्वारा अलंकृत हैं। इस प्रतिमा का लक्षण पूर्व वर्णित नृसिंह मूर्तियों के समान ही है। वहां उनके ग्रीवा को अयाल से आच्छादित निर्मित किया गया है जो **वै० आ०** के वर्णन से साम्य रखता है।[६४]

हय० प०[६५] के अनुसार वैष्णव मन्दिरों के दक्षिणी रथिका में नृसिंह की मूर्ति निर्मित होनी चाहिए। उपर्युक्त प्रतिमा अक्षरशः इसी नियम के अनुसार अंकित है।

---

६२. लक्ष्मीः वैश्रवणी पूर्वे दक्षे मातृगणं न्यसेत्। स्कन्दं गणेशमीशाने सूर्यादीन् पश्चिमे ग्रहान्। अ०पु०अ० ४३/६

६३. वही।

६४. ई०ऐम०आई०, ख० १, भाग १, पृ० १५१

६५. **हय० पं० प०** १३/३१

म०स० १ के उ०पू० गौण मन्दिर में यह रथिका विष्णु की गरुडासीन प्रतिमा द्वारा अलंकृत है। सर्वाभरण विभूषित देवता के ऊर्ध्व करों में अन्य विष्णु मूर्तियों के समान गदा एवं चक्र है, दक्षिणाधः कर वरद मुद्रा में है तथा वामाधः कर खण्डित है। गरुड दोनों करों से देवता के चरण थामे हुए उड़ने के लिए उद्यत हैं। वि०प०पु० में विष्णु को संकर्षण के रूप में वैष्णव मन्दिरों में दक्षिणाभिमुख उत्कीर्ण करने का विधान किया गया है।[६६]



६६. दक्षिणाभिमुखः कार्यो देवः संकर्षणः प्रभुः।। वि०ध०पु० ख० ३, अ० ८७/१६

THE VEDIC VAJRA

Prof. D.N. TRIPATHI

Gorakhpur

According to Yāska[1] the word *Vajra* is derived from the root *Vrij*, meaning 'that which deprives'. Since the weapon separates life from the body, the word Vajra would mean a weapon which takes away life from the body[2]. Libert Cösta[3] is of the view that the word Vajra has been used both in abstract and concrete senses which he etymologically relates to Vajra meaning 'possessing a kind of virile procreative potence', which ultimately came to be known as a weapon or thunderbolt related in Indian thought with rain-phenomenon. Küiper F.B.J.[4], considers that Vajra is a demon-slaying potence of the club and the Vajra concept has come out of Soma-stone concept as he thinks that the Indra-Vṛtra fight represented in the *Ṛgveda* was originally a cult representation of the Soma-pressing. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma[5], while discussing the etymology of the word Vajra, has concluded that 'it was so called because it deprives living beings of their lives' and has taken it to mean 'thunderbolt'. He says that the actual root was *'Vaj'*, going back to Indo-European 'Veg' meaning to be powerful, active. Dr. Tripathi[6] also considers that the root of the word is 'Vaj' meaning 'speed' or as Whitney thinks (वज गतौ) 'stoutness'. V. Pokorney takes the word Vajra to mean 'to roll' or 'to move it around'. There may be difference of opinion among the scholars about the origin of the word 'Vajra' but most of the scholars have

---

1. *Nirukta*, 3/11.
2. Sheo Narain Shashtri, *Nirukta ke pāncha Adhyāya* (1912), Varanasi, p. 337-338.
3. *Indo-Iranica, Orientalia Sue-Coma,* Uppasala, 11, 1962, pp. 126-154.
4. 'Indra-Vritra contest represents as Aryan myth of Creation', *Museum,* 52, 198-200.
5. Siddheswar Varma, *The Etymologies of Yaska* (1953), Hoshiyarpur, p. 111.
6. Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi, *Pāṇinīya Dhātu Pāṭha Samīkṣā* (V.S. 1887), Varanasi, p. 434.

taken it to mean a weapon. Mādhava[7] in his *Nāmānukramaṇī* (line 580) has mentioned it in his list of weapons and considers it to be a name for weapons in general. The *Nirukta*[8] (3/11) gives us eighteen synonyms of this word which was used for killing and was a weapon par-excellence of Indra. Apte[9] also considers that the Vajra was not a thunderbolt but a metallic weapon which forms a part of the stable equipment of Indra. We find about 150 references to Vajra in the *Ṛgveda* alone and in the majority of the places it has been referred to as weapon used by Indra to kill Vṛtra. It is, therefore, clear that Vajra was a deadly weapon used in the Vedic period to kill the enemy. It is rather unfortunate that despite intensive research in the Vedic literature for over a century the actual weapon has not been identified till todate.

The purpose of this paper is to bring to the notice of the scholars the literary descriptions of the Vajra as gleaned through the studies of the Vedic literature and to place it along with the archaeological findings of the period concerned, in order to understand if Vajra can be identified with one of the weapons found in the archaeological excavations and explorations.

Vajra has been described in the *Ṛgveda* as a very special weapon of Indra.[10] At some places thunderbolt has been also metaphorically called Vajra[11]. It was made by Tvaṣṭā[12] and Uśanā[13] and handed over to Indra. It is said to be made of metal[14] and is of golden,[15] yellow[16] or white[17] in colour. These are in fact colours of thunderbolt.

---

7. Sheo Narain Shastri, *op.cit.*, p. 339.
8. See *Nighaṇṭu*, 2/20 for synonyms.
9. V.M. Apte,: (a) "Indra as a God of light in the Rigveda' *Sagar University Journal*,I, 1952, pp. 105-110; also 16th *All India Oriental conference*, Lucknow, 1951, pp. 25-26. (b) 'Vajra in the Rigveda', *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 37, 292-295.
10. *Ṛgveda*, VI. 22.9; 18.9 and 45.18 'धिष्व वज्रं दक्षिण इन्द्र हस्ते'.
11. *Ibid.*, VII. 104.19.
12. *Ibid.*, I. 32.2, 52.7, 85.9; V. 31.4; X. 48.3.
13. *Ibid.*, I. 121.12; V. 34.2.
14. *Ibid.*, I. 52.8, 80.12, 81.4; III. 96.3; X. 48.3, 96.3-4, 113.5.
15. *Ibid.*, I. 57.2,85.9; VIII. 68.3; X. 23.3, 96.3-4
16. *Ibid.*, X. 96.3.
17. *Ibid.*, III. 44.5 'अर्जुनवर्णम्'.

It is of quadrangular in shape (चतुष्कोण)[18] and has hundred joints (शतपर्वणा)[19]. It was many-edged (सहस्त्रभृष्टि:)[20] weapon and used to be quite sharp[21]. Vajra is also similarly described as deadly weapon in the *Mihir Yasta* of *Avesta* (X. 96). It is described as spear (रिष्टि:)[22], sharp or pointed (तिग्म)[23], double-edged dagger (चकुषनाम्)[24], double-edged (वितअेघनाम्)[25] and the one that cuts into pieces (कर्तृनाम्)[26]. The word Vajra continued to be used in Iran in the sense of great weapon upto 6th-5th c. B.C. In Behistun inscription[27] of Darius, we find the use of the word 'Vajraka' in the sense of greatness. Thus it is clear that Vajra was not only an important weapon of Vedic God Indra but also that of Iranian God MIHIR. Vajra was very sharp weapon (तिग्मेन)[28]. It is described as one quite heavy and that no one can escape (वज्रंधना, अपराजित:)[29]. The Vajra is also described as a mighty weapon which is a great killer (वज्रं वृषणं)[30]. It is like an arrow (वज्रसायकं)[31] and when thrown it pierces the enemy (अभिश्नथ)[32]. It used to slay the enemy (प्रभृण:)[33]. It is also described as a weapon which used to cut into pieces like a butcher (विवृश्च)[34]. In the *Ṛgveda* it is described as one cutting the ninety-nine hoods of the great serpent[35]. It was used as a missile thrown over the

---

18. *Ibid.,* IV. 22.2.
19. *Ibid.,* I. 80.6; VIII. 6.6, 76.2, 89.3.
20. *Ibid.,* I. 80.12, 85.9; V. 34.2; VI. 17.10; X. 96.4 'सहस्त्र शोका:'.
21. *Ibid.,* I. 130.4; VII. 18.18.
22. *Mihir Yasta,* X. 128-132.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.,* X. 130.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.,* X. 131.
27. *Behistun Inscription,* Face 1, line 1. 'अदम् दारपवउश् वजकख्शापथिय'.
28. *Ṛgveda,* I. 33.13, 130.4.
29. *Ibid.,* I. 8.3; II. 16.3.
30. *Ibid.,* IX. 106.3.
31. *Ibid.,* I. 32.3, 84.11; X. 8.3, 84.6.
32. *Ibid.,* X. 138.5.
33. *Ibid.,* III. 30.6, 33.7; IV. 19.3 (विहन्); C. 27.21 (विवृत:).
34. *Ibid.,* I. 61.10, 12, IV. 17.7.
35. *Ibid.,* V. 29.6.

enemy. It is said to have broken cities and also a hill[36]. It was also used for digging rivers[37]. When thrown[38] it used to go upto enemy making thundering noise (कनिक्रदतां)[39].

The Vajra used to become blunt due to use as such Tvaṣṭā has to sharpen it (ततक्ष[40], शिशीते[41], स्वपस्तमं[42]). W. Rau[43], considers these words to mean 'cold hammering', but to my mind this mighty and sharp weapon could not have been simply made by cold hammering alone. Casting and annealing could also have been used as at one place in the *Ṛgveda*[44]. Agni has also been credited as the maker of Vajra. In another place a metalsmith (कारव:)[45] is also referred to as a maker of Vajra.

The Vajra is described to have been used sometimes by both hands and sometimes only by the right hand[46]. It is described as the weapon striking upon the shoulders of Vṛtra or breaking his jaw[47]. Sometimes it used to be thrown at the enemy which tears him into pieces. It used to grind the enemy (पिपेष)[48].

On the basis of these descriptions Apte thinks Vajra as a 'specific kind of weapon, a stable metallic weapon (like club or hammer), held firmly in the hands of Indra[49]. Some other think that it was a trident (त्रिशूलमित्यन्ये[50]).

---

36. *Ibid.,* I. 130.7; IV17.3.
37. *Ibid.,* II. 15.3.
38. *Ibid.,* II. 19.9.
39. *Ibid.,* II. 11.10; VI. 27.4 (vjks[kh).
40. *Ibid.,* I. 52.7, 121.12.
41. *Ibid.,* I. 55.1.
42. *Ibid.,* I. 61.62 also I. 121.3 तक्ष; I. 130.4. संश्यत्; I. 32.2. स्वर्यं
43. Rau *Wilhel, Metalle und Metallgerate im Vedischen Indien,* Mainz, 1974 (8).
44. *Ṛgveda,* X. 87.4.
45. *Ibid.,* X. 92.7, 99.1.
46. *Ibid.,* I. 33.10, 51.7, 63.2, 81.4; II. 11.6, 16.2, 17.6, 20.8; IV. 22.3; VI. 18.9, 22.9,23.1, 45.15; VII. 28.2; VIII. 12.7, 29.4, 61.18, 70.2, 96.3-5; X. 44.2, 52.5, 153.4, 23.1.
47. *Ibid.,* I. 80.5.
48. *Ibid.,* II. 15.6.
49. Apte, V.M., *op. cit.*
50. See Skandaswamy (line 152); also note 2, p. 339.

W. Rau[51] after a detailed discussion about the Vajra as given in the Later Vedic literature has come to conclude that the 'passages fit well into the description of copper harpoons' found in the Copper Hoards of the, Gangetic valley. W.W. Malandra[52], on the basis of the descriptions of the Vajra in the *Avestā* and the *Ṛgveda* has come to the conclusion that 'mace-heads found in Iran and the ancient Near East, bear a striking resemblance to the Avestan and Rigvedic descriptions, as they are generally belong or spherical and ..... fitted with knobs, blades .....'. Tapan Kumar Dasgupta in his thesis 'Der Vajra : Eine Vedische Waffe[53] identifies the Vedic Vajra with anthropomorphic figures of the Gangetic Copper Hoards which is rightly rejected by Maurizio Taddei on various grounds of which the most convincing argument seems to be the one based on the distribution of the so-called anthropomorphic figures. Since these anthropomorphic figures are limited only in the Gangetic basin, 'while one would expect to find them in the whole area where the Vajra (Avestan 'Vazra') is known from the literary sources, i.e., also in Iran and the north west of India'[54].

Since the Ṛgvedic period is generally considered to have belonged to the second half of the second millennium B.C. and that the Copper Hoards of the Gangetic Valley are also dated in this period, W. Rau and Tapan Kumar Dasgupta seem to be in the right direction when they are trying to identify one of the objects found in the Copper Hoards as Vedic Vajra. I have mentioned elsewhere that the *Ṛgvedic 'Ayas'* is nothing else but copper; and it was later in the Later Vedic period when *Kṛṣṇāyas* and *Śyāmāyas* were coined to denote iron[55]. We have seen that in the *Ṛgveda*, Vajra is generally said to have been made of *ayas,* hence it could be nothing but a copper or bronze implement found in the Indian context in the second half of the second millennium B.C. Of the two possible identifications, Dasgupta's identification with anthropomorphic figures has been rightly rejected by Maurizio Taddei. So far as W. Rau's identification with copper

---

51. Rau, W., *op. cit.,* p. 44.

52. W.W. Malandra, 'A Glossary of terms for weapons and armours in Old Iranian', *Indo-Iranian Journal,* Holland, 15(4), 1973-74, pp. 281-283.

53. Dasgupta, Tapan Kumar, *Der Vajra : Eine Vedische Waffe* Hamburg University, Wiesbaden, 1975.

54. Maurizio Taddei, Book-review of Tapan Kumar Dasgupta (see n. 53), *East and West,* N.S., Vol. 29, Nos. 1-4, 1979, p. 280.

55. See f.c., volume, *Archaeology and Tradition* on 'Ayas in Rigveda'.

enemy. It is said to have broken cities and also a hill[36]. It was also used for digging rivers[37]. When thrown[38] it used to go upto enemy making thundering noise (कनिक्रदतां)[39].

The Vajra used to become blunt due to use as such Tvaṣṭā has to sharpen it (ततक्ष[40], शिशीते[41], स्वपस्तमं[42]). W. Rau[43], considers these words to mean 'cold hammering', but to my mind this mighty and sharp weapon could not have been simply made by cold hammering alone. Casting and annealing could also have been used as at one place in the *Ṛgveda*[44]. Agni has also been credited as the maker of Vajra. In another place a metalsmith (कारव:)[45] is also referred to as a maker of Vajra.

The Vajra is described to have been used sometimes by both hands and sometimes only by the right hand[46]. It is described as the weapon striking upon the shoulders of Vṛtra or breaking his jaw[47]. Sometimes it used to be thrown at the enemy which tears him into pieces. It used to grind the enemy (पिपेष)[48].

On the basis of these descriptions Apte thinks Vajra as a 'specific kind of weapon, a stable metallic weapon (like club or hammer), held firmly in the hands of Indra[49]. Some other think that it was a trident (त्रिशूलमित्यन्ये[50]).

---

36. *Ibid.,* I. 130.7; IV17.3.
37. *Ibid.,* II. 15.3.
38. *Ibid.,* II. 19.9.
39. *Ibid.,* II. 11.10; VI. 27.4 (vjks[kh).
40. *Ibid.,* I. 52.7, 121.12.
41. *Ibid.,* I. 55.1.
42. *Ibid.,* I. 61.62 also I. 121.3 तक्ष; I. 130.4. संश्यत्; I. 32.2. स्वर्यं
43. Rau *Wilhel, Metalle und Metallgerate im Vedischen Indien,* Mainz, 1974 (8).
44. *Ṛgveda,* X. 87.4.
45. *Ibid.,* X. 92.7, 99.1.
46. *Ibid.,* I. 33.10, 51.7, 63.2, 81.4; II. 11.6, 16.2, 17.6, 20.8; IV. 22.3; VI. 18.9, 22.9,23.1, 45.15; VII. 28.2; VIII. 12.7, 29.4, 61.18, 70.2, 96.3-5; X. 44.2, 52.5, 153.4, 23.1.
47. *Ibid.,* I. 80.5.
48. *Ibid.,* II. 15.6.
49. Apte, V.M., *op. cit.*
50. See Skandaswamy (line 152); also note 2, p. 339.

W. Rau[51] after a detailed discussion about the Vajra as given in the Later Vedic literature has come to conclude that the 'passages fit well into the description of copper harpoons' found in the Copper Hoards of the, Gangetic valley. W.W. Malandra[52], on the basis of the descriptions of the Vajra in the *Avestā* and the *Ṛgveda* has come to the conclusion that 'mace-heads found in Iran and the ancient Near East, bear a striking resemblance to the Avestan and Rigvedic descriptions, as they are generally belong or spherical and ..... fitted with knobs, blades .....'. Tapan Kumar Dasgupta in his thesis 'Der Vajra : Eine Vedische Waffe[53] identifies the Vedic Vajra with anthropomorphic figures of the Gangetic Copper Hoards which is rightly rejected by Maurizio Taddei on various grounds of which the most convincing argument seems to be the one based on the distribution of the so-called anthropomorphic figures. Since these anthropomorphic figures are limited only in the Gangetic basin, 'while one would expect to find them in the whole area where the Vajra (Avestan 'Vazra') is known from the literary sources, i.e., also in Iran and the north west of India'[54].

Since the Ṛgvedic period is generally considered to have belonged to the second half of the second millennium B.C. and that the Copper Hoards of the Gangetic Valley are also dated in this period, W. Rau and Tapan Kumar Dasgupta seem to be in the right direction when they are trying to identify one of the objects found in the Copper Hoards as Vedic Vajra. I have mentioned elsewhere that the *Ṛgvedic 'Ayas'* is nothing else but copper; and it was later in the Later Vedic period when *Kṛṣṇāyas* and *Śyāmāyas* were coined to denote iron[55]. We have seen that in the *Ṛgveda*, Vajra is generally said to have been made of *ayas,* hence it could be nothing but a copper or bronze implement found in the Indian context in the second half of the second millennium B.C. Of the two possible identifications, Dasgupta's identification with anthropomorphic figures has been rightly rejected by Maurizio Taddei. So far as W. Rau's identification with copper

---

51. Rau, W., *op. cit.,* p. 44.

52. W.W. Malandra, 'A Glossary of terms for weapons and armours in Old Iranian', *Indo-Iranian Journal,* Holland, 15(4), 1973-74, pp. 281-283.

53. Dasgupta, Tapan Kumar, *Der Vajra : Eine Vedische Waffe* Hamburg University, Wiesbaden, 1975.

54. Maurizio Taddei, Book-review of Tapan Kumar Dasgupta (see n. 53), *East and West,* N.S., Vol. 29, Nos. 1-4, 1979, p. 280.

55. See f.c., volume, *Archaeology and Tradition* on 'Ayas in Rigveda'.

harpoons is concerned, although it cannot definitely be asserted, chances of this identification being nearer to truth is admitted. We find copper harpoons made of stone and bone in the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic complexes of western Europe, Western Asia, India and South Asia. In the *Ṛgveda* also, Vajra is said to be made of seer Dadhīchi. The text of the *Bṛhaddevatā*[56] also holds the same view. It seems to be logical that when copper was known to the Ṛgvedic Aryans, they started making these harpoons with the help of copper. The passages of the *Ṛgveda* fit well into the description of copper harpoons. Processes involved in making copper harpoons (Gasting, annealing and cold-hammering) are specifically mentioned in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[57]. The shape of the Vajra as described in *Ṛgveda, Atharva*-Veda[58], *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[59], *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[60], *Kāṭhaka* Saṃhitā[61] and *Mādhyandina Saṃhitā*[62] fits in well with the shape of the copper harpoons of the Ganga valley. It is also described in *Ṣaḍavimśa Brāhmaṇa*[63]. In *Mādhyandin Saṃhitā*[64] it is described as being thrown as a missile by the right hand while in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[65] and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[66] it is described as having arrows in its inner side.

Thus it is clear that the meaning of the word Vajra changed in due course of time like that of the German word 'Gewehr' meaning weapon originally but which meant later thunderbolt used by gods as a sharp burning missile. We have seen how the word 'Vazra' in *Avesta* originally meaning a weapon later on meant greatness. In Indian contexts also a similar change in the meaning of the word could be seen. We have also seen that originally Vajra is

---

56. *Bṛhaddevatā,* III, 23 also quoted by Biswanath Mukhopadhyaya, 'Vāk and Vajra', *Vishvesharanand Indological Journal,* Hoshiarpur, Vol. XIX pts. 1-11, June-Dec., 1981, pp. 1-3.
57. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa,* 3.64-65; 3.310, 205.
58. *Atharvaveda,* 11.10.12-13; 12.5.66; 5.18.7.
59. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* 3.4.4.8.
60. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* 2.35.5; 3.4.4.14; 1.2.4.1; 1.2.4.5.
61. *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*, 10.10 (136.3); 20.4 (22.7); 20.5 (24.23).
62. *Mādhyandina Saṃhitā,* 3.2.10 (31.11).
63. *Ṣaḍavimśa Brāhmaṇa,* 2.1.5; 3.6.3; 3.7.2; 8.9.2; 4.2.8; 4.4.5; 4.5.1; 4.5.5; 5.4.2.
64. *Mādhyandina Saṃhitā,* 3.8.1; (92.10-11); 3.8.2 (94 ---).
65. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā,* 5.2.6.1-2; 6.1.3.4-5; 7.4.7.1-2.
66. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* 1.2.4.1.

said to have been made of bone (Dadhyañcha)[67] and later on of copper (*ayas*). In the course of time the Vajra which had the shape of copper harpoons might have also changed its shape as we see in the case of various weapons used in second World War which are now having altogether different shape carrying the same name. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the Vajra originally meant the harpoons (first made of stone and then of bone and copper) and later on it came to be used for any other missile in the hands of man used more in war than in game. W. Rau may be correct in taking the description of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (the man-like shape of knife being used by God) as a reminder of the anthropomorphic context of the copper Hoard civilization of the Ganga Valley.



67. *Ṛgveda*, I. 84.13.

STŪPA ARCHITECTURE OF SĀRNĀTHA

Dr. O.P. PANDEY

Sārnātha is one of the most important spots in India, having a covetable wealth in the form of religious tradition and archaeological remains which attract thousands of pilgrims, archaeologists, historians and students to this place both from India and outside. It is one of the four most sacred places of pilgrimage for the Buddhists, as here Buddha turned the wheel of law for the first time. The place is held equally holy by the Jains, as being the venue of the austerities and death of Sreyaṁśanātha, the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara. Situated at a distance of 8 km. from Varanasi, it is now part of greater Varanasi, which is one of the most sacred places of Hindus.

Excavations at Sārnātha have revealed monuments from the Mauryan age down to Pāla period or the time of Gahaḍavālas. A good number of them are stūpas of various sizes. The three important stūpas of Sārnātha which are important for the study of stūpa architecture are Dharmarājikā stūpa, Dhamekh stūpa and Chaukhaṇḍī stūpa.

Aśoka is credited to have built so many things at Sārnāth, one of which was a stūpa, about 30.7 meter high, called the Dharmarājikā stūpa, which was crowned at its top by a monolithic railing. This Dharmarājikā stūpa of Aśoka was pulled down by Jagat Singh, Dewan of Raja Chet Singh of Banaras, as part of his depredation for building materials. This tragic event brought Sārnātha to the knowledge of the modern world.[1]

It is said that after Aśoka became a follower of Buddhism, he employed all his resources and pious zeal to spread the message of Buddha. The charming life of Buddha exercised such a fascination on his jind that he decided to go on a pilgrimage to the holy places associated with the Master. During his pilgrimage, he must have visited Sārnātha also.

---

1. V.S. Agrawal, *Sārnātha,* 1984, page 7.

The Dharmarājikā stūpa, as its name indicates, was built by Aśoka to enshrine the bodily relics of Buddha at the time of his re-distributing the relics of the original seven stūpas and enshrining them in a number of other stūpas at different places. As a matter of fact, a stone box was found inside this stūpa containing a green marble relic-casket with some relics and ashes. The relics were thrown into the Ganges at the instance of Jagat Singh. The casket has since disappeared, but the stone box is preserved in the Indian Museum. It is said that in 1835-36, Sir Alexander Cunningham rediscovered the stone box of the Dharmarājikā stūpa referred to above and he handed over that box along with various other excavated material of Sārnātha to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and that is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[2]

Taking Sārnātha as one of the holiest places of Buddhism, Aśoka must have selected it as worthy of a stūpa for enshrining the holy relics of Buddha. A sculpture of Buddha was discovered from this stūpa on which pedestal, there is an inscription of the time of Mahipāla, dated A.D. 1026. The sculpture which was noticed in the house of Jagat Singh is now preserved in Sārnāth Museum.

The excavation have revealed six successive enlargements of the original stūpa. The original structure raised by Aśoka was 13.49 meter in diameter with bricks of the size of 49.5X36.8X6.4 Cm and others slightly wedge-shaped of 41.9X31.7X8.8 Cm. size.[3] The first expansion of the stūpa was made in the Kuṣāṇa period with bricks measuring 38.1X26.2X7 Cm. size. The second enlargement came in the 5th-6th Century A.D. i.e. the Gupta period with the addition of circumambulatory path (pradakshiṇāpatha) nearly 4.88 meter wide around the stūpa and encompassed by a solid outer wall, 1.35 M. high, pierced by four doorways in the four directions.[4] In the third enlargement, in the 7th century A.D., the pradakshiṇāpatha was filled up and access to the stūpa was provided by placing four monolithic staircases. The next two additions were made in the ninth-eleventh centuries. The sixth and the last encasing of the stūpas took

---

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
3. D.R.Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārnāth*, pp. 10-11.
4. *A.S.I.R.*, 1904-05, pp. 65-66.

place when the monastery of Kumāradevī, wife of Gahadwal ruler Govindachandra, was built in the 12th century A.D. She is credited to have got repaired all the important Buddhist structures at Sārnātha.[5]

The excavations have revealed more than a dozen railing pillars of about 1st Century B.C. near the Dharmarājikā stūpa during the excavations of Mr. F.O. Ortel. They may have formed part of the stone railing which was put around the stūpa during the Śuṅga period, just as stupas at Sānchi were provided with railings at this time.

According to Krishnadeva,[6] a monolithic railing with a Mauryan inscription and polish, found near the stūpa, presumably formed its crowning *harmikā*. According to Mr. Vogel, this monolithic railing denotes the holiness of the place where Buddha had delivered his first sermon. Dayaram Sahni is also of opinion that this railing must have been part of crowning *harmikā* of Dharmarājikā stūpa.[7] According to *Mahāvaṁsa,* Aśoka has got built vihāras also along with the stūpas.[8] In view of Dr. C.S. Upasak, this Dharmarājikā stūpa is a pre-Mauryan Commemorative stūpa and the earliest stūpa of Sārnātha.[9] - (plate 1).

The another important stūpa of this place known as Dhamekh also seems to have had its origin in Aśoka's time. Its present name Dhamekh shows some connection with Buddha's Dharma. Dr. Venice is of the opinion that this is corrupt form of the word "*dharmeksha*". Cunningham[10] took it as a corrupt form of Dharmopadeśaka. He was of opinion that it marked the original spot of Buddha's preaching. Daya Ram Sahni[11] rendered the name Dhamekha as dharmeksha in Sanskrit i.e. the stūpa marking the cogitation of Buddha about his dharma. Dr. V.A. Smith[12] is also of same

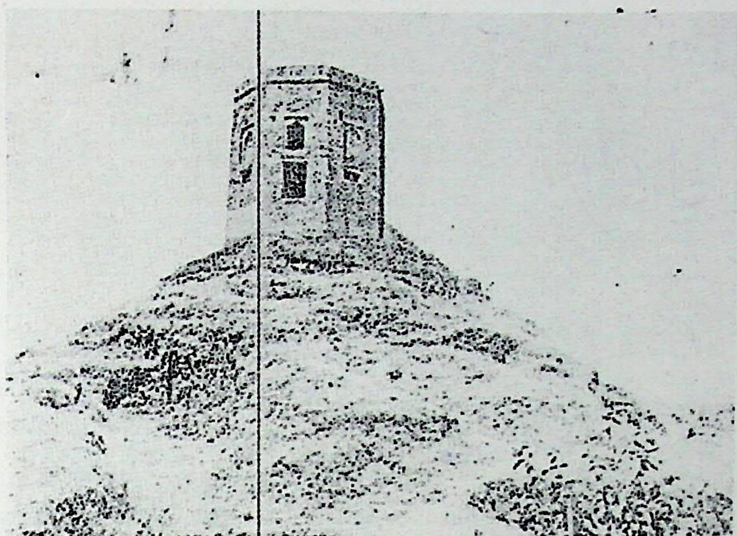
5. D.R. Sahni, *Ibid.*, p. 88.
6. Krishna Deo., *'Stupa and Temple Architecture'*, published in Archaeology in India, 1949.
7. D.R. Sahni, *Ibid.*, p. 11.
8. *Mahāvaṁsa*, 5, 79-80.
9. *Uttarpradesh Patrika*, June, 1983, Vol. 12, pp. 7-8.
10. D.R. Sahni, *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
11. V.A. Smith, *History of Fine Arts, India and Cylone*, p. 168.
12. B. Majumdar, *Guide to Sārnātha*, pp. 40-41.

opinion. Majumdar is of opinion that this word Dhamekh is derived from the Pali word dhamokh which means Dharmekshā in Sanskrit. However, it is still difficult to say whether this form represents the original name of the Stūpa. There is some epigraphic evidence throwing light on this name. A clay sealing, which was found during the excavations bears an inscription in the script of about 12th Century A.D. reading *Dhamāka Jayatu*, 'victory to the Dhamāka'. It shows that stūpa was once called Dhamāka, possibly traceable to the original Dharma Chakra. However, the final spot of the clay sealing is not recorded. Support is lent to this name by the inscription of Mahipāla dated A.D. 1026, which records the restoration of Dharmarājikā and the Dharmachakra obviously names of the two monumental stūpas of Sārnātha.[13]

The Dhamekh stūpa is a solid cylindrical tower, 28.50 meter in diameter at base and 33.53 meter in height or 42.06 meter including the foundations. The structure consists of a circular stone down to a height of 11.20 meter resting on the ground without the usual rectangular basement. The stones in each layer were bonded by means of iron clamps. Above this drum rises the cylindrical mass of brickwork. Halfway up the base are eight niches which must have held images; immediately below them runs a broad course of beautifully carved elaborate ornament with geometrical and floral patterns combined with birds and human figures. The carving seems to repeat the designs of the original cloth covering called devadushya which was offered to cover the entire body of the stūpa and was woven in a great variety of rich and beautiful pattern. This covering is considered to be a magnificent example of large scale surface decoration and shows the high achievement of Gupta workmen in designing most intricate scroll-pattern.

While its present stone facing with ornamental carving was put up about the Gupta period, the original stūpa was in mud and brick. While boring a shaft in the centre of the stūpa in the search of relics down to the foundations, Cunningham found remains of an earlier stūpa of Mauryan bricks. This might have been the stupa raised by Aśoka to mark the spot where Buddha gave its first sermon to the five monks. No bodily relics

13. V.S. Agrawal, *Sārnātha*, p. 11.



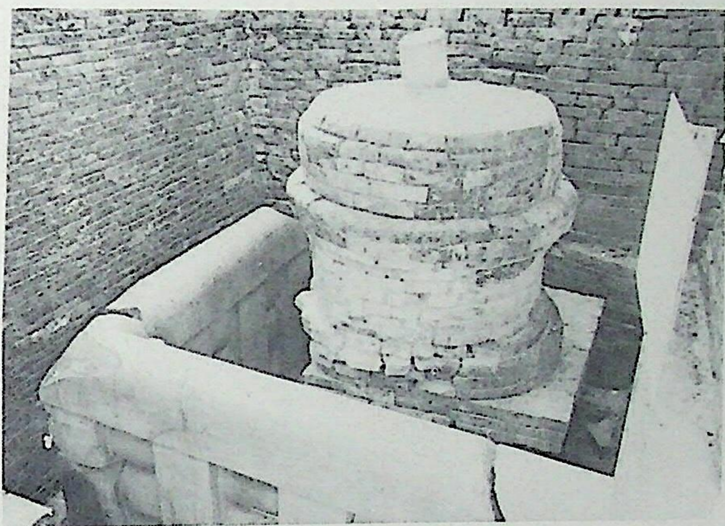


Plate - I
Gourtesy : A.I.I.S., Ramnagar, Varanasi



Plate - II
Gourtesy : A.I.I.S., Ramnagar, Varanasi

were found inside this stupa, but a slab with Buddha's creed *ye dhammā hetu-prabhava* etc. in the characters of the sixth-seventh Century was found about 91 cm below the top. This also points to its association with Buddha's dhamma.- (plate 2).

From its luxariant stonework, the monument seems to have considered by far the most important and sacred amongst the structures of Sārnātha.[14]

Smith had a very high opinion about the scroll pattern notice on this stūpa.[15] V.S. Agrawal[16] is of opinion that such type of scroll design are also referred in *Harṣa Carita* and *Kādambarī*.[17]

The third important stūpa of Sārnātha is Chaukhandi. This is a lofty brick structure crowned with an octagonal tower. The octagonal tower is a Mughal monument built by Govardhana, son of Raja Todarmal in 1588 A.D., when he was the governor under Emperor Akbar, to commemorate a visit of Humayun to this place for one day.[18] (plate 3) As to the Chaukhandi itself, the name seems to be an ancient one as shown by the excavations bringing to light a rectangular plinth with three rising square terraces above it. In 1835 A.D. Cunningham drove a vertical shaft in its centre, down to the foundation in search of a relic-chamber, but nothing was found inside. The outer walls of the terraces were provided with niches for statuary.

In 1904-05, Mr. F.O. Ortel re-examined Chaukhandi and unearthed a large number of sculptures and inscriptions. He was of opinion that the stūpa must have been about 200 ft. high. The three rising square terraces were of 12 ft. X 12 ft.

The Chinese traveller Huen-Tsang most probably refers about this very place when he refers about a stūpa which may have been 300 ft. high. However, now this stūpa is only about 84 ft. high.

---

14. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
15. V.A. Smith, *Ibid.*
16. V.S. Agrawal, *Gupta Art*, p. 40, plate 17.
17. *Harṣacarita*, p. 9, 127; *Kādambarī*, p. 12, 85, 116, 125.
18. V.S. Agrawal, *Sārnātha*, p. 15.

V.S. Agrawal, however, thinks that it may have been a temple of the Gupta period,[19] as ten sculptures of the Gupta period have been discovered from this place.

However, it is very much possible that the Chinese travellers have referred to this very monument as the biggest stūpa at that place.[20]



19. *Ibid,* p. 16.

20. A.H. Gails, *The Travels of Fahian,* 1959, p. 61; Watters, *On Chuang Travel of India,* 1961, p. 55.

TWO NEWLY DISCOVERED ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURES FROM NURPUR U.P. IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM COLLECTION

(Fresh Look at anthropomorphic Copper figures)

Dr. D.P. SHARMA & MADHURI SHARMA

Delhi

The Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard culture has been considered by some scholars as typical religious object.[1] Some scholars have associated this object as the deity of fertility.[2] The antiquity of this curious and distinctive object of human form may be assigned to the upper palaeolithic period as the view that the bone object of the Belan Valley is not of human shape but this is Harpoon, whereas Sankalia and G.R. Sharma on the basis of small object of the similar shape of bone datable 19000 B.C. has been reported from the Londananalla in Belan Valley Allahabad[3] and some scholars because of breasts and thick waist considered this figure as diety of fertility or mother goddess,[4] . The similar shape objects made of monolithic stone were found from South Indian Megalithic cultures sites (1000 B.C. old)[5], and also in the form of taurine or Nandipada symbol

---

1. P.L.Gupta 1980 Copper Hoard in India paper in Is Diffusion of Material Culture; Proc. of Seminar in Canberra and also published in 1974 in Asian and Pacific Archaeology Series No. 9 pp. 297-33 Manoa.
2. Pupul Jayakar 1982 *Aditi* exhibition catalogue p 89- London.
3. Madhuri Sharma 1981 G.R. Sharma Museum of Allahabad University in Journal of Indian Museum p. 161 1991, New Delhi.
4. a. S.P. Gupta 1982 The Alleged upper Palaeolithic Bone Mother Goddess from Belan in *PURATATTVA 11.* p. 116 ed K.N. Dikshit, New Delhi.

   b. G.R. Sharma 1980 History to Prehistory : Archaeology of Ganga Valley and Vindhyas Allahabad, India.

   c. H.D. Sankalia 1980 Prehistoric Art of India, Bombay.

   d. H.D. Sankalia 1974 Prehistory India & Pakistan, Bombay.
5. a. B.Narasimhiah 1980 Neolithic and Megalithic Cultures in Tamil Nadu, New Delhi.

   b. M. Postel 1989 *The ear ornament of Ancient India* p. 196 Bombay.

(Bull head) of terracotta during Indus Valley period (2700-2100 B.C.),[6] During early historic period the Anthropomorphic forms of taurine symbol of stone/clay or Metal were reported from many localities of India[7] (fig. 4). Copper Amulet of Anthropomorphic shape datable to1000 B.C. from the locality of Bihar is now in private collection of Pupul-Jayakar New Delhi.[8] As a matter of fact Anthropomorphic figure of metal still exists in the form of '*Shani*' god in north-west India[9] and also as the local god of *Birkhuar* tribe of Bihar.[10] What is interesting is the fact that this type of object of copper has not been found so far from any other ancient sites of Bronze age culture outside India.

All the Anthropomorphic figure made of copper of copper hoard period (2000-1200 B.C.) are highly geometrical in shape, however one found from the locality of Bihar is the only exception. The uppermost thick circular part of this object is like a human head. Its each forearm makes almost an incurved circle and the outer edges of which are sharp. The two legs of this figure make an angle of 90^0 approximate at their Joint but in some cases it forms the curve. The trunk of the object resembling a human body, is concave at both sides. Its thickness decreases from the head towards the legs. The two shoulders are quite prominent.

These objects were found in Chance discovery and only exception is one found at Lothal from a well stratified deposit of 1900 B.C.[11] Another

---

6. a. Madhuri Sharma: 1989, *Taurine Symbol,* paper in *EAR-ORNAMENT'S OF ANCIENT INDIA* by M. Postel p. 191. Bombay.

   b. D.P. Sharma: *Some rare Indus Valley terracotta in National Museum collection,* paper rad in the *SEMINAR OF INDIAN TERRACOTTA ART* held from 23-24 March at Patna, India.

7. M. Postel 1989 ,*Ibid.*

8. Pupul Jayakar 1982, *Ibid.*

9. K.N. Dikshit 1968 *The Copper Hoard in the light of recent discoveries* paper in *BULLETIN OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY NO. 11,* Sagar, India.

10. M. Postal 1989 p. 196.

11. a. S.R. Rao 1979 *Lothal a Harappan port town,*New Delhi.

    b.S.R. Rao 1958 Excavation at Lothal I.A.R. 1957-58 p. 12-13, Excavation at Lothal I.A.R., 71-73, p. 35, New Delhi.

    c. S.R. Rao 1973 *Lothal and Indus Valley civilization, London.*

Harpoon figure of copper hoard found at Saipai in District Etawah in Uttar Pradesh was also found by chance.[12] However when the same spot (Saipai) was excavated, a few more impliments of copper hoard culture and O.C.P. Sherds came to light from the well stratified deposit.[13] It is for this reason that the copper hoard impliments from Saipai can be safely associated with the stratified deposit. On the basis of the O.C.P. Sherds at the same deposit and these copper impliments can tentatively be dated in the first half of 2nd millennium B.C. So far Nineteen Anthropomorphic figures of copper have been reported in which 16 are from the middle and upper Ganga Yamuna *doab* in U.P. and the remaining ones are from Bihar, Indus region and Gujarat. Based on these findings middle and upper Ganga Yamuna *doab* in U.P. is rightly called the place of their origin. The figures categorised on the basis of their sizes and shape, mainly fall into three varieties :-

TYPE I : Fashioned out from thick metal this stocky Anthropomorphic figure has long arms but short legs. The trunk portion

---

12. a. B.B. Lal 1972 *A note on the excavation at Saipai* in *PURATATTVA NO. 5* and also I.A.R., 71-72 pp. 46-49 and I.A.R. 70-71, New Delhi.

 b. B.B. Lal 1972 *Copper Hoard Culture of the Ganga Valley ANTIQUITY 46* p. 282-287.

 c. R.C. Agarwal 1981 *Fresh light on the O.C.P. from Rajasthan* in Nagaraja Rao M.S. (ed) MADHU : New Delhi.

 d. Krishna Kumar 1991 *The copper Hoard O.C.P. Culture in the Mid Ganga Valley* An appraisal in the light of New Discoveries; paper in *INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE SH. K.V. SOUNDARAJAN FELICITATION VOLUME* Ed. C. Marg abandhu, p. 156, New Delhi.

 e. Krishna Kumar *The Religious life of O.C.P. People* : A Reconstruction, *16th Annual Conference of the Indian Archaeological Society* 1984 Guhati (Press). India.

 f. R.C. Gaur 1983 *Excavation at Atranjikhera: Early civilization of the upper Ganga Valley* pp. 23 and 458, New Delhi.

 g. R.C. Gaur, 1973 *Lal Quila excavation and the O.C.P. problem* paper in *RADIOCARBON AND INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY*, p. 156, fi 2 Bombay.

 h. The occurrence of the O.C.P. and copper hoard implements namely the celts, chisels ring etc at Ganeshwaras Jodhpur leave no doubt that the Ganeshwar Jodhpur stratified deposit represents an early phase of copper Hoard and O.C.P. culture ,cf. *Agarwal R.C. 1981* p. 79. *ibid.*

13. Krishna Kumar1991 p. 157 *ibid.*

is short in size. The front and the back of this figure bears prominent vertical and slanting chisel marks. The upper part of the head is mostly thick (Riomond) but there are few examples with the thin head also. The height of type I ranges from 23.2 to 24.1 cm and their means come to 23.81 cm. The average mean weight of type-I is 1260 gm. In all nine figure of this type-I have come to light from the localities north west U.P. and one figure of this type is from Lothal. These Anthropomorphic figures of type-I were found from the following localities : - 2 from Nurpur,[14] 1 from Kiratpur,[15] 1 from Lothal,[16] 1 from Bissauli,[17] 1 from Etawah,[18] 1 from Targawa (Etawah)[19] 1 from Unknown locality in Etawah[20] district U.P. and 1 from Indus region now in Brooklyn Museum U.S.A.[21]

TYPE II : Another type-II of Anthropomorphic figure is longer than above mentioned type-I. It has short arms and long legs and its trunk portion is also comparatively longer than the type -I mentioned above. All figures of this type-II have thick heads (Rimond) which shows the curious and distinctive thickening of metal of the upper margin of head. The section of arm is triangular and two arms are circled inwards. The legs and trunks are in rectangular in cross-section. The figure bears vertical chisel marking. The height of the type II ranges from 30.2 to 47.9 cm and its mean is 39.19 cm. The weight of type II varies from 3000 to 6000 gms and its average mean is 4500 gm. In all we have nine specimens of type II and most of these were discovered near the river Ganga in Kanpur and its adjoining region

---

14. D.P. Sharma *Two newly discovered Anthropomorphic figure from Nurpur* (Bijnor), In Press.
15. R.C. Gaur 1981 *One more copper hoard from the Ganga Basin and a Reassesment of the Problem* in *Festschrift M.N. DESPANDE (MADHU)* p. 73-74 ed. M.S. Nagaju Rao, New Delhi.
16. S.R. Rao1973 Ebid.
17. B.B. Lal1951 *Further copper hoard from the Gangetic basis and a review of the problem* paper in *ANCIENT INDIA no.* 7 pp. 20-39, New Delhi
18. P.L. Gupta1980 op. cit.
19. ibid.
20. ibid.
21. a. D.K. Chakrabarti 1977 *An Anthropomorph in the Brooklyn Museum New York* in *MAN AND ENVIRONMENT vol. 1977* Poona. India.

of lower-middle doab of U.P. The Anthropomorphic figures of type II were reported from the following sites : 2 from Bissauli,[22] 1 - from Chandausi,[23] 1 from Fatehgarh,[24] 1 fragment from Ambala,[25] 3 from Shiv-Rajpur district Kanpur,[26] and one from unknown provinance of U.P. now in private collection of Bombay.[27] The Anthropomorphic figure from Fatehgarh U.P. now in Indian Museum Calcutta differs in shape with the other figure of type II.

Anthropomorphic Figure In National Museum:

The National Museum of India has only one Anthropomorphic figure (A.C.C. 66. 1-88) in its collection and this belongs to type II. This was found in a chance discovery from Chandausi, Moradabad, U.P. It has short arms but long legs. The upper part of this figure is intact but the two legs are broken and the figure is in three piece. The length from leg to head comes to 45 cms. and width from arm to arm is 38 cms. The measurement of its trunk protion is 26x24 cms and the head with a convex margin on its top is thick (Riomond). On the top of head there is well pronounced convex ridge. The upper portion of head is thickest and the thickness near the ridge is 2.5 cm. The head measures 14x10 cms and its thickness is 1.5 cm and it decreases towards arms and trunk. The thickness furthermore decreases towards lower part of the figure and is only 0.5 cm near the joints of two legs. The distinctive (more) thickening of this figure on the upper portion (head) and less thickness on lower part (legs) is curious.

The two forearms of this figure are incurved and sharpened on the outer edge but its inner edge is comparatively thicker. The thickness of arms decreases

---

22. a. B.B. Lal *op. cit.*
    b. Muller Korpe H 1980 *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte* IV pl. 564 A. 3 Munich.
23. S.P. Gupta 1986, Copper Hoard in National Museum New Delhi in PURATATTAVA No. 16 New Delhi.
24. P. Yule1982, *Metal work of the bronze age in India*, Munich.
25. Ebid.
26. S.P. Gupta1963, The Indian Copper Hoards etc. *JOURNAL OF BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY 49*, 1963 p. 147. Patna India.
27. Pupul Jayakar *op. cit.*

from the shoulders towards its end. The distances from the shoulder to the outer two arms is 13.5 cm and from inner arm only 3.5 cm. The end portion of two arm's is fragile and has some impression of carbon black. Present Anthropomorphic figure had been under worship and devotees were offering and burning lamps in front of this object and thus carbon black was deposited on the arms. It confirms that this figure had been under worship in the form of *Shani* or any other god. The outer edges of the arms have some use marks, which were formed because of some sacrificial object were cut by the sharp edge of arms. The used marks were not examined by the microwear or experiment analysis, so at present stage nothing definite can be said about the purpose of these usemarks. The section of arms are triangular and facing most acute angle. The arms are comparatively thinner than other parts of figure and also have slanting chisel marks on both sides. The trunk portion of body is of human shape and its two side edges are concave which also has use marks on its outer edge. The Trunk portion is flat on both sides and has chisel marks on both faces. The two legs of this figure are flat and straight and makes 90' angle with each other. The joint portion of legs has a very small concave depression. The length of triangular leg is 20 cm. The leg and trunk portion are rectangular in cross-section. The side edge of legs are straight with minute depression in middle. The two legs are in two pieces and left legs has some cut marks at two places and its some portion is missing. Dashes, (Chisel marks) are lengthwise over the arms and also on trunk but are oriented oblique on the legs. This figure has been expanded by beating of hammer. Anthropomorphic figure was first cast and in second stage was hammered and flattened. This figure has some resemblance ANTHROMORPHIC FIGURES FROM NURPUR with the other anthropomorphic figures one from Bissauli now in Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi, and also with three from Shivarajpur now in state museum collection Lucknow.

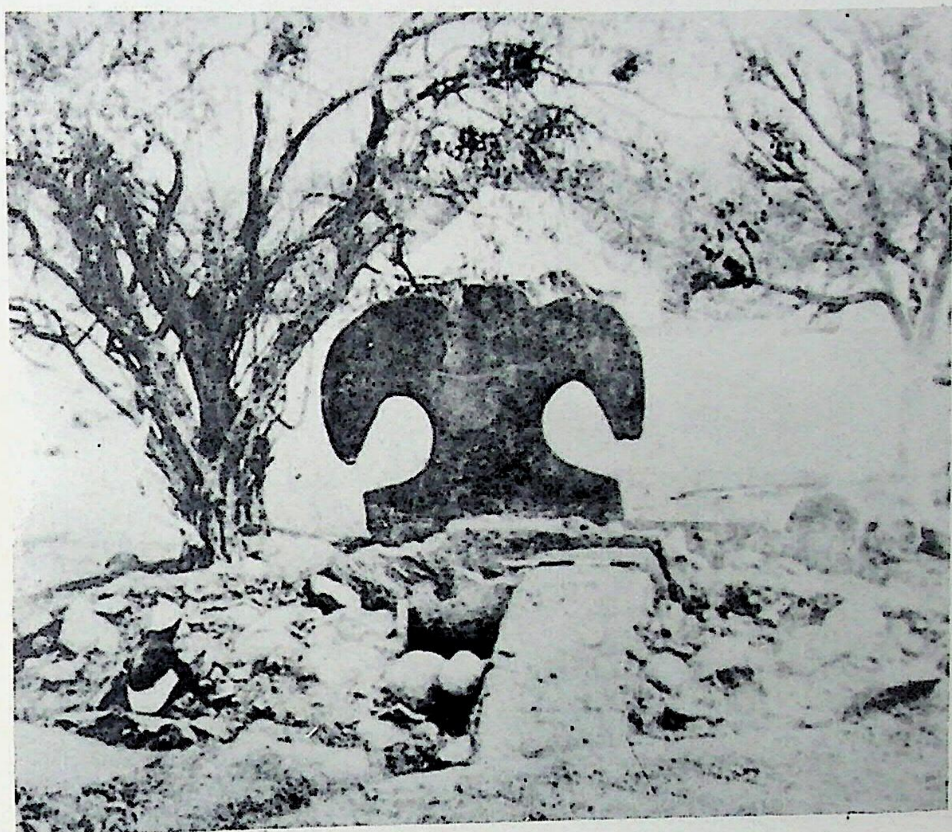
TYPE III : The Anthropomorphic figure of type III has proportiontely broader and circular head and its body is thicker than the above mentioned two types and appears to be more archaic. It is not of true geometrical shape. Its short legs are rather straight and this type seems to be a very crude and rough cast. There is deep indentation on its upper extremity. In this figure male organ is also depicted. Only this one figure has been found so far from the locality Manbhum, district Dhanbad (Bihar)



Yaksha, Stone from Pitalkhora,
200 B C Old, National Museum of India, New Delhi



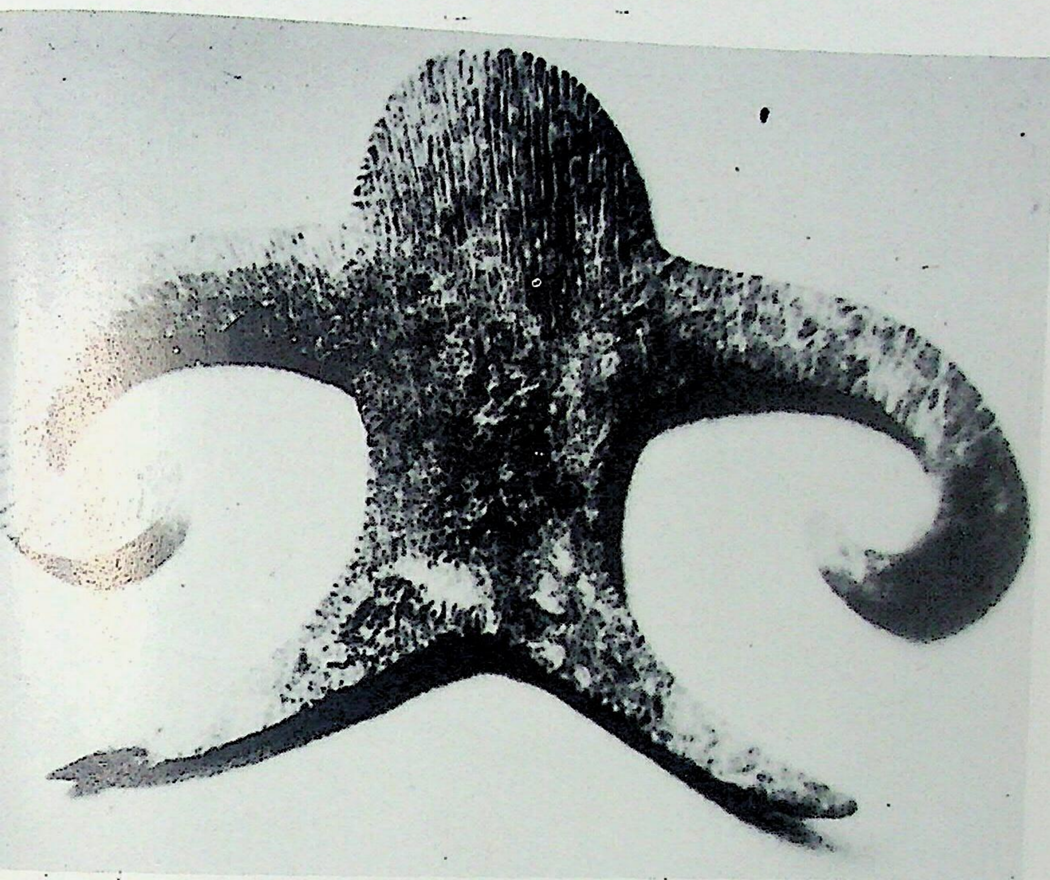
Copper Anthropomorphic Figure
Type I 2000 B C Nurpur I, Chisti Collection



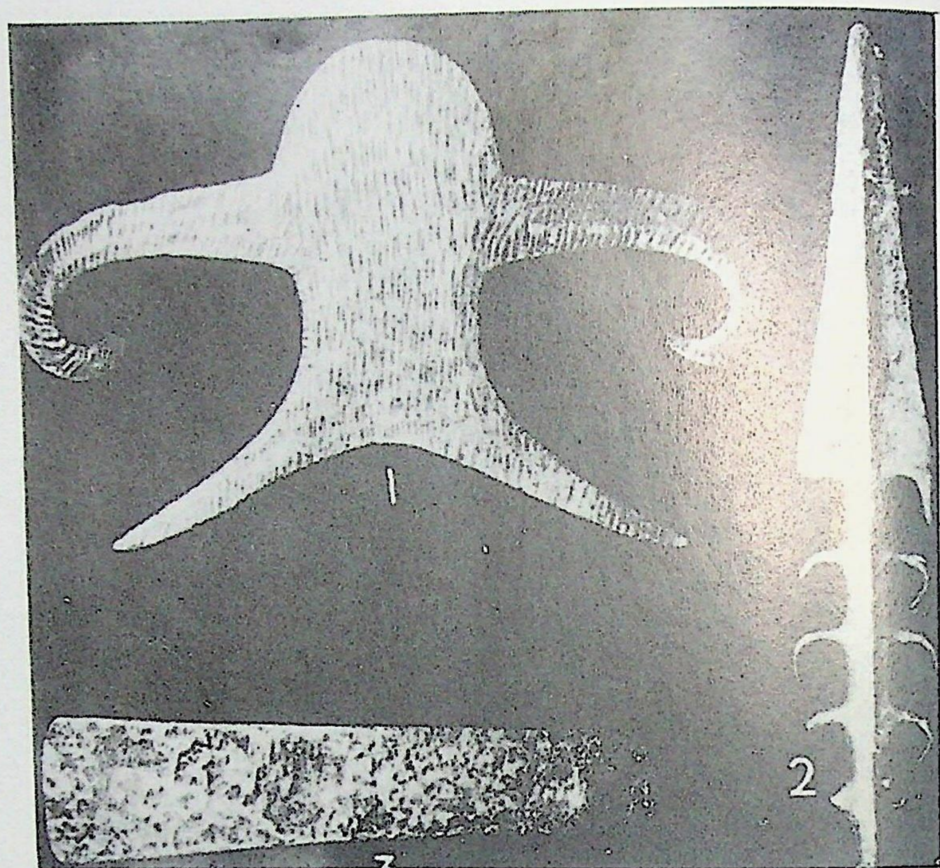
Stone Anthropomorphic Figure
1000 B C Old Mattur, South India, Meghalithic Culture, A.S.I. Collection



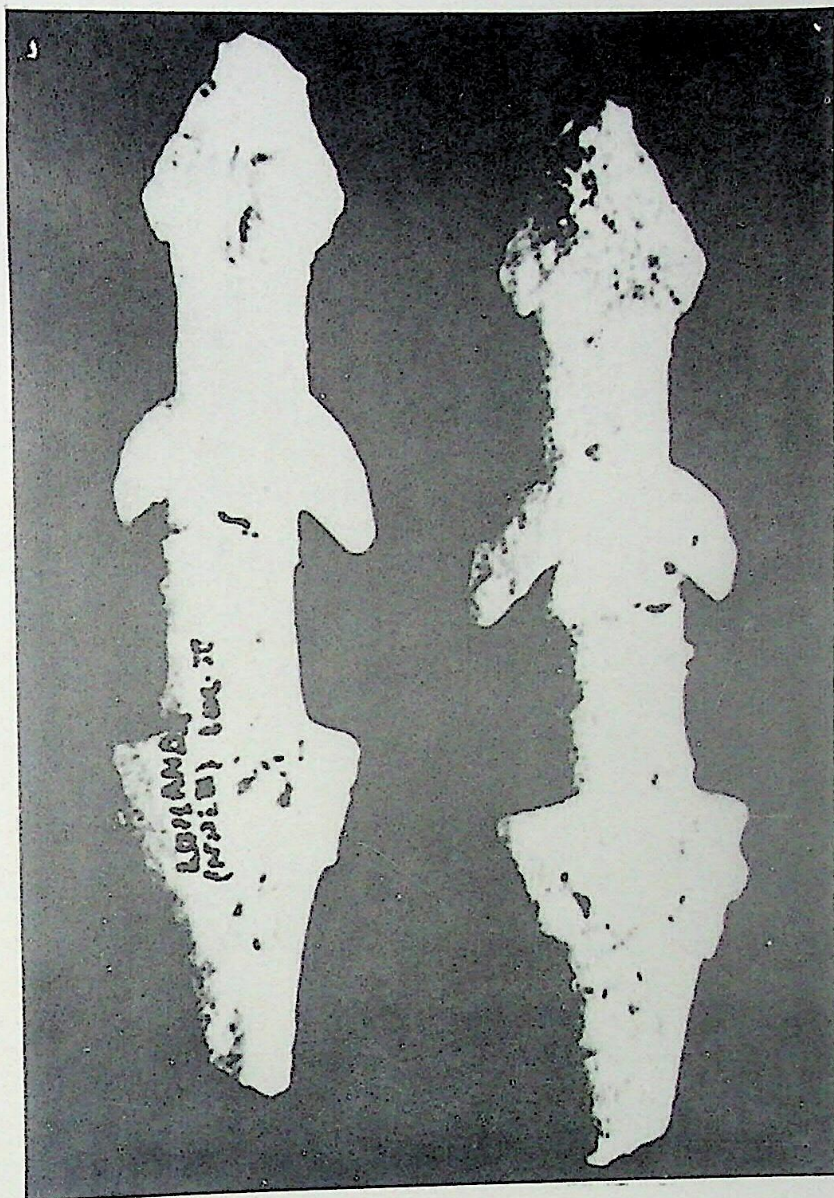
Copper Anthropomorphic Figure
2000 B C Old type II Chandausi (Moradabad)
U.P. North India Copper Hoard Culture, National Museum
New Delhi, India (Acc. no. 66.188)



Copper Anthropomorphic Figure
2000 B C Nurpur II Chisti Collection



Copper Anthropomorphic Figure
Type I 2000 B C Old Bissauli, U.P.



Bone Anthropomorphic Shape Harpoon,
18000 B C, Belan Valley Allahabad, India
G.R. Sharma Museum, Allahabad University, Allahabad

which is exhibited in Patna Museum.[28] The measurement of this figure is 16.9 x 14.5 x 1.3 cm and its weight is 1230 grammes. Dr. P.K. Agarwal called this figure to be Triratna,[29] whereas present authors have named it as archaic form of taurine and Nandipad symbol and are of the opinion that this object of Patna Museum can be excluded from the other group of copper hoard implements. This is not a true Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard culture.

The Two Anthropomorphic Figures From Nurpur

In August 1990, Mr. Tarique Ahmad Quadari Chisti, from Amroha, district Moradabad, U.P., who had earlier sold a few copper hoards to the National Museum,[30] again brought two newly discovered Anthropomorphic figures and other weapons of copper for sale to the National Museum. The present author (D.P.S.) after examining concluded that the objects were interesting and also of great antique value. They are found in chance discovery from the locality Nurpur, district, Moradabad (U.P.) and both belong to type I variety of Anthropomorphic figures.

The first Anthropomorphic figure of Mr. Chisti's collection belongs to type-I i.e. long arms and short legs variety The second Anthropomorphic figure from Nurpur was also a chance discovery (now in Mr. Chisti's collection). This figure is comparatively smaller in size than the above first one discovered from Nurpur. Its length and breadth are 19 cm and 28 cm, respectively. The head is rather smaller in size than the above I, and the arms are less incurved. The remaining morphological features are similar with former one. The distance between its two arms and shoulder are un-equal. The end portion of legs are straight, whereas they are pointed in the former one. The technology is comparatively crude than the first.

Beside these two Anthropomorphic figures, Mr. Chisti in January 1991 suddenly turned up in the National Museum and showed us 117 copper hoard impliments and he desired to know the importance and wished to sell these

---

28. P. Yule 1982 ,ibid.
29. P.K. Agarwal 1978 *A Prehistoric Anthropomorphic figure in Patna Museum* Paper in *PURATATTAVA no. I* P. 96, New Delhi.
30. S.P. Gupta 1986 Op. cit.

which is exhibited in Patna Museum.[28] The measurement of this figure is 16.9 x 14.5 x 1.3 cm and its weight is 1230 grammes. Dr. P.K. Agarwal called this figure to be Triratna,[29] whereas present authors have named it as archaic form of taurine and Nandipad symbol and are of the opinion that this object of Patna Museum can be excluded from the other group of copper hoard implements. This is not a true Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard culture.

The Two Anthropomorphic Figures From Nurpur

In August 1990, Mr. Tarique Ahmad Quadari Chisti, from Amroha, district Moradabad, U.P., who had earlier sold a few copper hoards to the National Museum,[30] again brought two newly discovered Anthropomorphic figures and other weapons of copper for sale to the National Museum. The present author (D.P.S.) after examining concluded that the objects were interesting and also of great antique value. They are found in chance discovery from the locality Nurpur, district, Moradabad (U.P.) and both belong to type I variety of Anthropomorphic figures.

The first Anthropomorphic figure of Mr. Chisti's collection belongs to type-I i.e. long arms and short legs variety The second Anthropomorphic figure from Nurpur was also a chance discovery (now in Mr. Chisti's collection). This figure is comparatively smaller in size than the above first one discovered from Nurpur. Its length and breadth are 19 cm and 28 cm, respectively. The head is rather smaller in size than the above I, and the arms are less incurved. The remaining morphological features are similar with former one. The distance between its two arms and shoulder are un-equal. The end portion of legs are straight, whereas they are pointed in the former one. The technology is comparatively crude than the first.

Beside these two Anthropomorphic figures, Mr. Chisti in January 1991 suddenly turned up in the National Museum and showed us 117 copper hoard impliments and he desired to know the importance and wished to sell these

---

28. P. Yule 1982 ,ibid.
29. P.K. Agarwal 1978 *A Prehistoric Anthropomorphic figure in Patna Museum* Paper in *PURATATTAVA no. 1* P. 96, New Delhi.
30. S.P. Gupta 1986 Op. cit.

to the museum. These impliments were examined by the author and Mr. Chisti claimed he had located these impliments from the various localities of upper doab in U.P. The detail reports of these 117 impliments will be published elsewhere. These objects include 6 big Hooked Sword of middle doab type, 14 antennae swords of Sahabad type and few of Mehasana & Kallur type, 9 Harppon, in which one has large number of barb's on each side of blade, 25 flat celts, 2 shoulder celts, 6 bar celts, 2 weed chisel, 3 chisel and lot of 50 rings. Some of these objects are rare and have of great archaeological value.

In January 1991 a gentleman Pramod Puri of Delhi brought 22 copper hoard impliments for sale in National Museum. In Mr. Puri's collection two lugged axes with a rectangular flat lugg's on each side are fashioned from a thick metal sheet. It is a complete one piece and has a coating of green and grey patina. The length and breadth of this object is 31 and 24 cm respectively. The head portion is the thickest and the circular portion taper towards legs. Head is not Rimond and does not have the ridge on top. The topmost portion of head bears saw and chisel marks. The head is .8 cm thick on top but in middle, its thickness is .7 to .6 cm.

The two forearms of this figure are incurved and have sharp outer working edge. Its inner edge is comparatively thicker than the outer edge. The distances from the joint of shoulder to their outer and inner edge are 12 and 5.5 cms respectively. The thickness of arms decreases towards the end. The cross section of two arms are triangular and facing acute angle towards outward side. They bear slanting chisel marks on both the sides. The middle portion is of short human trunk shape and both side edges are concave. The middle portion is flat and its thickness is equal from topmost portion upto the joint of legs. It has vertical chisel marks on both sides. Its triangular shape legs are flat and straight and form 12^0 angle with each other. The outer edge of leg has a very little curve. It is very interesting to note that the dash chisel marks are lengthwise on its head and arms but they are oriented oblique to the length. This figure was first cast, and flattened by hammer beating. The figure has some resemblance with the other four Anthropomorphic figures:

acquired one from Nurpur (now in Mr. Chisti's collection), one from Bissauli (now in Allahabad Museum collection).[31] and third one from unknown province (now in Brocklyn Museum, U.S.A.[32]). The Anthropomorphic figures are typical religious objects. Anthropomorphic figure has some resemblance with the shape of *Nandipada* or Taurine symbol or Ancient Brahmi Script letter *Ma*.[33] The Anthropomorphic shape *Nandipada* symbol had been found in Indian art from the Indus Valley period (circa, 2700 to 2100 B.C.) to early Historic period and continued even in modern time.[34] Nandipada of Anthropomorphic shape was noticed in the form of human faced bead with its curved legs in the large neclace of *Yaksha* from Pitalkhora (Ist C.B.C. old) (fig. 14) now exhibited in National Museum[35] and in the form of earring of *Yaksha* from Kausambi now housed in Lucknow Museum[36] and also as bead in the necklace of Yakshi from Bharhut now in Indian Museum.[37] *Gomukha* or *Nandi-Mukha* made of thin silver was reported from Gungeria, M.P. also has some resemblance with the Anthropomorphic figure and these objects are dated around 1500 B.C.[38] The *Nandipada* symbol is a auspicious symbol and had been frequently noticed in Anthropomorphic form or in form of Brahmi letter *Ma* in early Indian art. In the Anthropomorphic form of *Nandi-pada* arms are absent and legs are incurved like the legs of some Anthropomorphic figure. The possibility of origin of Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard from the *Nandipada* symbol cannot be denied, because *Nandi-pada*

---

31. B.B. Lal1951, *op. cit.*
32. D.K. Chakraborti1977, *op. cit.*
33. M. Postel1989 ,*op. cit.*
34. Ibid.
35. a. S.P. Gupta1984 *Masterpieces in the National Museum Collection* ,New Delhi.
    b. M.N. Deshpande 1959 *The rock cut cave of Pitalkhora in Deccan* in *ANCIENT INDIA NO. 15* p. 66-93, New Delhi.
    c. P. Chandra 1986 The Sculpture of India 3000 B.C. - 1300 AD P. 11 Washington DC, USA.
36. R.N. Misra 1981 *Yaksh Cult and iconography*, fig 48 New Delhi.
37. M.Postel 1989 *op. cit.*
38. a. Bloomfield 1970 *Extraordinary finds of Indian copper implements* (sax mandham Suffolic).b. Shama D.P. Fresh look of copper hoard of Gungaria paper read in the conference of *M.P. INDIA ITHIHAS PARISAD* 1991 Bilaspur (Press).

symbol has very old antiquity (2700 B.C.). This makes our view strong that Anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard and *Nandipada* symbol can be linked with some cult or auspicious object or good omen. In Northern India Anthropomorphic figure shape tiny metal objects are still worshiped in the form of *Shani* God and the devotee offers oil and coins on this object and they believe that by doing such act this *Shani* God will remove effect of bad happenings. Dr. K.N.Dikshit has rightly suggested that Anthropomorphic figures of copper hoard culture are cult object and the present worship of *Shani* God of this shape shows continuous tradition.[39] Therefore there are sufficient ground to describe this object as cult or auspicious or *Mangal* object rather than a missile weapon. The arms and sharp side edges of this figure are probably meant for cutting sacrificial animal or human flesh. A group of scholars and present authors are however of the opinion that the use of such heavy object as a missile is practically not only difficult but is inconvenient too; secondly innovation of such type of missile weapon by the ancient copper hoard people of that age was beyond the reach of their mind and such type of missile have not been reported from any of contemporary bronze age site of world.[40] Dr. Krishna Kumar is of the view that Anthropomorphic figure had been worshipped in the form of Vedic god Indra.[41] In south East Asia Anthropomorphic figure is still being used by local

39. a. K.N. Dikshit 1968 op. cit.

b. Lal M. Srivastava 1984 *Settlement History and Rise of Civilization in Ganga Yamuna Doab*, New Delhi.

40. a. D.P. Agarwal 1984 *The problem of copper hoards* : A *Technological* ; angle paper in *ASIAN PERSPECTIVES* Vol. 12 1969 p. 113-114.

b. D.P. Agarwal 1971 *Copper Bronze Age in India* ,p. 205,New Delhi.

c. D.P. Agarwal 1982 *The Indian bronze age culture and their metal technology* advance paper in *WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY* p. 213-264.

d. D.P. Agarwal 1970, *Metal Technology of the Indian Proto historic Culture* : Its *Archaeological implication* in *PURATTAVA* No. 3 1969-70 p. 15-22, Varanasi.

e. G.N. Pant 1978, Indian Arm's and Armour ,Vol. I, New Delhi.

f. H.D. Sankalia 1974 *Pre and Proto history of India and Pakistan*, Bombay,

g. D.P. Sharma 1969, *op. cit.*

41. Kumar Krishna *The copper Anthropomorphs* : A New identification; paper presented at the 19th Annual conference of the *Indian Archaeological Society held in 1987*, Sagar. India.

tribes to symbolize their ancestor.[42]

The Anthropomorphic figure was also noticed in the mesolithic period in paintings of Bhim-betka,[43] and also in the neolithic period painting of Itally Mangolia[44] and in Megnalithic burial of South India.[45] A Anthropomorphic shape of *Nandipada* of Terracotta was reported from Mohenjodaro.[46] Bone figure of upper palaeolithic period (18000 B.C.) found at Londananala in Belan Valley (Allahabad) is not a mother goddess or Harpoon but is Archaic form of Anthropomorphic figure.[47]

All above evidences confirm that the objects of Anthropomorphic shape were existing in India during Pre- and Post- copper hoard period. Thus it is clear that Anthropomorphic figure found during copper hoard culture in both eastern and western group has very early antiquity. Anthropomorphic figure in Bone was prevailing since upper palaeolithic period and continued during mesolithic, Indus valley period, during copper hoard period and post copper hoard period and is prevailing in modern Bhikur tribe of Bihar. Thus it is clear that Anthropomorphic figure of copper does not belong to any group of copper hoard culture. This has local indigenous pre copper hoard period old antiquity perhaps up to upper palaeolithic period.

Anthropomorphic shape clay hearth datable to 1500 B.C. which partly resembles in shape with the tourine (and Nandipada) or anthropomorphic figure of copper hoard culture of India, is reported from early bronze age excavated sites of Transcausia, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Georgia (Amiranis Gora), Armenia (U.S.S.R.) Kultepe in

---

42. D.P. Sharma 1989, *op. cit.*
43. V.S. Wakankar 1976 , *Stone Age Painting in India*, Bombay.
44. M. Tossi1990 Neolithic culture of Mangolia talk in Tibet house, New Delhi (Press).
45. B. Narasimhaiah 1980 , *op. cit.*
46. M. Postel1989, *op. cit.*
47. a. S.P. Gupta1982, *op. cit.*
    b. Rakesh Tiwari1986, *Harpoon from Mirzapur* in *DHYANAM* No. 5 & 6, Lucknow (Hindi), India.

Azerbaidzhan (fig. 19).[48]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors are thankful to Professor V.D. Mishra of Allahabad University and also to R.R. Singh Chauhan Keeper Publication for the valuable suggestion and encouragement for writing this paper.



---

48. N.A. Beregovaia1966, *Contribution to Archaeology of Soviet Union,* Cambridge U.S.A.

पूर्वमध्यकालीन उत्तर भारत में नूपुर की परम्परा

डॉ० रेनूबाला

अत्यन्त प्राचीनकाल से विश्व के सभी देशों एवं सभ्यताओं में आभूषण धारण करने की परम्परा विद्यमान रही है। भारतीय परम्परा में विभिन्न प्रकार से आभूषणों के साथ सौभाग्यसूचक चिह्न के रूप में नूपुर का भी विशिष्ट स्थान है। नूपुर एड़ी और पैर के पंजे पर धारण किये जाने वाले विभिन्न प्रकार के आभूषणों का सामान्य नाम है। नूपुर की व्युत्पत्ति संस्कृत भाषा से हुई मानी जाती है। वर्तमान समय में यह पायल नाम से प्रचलित है, जो फारसी शब्द पायजेब का हिन्दी रूपान्तर है। किसी भी प्रकार की पायल को उड़िया में पाउजी कहा जाता है। राजस्थान में इसे नेवरी कहते हैं। साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में पायल के विभिन्न प्रकार जैसे मणिनूपुर, किंकणी, मंजीर, पादघर्घरिका, पादकटक, रढाका, हंसक, यौवत्रनूपुर आदि का उल्लेख मिलता है। इनमें से विभिन्न प्रकार के पादाभूषणों की पहचान कुषाणकालीन मूर्तिशिल्प में भी की जा सकती है।[1] परन्तु इनमें से कुछ आभूषणों का प्रचलन गुप्तकाल या उसके बाद में हुआ। पुरुषों की अपेक्षा स्त्रियाँ इस आभूषण से अधिक प्रभावित थीं जो समकालीन आभिलेखिक साक्ष्यों से भी सम्पुष्ट है।[2] प्रतिमा विज्ञान की दृष्टि से अलक्तकरंगे पैरों में नूपुर पार्वती का प्रातमिक लक्षण बताया गया है।[3]

प्रस्तुत शोध–पत्र में पूर्वमध्यकालीन उत्तर भारत के पूर्वी और पश्चिमी क्षेत्रों की ज्ञात प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित पादाभूषणों (पायल) का परस्पर तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करने की चेष्टा की गयी है। इसी के अन्तर्गत कालक्रमानुसार आभूषण का विकास–क्रम भी प्रस्तुत किया गया है। नूपुर या पायल के अन्तर्गत साहित्य में वर्णित एवं मूर्तिशिल्प में प्रदर्शित पादाभूषणों को समन्वयात्मक विश्लेषण के आधार पर इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है–

मणिनूपुर - विभिन्न प्रकार के रत्न एवं मणियों से जटित नूपुर मणिनूपुर के नाम से ज्ञात हैं। साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में प्रायः स्त्रियों के सन्दर्भ में ही मणिनूपुर धारण करने की बात कही गयी है। परन्तु मूर्तिशिल्प में पुरुष–प्रतिमाओं में भी इसका स्पष्ट अंकन है। मणिनूपुर की परम्परा सम्भवतः गुप्तकाल से आरम्भ हुई।[4] शुंग या कुषाणकाल की प्रतिमाओं में इस प्रकार

---

१. नीलकण्ठ पुरुषोत्तम जोशी : लाइफ इन एन्शियेण्ट उत्तरापथ, वाराणसी, १६६७, पृ० २१६, २२१

२. विनायक मिश्र : उड़ीसा अण्डर दि भौम किंग्स, कलकत्ता, १६३४, पृ० ६५.

३. दीनबन्धु पाण्डेय : हिन्दू देव प्रतिमा विज्ञान, वाराणसी, १६७८ पृ०, ४७

४. राय गोविन्द चन्द्र : वैदिक युग में भारतीय आभूषण, वाराणसी, १६६५, परिशिष्ट ८, पृ० १३२.

के उदाहरण प्रायः ज्ञात नहीं हैं। साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों के अन्तर्गत **हर्षचरित** (७वीं शताब्दी)[५] स्थाणीश्वर की कुलीन स्त्रियों के सन्दर्भ में इन्द्रनील के नूपुर धारण करने का उल्लेख है। **मानसोल्लास**[६] में (११३१ शताब्दी ई०) विभिन्न रत्नों से जड़ित इस प्रकार के पादाभूषण को पादचूड़क की संज्ञा दी है। राजशेखर ने **कर्पूरमंजरी** द्वारा धारित इस प्रकार की पायल इन्द्रनील से जटित बतायी है।[७]

पूर्वी क्षेत्र के मूर्ति शिल्प में कुछ देव–प्रतिमाओं के अतिरिक्त प्रायः स्त्री–प्रतिमाओं में ही मणिजटित पायल दर्शायी गयी है। उदाहरणार्थ भुवनेश्वर के वेतालदेउल मन्दिर (८वीं शताब्दी) की अप्सरा की मूर्ति (रे० वि०१) में प्रदर्शित पायल वर्तुल मणियों से आवेष्टित है। राजारानी मन्दिर (१०वीं शताब्दी) की शालभंजिका की प्रतिमा में भी इस प्रकार की पायल दर्शायी गयी है। बंगाल से ज्ञात (१०वीं शताब्दी) विष्णु प्रतिमा[८] में पैर के पंजे पर सुशोभित पायल मणियों की दोहरी पंक्तियों से आवेष्टित हैं।

११वीं शताब्दी की प्रतिमाओं में मणिनूपुर की पूर्व परम्परा के साथ कुछ परिवर्तन भी परिलक्षित हैं जैसे बंगाल से प्राप्त सद्योजात शिव के साथ पार्वती प्रतिमा (रे०वि० २)[९] में मणिजड़ित पायल अपेक्षाकृत स्थूल दर्शायी गयी है। इसके मध्य भाग में एक चतुर्भुजी रेखाकृति भी बनी है।

कलकत्ता के इण्डियन म्यूजियम में सुरक्षित बंगाल से प्राप्त (१२वीं शताब्दी) ब्रह्मा की प्रतिमा[१०] में पंजे पर सुशोभित पायल का ऊपरी भाग साधारण तथा निचला भाग रत्नजटित दर्शाया गया है जबकि बिहार से ज्ञात विष्णु–प्रतिमा[११] में प्रदर्शित पायल अपेक्षाकृत चौड़ी बनी है। इसके मध्य भाग में जटित मणियों के साथ ज्यामितीय अलंकरण भी दर्शाया गया है।

पश्चिमी क्षेत्र की प्रतिमाओं में मणिनूपुर की परम्परा सम्भवतः ९वीं–१०वीं शताब्दी से आरम्भ हुई । इनमें अधिकांश उदाहरण अलंकरण की दृष्टि से पूर्वी क्षेत्र के समान ही हैं। खजुराहो के लक्ष्मण मन्दिर के मूल प्रासाद के प्रदक्षिणापथ में उत्कीर्ण (९५३–५४ शताब्दी ई०) महेश्वरी आदि की मूर्तियों में प्रदर्शित मणिजटित पायल का अलंकरण पूर्वी क्षेत्र की परम्परा के अनुरूप ही है।

---

५. एम० के० धवलीकरः **अजन्ता - ए कल्चरल स्टडी**, पूना १९७३, फलक २२ चित्र १६, पृ० ७८.

६. शिवशेखर मिश्र : **मानसोल्लास - एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन**, वाराणसी, १९६६, पृ० २७६.

७. कमल चौहान : **कल्चरल हिस्ट्री ऑफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया**, दिल्ली, १९८८, पृ० ७०.

८. इण्डियन म्यूजियम, सं०सं० २४७. ३८.

९. नेशनल म्यूजियम, सं०सं० ५९.३४.

१०. इण्डियन म्यूजियम, सं०सं० ए० २५२०५/६४६२.

११. सूसेंन एल० हटिंगटन : **दि पालसेन स्कूल ऑफ स्कल्पचर**, लीडेन, १५८४ चित्र, १५९.

परन्तु हिंगलाजगढ़ से प्राप्त (१०वीं शताब्दी) गणेश–प्रतिमा (रे०वि० ३)[१२] में प्रदर्शित मणिनूपुर बनावट एवं अलंकरण के आधार पर पूर्वी क्षेत्र से भिन्न माना जा सकता है। इस प्रतिमा में प्रदर्शित स्थूल पादाभूषण बड़ी–बड़ी मणियों से आवेष्टित है, जिसके दोनों सिरे (कड़े की भाँति) खुले दर्शाये गये हैं। सम्भवतः **मानसोल्लास** में वर्णित पादचूड़क इसी प्रकार का आभूषण रहा होगा। इसके अतिरिक्त राजकीय संग्रहालय, लखनऊ (उ०प्र०) (१०वीं शताब्दी) में सुरक्षित बटुकेश्वर की प्रतिमा (रे०चि० ४)[१३] में प्रदर्शित मणिजटित नूपुर का अग्रभाग अपेक्षाकृत स्थूल एवं अलंकृत दर्शाया गया है।

साहित्य में वर्णित एवं मूर्तिशिल्प में प्रदर्शित मणिनूपुरों की परम्परा के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि मणिनूपुर सामान्यतया उच्चवर्ग के नर–नारियों का अलंकार था, सामान्य या निम्न वर्ग के स्त्री–पुरुष इस प्रकार का आभूषण धारण नहीं करते थे।

मणिनूपुर के अतिरिक्त मोतियों या मनकों से निर्मित पायल के उदाहरण भी पूर्वी[१४] और पश्चिमी[१५] क्षेत्रों से प्राप्त प्रतिमाओं में यदा–कदा दिखलायी पड़ते हैं।

किंकणी : (ध्वनियुक्त नूपुर) क्षुद्र घण्टिकाओं अथवा घुंघरुओं से युक्त नाद करने वाला पादाभूषण किंकणी, ध्वनियुक्त नूपुर, पादघर्घरिका आदि के नाम से ज्ञात है। मूर्तिशिल्प में शुंगकाल से ही घुँघरू अथवा घण्टियों से सुशोभित पादाभूषण की परम्परा विदित है।[१६] परन्तु कालक्रम के अनुसार इसके स्वरूप में परिवर्तन अवश्य दिखायी पड़ता है।

समकालीन साहित्य में विभिन्न सन्दर्भों में वर्णित ध्वनि उत्पन्न करने वाले नूपुरों का उल्लेख है। वराहमिहिर ने विभिन्न पादभूषणों के साथ घुँघरू युक्त नूपुरों[१७] का भी वर्णन किया हैं। **निशीथचूर्णी** के अनुसार स्त्रियां अपने नूपुरों की मधुर ध्वनि (७वीं शताब्दी) से दूसरों को अपनी ओर आकर्षित करने में सक्षम हुआ करती थीं।[१८] बाण ने नृत्यरत घण्टिकाओं के झन–झन शब्द उत्पन्न करने वाले नूपुरों का उल्लेख किया है।[१९] उद्योतन ने पाँव में अलक्तक मण्डन के बाद घुँघरूयुक्त मणिनूपुर[२०] धारण करने की बात कही है।

---

१२. ए०आई०आई०एस० वाराणसी, नि ग्र० नं० ३१७.७६.

१३. स्टेट म्यूजियम, लखनऊ, सं०सं० ६६.४५.

१४. पी०आर० रामचन्द्र राव : भुवनेश्वर, हैदराबाद १६६५,फलक १४, चित्र ७३. पटना संग्रहालय, सं०सं० १५७६. परमेश्वरीलाल गुप्तः **पटना म्यूजियम कैटलाग ऑफ एण्टीक्विटीज**, पटना, १६६५, फलक ३८.

१५. महन्त घासीराम मेमोरियल संग्रहालय, सं०सं० २५४२.

१६. एस०पी० तिवारी : **नूपुर : दि एंक्लेट इन इण्डियन लिट्रेचर एण्ड आर्ट**, दिल्ली, १६८२.

१७. अजयमित्र शास्त्री : **बृहत्संहिता ऑफ वराहमिहिर**, प्रथम संस्करण, दिल्ली, १६६६, पृ० २३३.

१८. मधुसेन : **ए कल्चरल स्टडी ऑफ निशीथचूर्णी**, अमृतसर, १६७५, पृ० १७४.

१९. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, १६६४, पृ० १३६.

२०. प्रेम सुमन जैन : **कुवलयमालाकहा का सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन**, वाराणसी, १६७५, पृ० १६०

मानसोल्लास में विभिन्न रत्नों से सुशोभित नाद करने वाला पादघर्घरिका[२१] नामक पादाभूषण का उल्लेख है।

साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में प्रायः स्त्रियों के सन्दर्भ में ही ध्वनियुक्त नूपुर धारण करने की बात कही गयी है। परन्तु मूर्तिशिल्प में देव–प्रतिमाओं में भी इस प्रकार के पादाभूषण प्रदर्शित हैं। पूर्वी क्षेत्र में बिहार के शाहाबाद क्षेत्र से ज्ञात (७वीं शताब्दी) गणेश–प्रतिमा (रे०वि० ५) में घुँघरू सदृश मोटे–मोटे मनकों से निर्मित नूपुर दर्शाये गये हैं जो सम्भवतः ध्वनियुक्त पादाभूषण का एक स्वरूप रहा होगा। इसके अतिरिक्त भुवनेश्वर के वेतालदेउल मन्दिर की नायिका की मूर्ति[२२] के एक पैर में क्षुद्रघण्टिकाओं से युक्त नूपुर का उदाहरण देखा जा सकता है। उड़ीसा से ही प्राप्त ६वीं शताब्दी चामुण्डा की मूर्ति (रे० वि० ६)[२३] में प्रदर्शित नूपुर के अग्रभाग में केवल तीन घुँघरू दर्शाये गये हैं जबकि अन्य शेष भाग साधारण बना है।

६वीं–१०वीं शताब्दी की प्रतिमाओं में घण्टियों से सुशोभित पादाभूषण के स्वरूप में परिवर्तन भी प्रदर्शित है। उदाहरणार्थ–हीरापुर (उड़ीसा) के चौंसठयोगिनी मन्दिर की योगिनी–प्रतिमा[२४] के दोनों पैरों में प्रदर्शित मुक्त लड़ी के निचले भाग में छोटी–छोटी घण्टियाँ लटकती हुई दर्शायी गयी हैं। मनभूम (बंगाल) से ज्ञात महिषमर्दिनी[२५] एवं क्लीवलैण्ड म्यूजियम में सुरक्षित बंगाल से प्राप्त इन्द्राणी आदि की प्रतिमाओं में भी इस प्रकार के उदाहरण प्रदर्शित हैं। नालन्दा (बिहार) से प्राप्त (१०वीं–११वीं शताब्दी) तारा की कांस्य प्रतिमा[२६] में प्रदर्शित घुंघरूयुक्त नूपुर अलंकरण की दृष्टि से और भी अधिक भव्य दर्शाया गया है।

पूर्वी क्षेत्र की भाँति पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में भी घुँघरूओं अथवा घण्टियों से सज्जित नूपुर विभिन्न प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित हैं जैसे इन्द्रगढ़ (म०प्र०) से ज्ञात (८ वीं शताब्दी) ब्रह्मा,[२७] हिंगलालगढ़ से ज्ञात कुबेर[२८] (१०वीं शताब्दी) (एवं ग्यारसपुर विदिशा,) म०प्र० ११वीं शताब्दी की गजासुर वध आदि की प्रतिमाओं[२९] में भी इस प्रकार के नूपुर सुशोभित हैं।

क्षेत्रीय भिन्नता की दृष्टि से पूर्वी और पश्चिमी क्षेत्र की प्रतिमाओं में प्रायः समान रूप वाले घुँघरू या घण्टियों से सुशोभित नूपुर दर्शाये गये हैं। साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में प्रायः ध्वनियुक्त

---

२१. शिवशेखर मिश्र : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० २७६.

२२. पी० आर० रामचन्द्रराव: **पूर्वोद्धृत**, चित्र १०६.

२३. ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम, लन्दन, सं०सं० १६७७.८३.

२४. आर्कियालॉजिकल सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया, निगे० नं० ७६५.६२.

२५. इण्डियन म्यूजियम, सं०सं० ए २४७५६/७५८८

२६. इण्डियन म्यूजियम, सं०सं० अज्ञात

२७. स्टेट म्यूजियम, भानपुर, सं० सं० ५८.

२८. बंगलौर गवर्नमेण्ट म्यूजियम, सं०सं० अज्ञात

२९. ग्वालियर म्यूजियम, सं०सं० १७८

नूपुर स्त्रियों का अलंकार बताया गया है, परन्तु मूर्तिशिल्प में कभी–कभी शिव या सूचित देव प्रतिमाओं में भी इस प्रकार के नूपुर सुशोभित हैं।

मंजीर

झन–झन की मधुर ध्वनि उत्पन्न करने वाला पादाभूषण मंजीर नाम से ज्ञात हैं, जिसे शिंजित भी कहा जाता था। मंजीर भीतर से पोला होने के कारण वजन में हल्के भी होते थे, जिनके अन्दर बहुमूल्य मोती आदि भरे जाते थे।[३०] मूर्तिशिल्प में संरचना भेद के आधार पर इस प्रकार के आभूषण की पहचान की जा सकती है उदाहरणार्थ अमरावती से प्राप्त (ई० पू० दूसरी शताब्दी) रानी महामाया की प्रतिमा में प्रदर्शित अलंकृत पादाभूषण देखने में स्थूल प्रतीत होता है जो सम्भवतः आधुनिक बिरवा की भाँति खोखला रहा होगा। एस० पी० तिवारी ने इसकी पहचान मंजीर से की है।[३१] इसके अतिरिक्त कुषाणकालीन प्रतिमाओं में ट्यूब की भाँति (सलाख से निर्मित) गेंडुरी सदृश घुटने तक लिपटे हुए मकरमुखी पादाभूषण को भी मंजीर का ही एक प्रकार बताया गया है।[३२]

साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों के अन्तर्गत **यशस्तिलक**[३३] (१०वीं शताब्दी) एवं **अभिधानचिन्तामणि**[३४] (१२वीं शताब्दी) आदि ग्रन्थों में मंजीर नामक ध्वनियुक्त पादाभूषण का उल्लेख है।

साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में प्रायः मंजीर की बनावट एवं अलंकरण का स्पष्ट उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है। विद्वानों द्वारा वर्णित मंजीर की बनावट एवं अलंकरण के आधार पर ही पूर्वमध्यकाल की प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित मंजीर पादाभूषण की पहचान की जा सकती है। पूर्वी क्षेत्र में बिहार के देवगढ़ (हजारीबाग) क्षेत्र से ज्ञात (७ वीं शताब्दी) दुर्गा–प्रतिमा (रे० वि० ७)[३५] के बाएँ पैर में पंजे पर सुशोभित मकरमुखी स्थूल पादाभूषण दर्शाया गया है, जिसके मकरमुखी दोनों सिरे सामने की ओर परस्पर जुड़े हुए सुशोभित हैं। बिहार के ही कुर्किहार क्षेत्र से ज्ञात (९वीं शताब्दी) बलराम की कांस्य–प्रतिमा[३६] में पैर के पंजे पर आलोड़ित इसी प्रकार का स्थूल पादाभूषण दर्शाया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त चौंसठयोगिनी मन्दिर (हीरापुर उड़ीसा) की (९वीं–१०वीं शताब्दी योगिनी प्रतिमा)[३७] में पैर के पंजे पर स्थूल पादाभूषण प्रदर्शित हैं जिसके दोनों सिरे वर्तुलाकार पदक की सहायता से जुड़े हुए दर्शाये गये हैं।

---

३०. गोकुलचन्द्र जैन : **यशस्तिलक का सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन** अमृतसर, १९६७, पृ० १५०

३१. एस० पी० तिवारी : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ६६.

३२. नीलकण्ठ पुरुषोत्तम जोशीः **पूर्वोद्धृत**,चित्र ७१४, पृ० २२०

३३. देखिये पाद टिप्पणी ३०.

३४. हरगोविन्द शास्त्री (व्या०) :**अभिधानचिन्तामणि**, वाराणसी, १९६४/३/३२९–३०.

३५. ए०आई०आई०एस०, वाराणसी, ऐशर, निगे० नं० ६६.११.६.

३६. फ्रेड्रिक एम० ऐंशर : **दि आर्ट ऑफ ईस्टर्न इण्डिया**, मिनियापोलिश, १९८०, फलक १७८.

३७. **आर्कियालॉजिकल सर्वे आफ इण्डिया**, निग० नं० ८०८.६२.

पश्चिमी क्षेत्र की प्रतिमाओं में भी इस प्रकार के साधारण या अलंकृत पादाभूषण के उदाहरण हैं जिन्होंने अलंकरण के आधार पर मंजीर पायल का स्वरूप माना जा सकता है। मथुरा से ज्ञात (७वीं शताब्दी) गंगा की प्रतिमा (रे० वि० ८)[३८] के बायें पैर पर पंजे पर आवृत स्थूल पादाभूषण सर्पमुखी दर्शाया गया है, जिससे प्रदर्शित सर्पों के मुख भाग परस्पर जुड़े हुए हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त रानीहाट (गढ़वाल) से प्राप्त कार्तिकेय की प्रतिमा[३९] में पैर की एंड़ी पर अलंकृत पादाभूषण सुशोभित है, जिसका मध्य भाग अपेक्षाकृत स्थूल दर्शाया गया है।

मूर्तिशिल्प में प्रदर्शित पादाभूषणों के उपर्युक्त अध्ययन के आधार पर यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि विद्वानों द्वारा वर्णित मंजीर के सदृश पादाभूषण शुंग और कुषाणकाल में अधिक लोकप्रिय था, जिसको प्रायः उच्च वर्ग की स्त्रियाँ धारण करती थी। पूर्वमध्यकाल में भी मंजीर की परम्परा अक्षुण्ण बनी रही, परन्तु मूर्तिशिल्प में इसका अंकन अपेक्षाकृत कम दिखायी पड़ता है।

उपर्युक्त पादाभूषण के अतिरिक्त पदहंसक नूपुर का एक उप–प्रकार था। साहित्य में वर्णित विभिन्न पादाभूषणों के साथ पदहंसक या हंसक का उल्लेख भी मिलता है। पूर्वमध्यकाल के ग्रन्थ **यशस्तिलक**[४०] के एक प्रसंग में शंखनख द्वारा कांस्य के हंसक धारण करने की बात कही गयी है। **मानसोल्लास** में वर्णित अन्दुका[४१] नामक पादाभूषण भी हंसक का पर्याय माना गया है।[४२] परन्तु साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में हंसक के स्वरूप का उल्लेख प्रायः उपलब्ध नहीं है। विभिन्न विद्वानों ने हंसक के स्वरूप की भिन्न–भिन्न व्याख्या की है, जैसी कभी हंस की आकृति के समरूप पादाभूषण को हंसक बताया गया है[४३] तो कभी हंस के सदृश ध्वनि उत्पन्न करने वाले पादाभूषण की समानता हंसक से की गयी है।[४४] साहित्यिक एवं पुरातात्त्विक साक्ष्यों के विश्लेषण के आधार पर नूपुर का विस्तृत अध्ययन करने वाले विद्वान् एस०पी० तिवारी ने हंसक के सन्दर्भ में उपर्युक्त मत पर सहमति व्यक्त करते हुए मूर्तिशिल्प में भी हंसक की समानता स्थापित करने की चेष्टा की है उदाहरणार्थ नागार्जुनकोंडा से प्राप्त फलक पर आधारित स्त्री–मूर्ति के बाएँ पैर में सुशोभित हंस नूपुर के सम्मुख हंसाकृति का अंकन है, जिसमें मुख ऊपर की ओर किये हुए प्रदर्शित हंस ध्वनि उत्पन्न करता हुआ प्रतीत होता है इस सम्भावित ध्वनि से समानता उत्पन्न करते हुए नूपुर का हंसक होना तर्कसंगत बताया गया है।[४५] एक अन्य मत के अनुसार हंसक को

---

३८. **हैण्डबुक ऑफ दि क्लीवलैण्ड म्यूजियम ऑफ आर्ट**, क्लीवलैण्ड, १९६६, पृ० २३१.

३९. स्टेट म्यूजियम, लखनऊ, सं०सं० ५६.३५८.

४०. गोकुलचन्द्र जैनः **पूर्वोद्धृत.**

४१. शिवशेखर मिश्र : **पूर्वोद्धृत पृ०** २७६.

४२. **वही.**

४३. एस०पी० तिवारी : **पूर्वोद्धृत पृ०** ७१.

४४. **वही**

४५. **वही**, पृ० ७६–७८

सम्भावित रूप से पादकटक की भाँति ध्वनिरहित आभूषण बताया गया है।[४६] इसके अतिरिक्त वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल ने हंसक का तात्पर्य उन बाँके नूपुरों से बताया है जिनकी आकृति गोल न होकर बाँकी मुड़ी हुई होती थी।[४७] हंसक पादाभूषण के स्वरूप के सन्दर्भ में व्यक्त विद्वानों की उपर्युक्त मान्यतायें अधिक युक्तिसंगत प्रतीत नहीं होतीं जैसे **शब्दकल्पद्रुम** के सम्पादक ने हंसक को ध्वनिरहित पादाभूषण बताया है, जबकि अन्य विद्वानों ने हंस के सदृश ध्वनि उत्पन्न करने वाले पादाभूषण को हंसक कहा है जो हंसक के सन्दर्भ में ध्वनिरहित पादाभूषण की उपर्युक्त मान्यता को निराधार करता है। परन्तु मूर्तिशिल्प में स्त्री–प्रतिमा में प्रदर्शित नूपुर के सम्मुख हंसाकृति का अंकन होना भी नूपुर के हंसक नाम को सिद्ध नहीं करता। इसके अतिरिक्त मूर्तिशिल्प में हंस की आकृति के सदृश बने पादाभूषण की परम्परा भी प्रायः विदित नहीं है।

इसके अतिरिक्त वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल द्वारा कला में पहचाने गये बाँके नूपुरों का हंसक होना कुछ स्वाभाविक प्रतीत होता है। इस चित्र में प्रदर्शित नूपुर का अग्रभाग हंस–कण्ठ की भाँति प्रतीत होता है जिसके दोनों सिरे परस्पर सामने की ओर दर्शाये गये हैं।

पूर्वमध्यकाल में मूर्तिशिल्प में इस प्रकार के उदाहरण आंशिक रूप से उपलब्ध हैं उदाहरणार्थ लिंगराज मन्दिर (१०वीं–११वीं शताब्दी) के समकक्ष (प्रांगण में) पार्वती–मन्दिर के मुख्यद्वार के बांयी ओर प्रदर्शित शालभंजिका की मूर्ति (रे० वि० ६) में वक्र आकृति में बना इस प्रकार का पादाभूषण सुशोभित है। पश्चिमी क्षेत्र के मूर्तिशिल्प में इस प्रकार का पादाभूषण प्रायः उपलब्ध नहीं है।

तुलाकोटि - विभिन्न प्रकार के पादाभूषणों में तुलाकोटि एक विशेष प्रकार का आभूषण था, इसके दोनों किनारे तुला अर्थात् तराजू की डण्डी के समान किंचित् घनाकार होते थे।[४८] उत्तर प्रदेश तथा बिहार में प्रचलित गोलहरा नामक पादाभूषण तुलाकोटि का अन्य स्वरूप माना जा सकता है। प्राचीनता की दृष्टि से तुलाकोटि का प्रचलन सम्भवतः गुप्तकाल से आरम्भ हुआ।[४९] इसके पूर्व प्रतिमाओं में तुलाकोटि का उदाहरण प्रायः उपलब्ध नहीं है। **आदिपुराण**[५०] में नूपुर के विशेष भेद के अर्थ में ध्वनियुक्त तुलाकोटि के व्यवहार की बात कही गयी है। सोमदेव ने वारविलासिनियों द्वारा धारित तुलाकोटि को क्वणित[५१] कहा है। **यशस्तिलक**[५२] के एक प्रसंग में नीलमणि से निर्मित तुलाकोटि का उल्लेख है।

---

४६. वही, पृ० ७५.

४७. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल : पूर्वोद्धृत १९६४, पृ० ६७.

४८. एस० पी० तिवारी : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० ६४.

४९. सुलोचना अय्यर : कास्ट्यूम ऐण्ड आर्नामेण्ट्स ऐज डेपिक्टेड इन दि अर्ली स्कल्पचर ऑफ ग्वालियर म्यूजियम, दिल्ली, १९८७,फलक १५ चित्र १.

५०. नेमिचन्द्र शास्त्री : आदिपुराण का भारत, प्रथम संस्करण, वाराणसी, १९६८, पृ० ७६–७८.

५१. गोकुलचन्द्र जैन : पूर्वोद्धृत ! १, पृ० १५०

५२. वही,

पूर्वमध्यकाल के मूर्तिशिल्प में प्रदर्शित विभिन्न पादाभूषणों में तुलाकोटि की पहचान की जा सकती है। पूर्वी क्षेत्र में बिहार और उड़ीसा से ज्ञात (१०वीं शताब्दी) इन्द्राणी की प्रतिमा[५३] में अग्रभाग से घने सिरे वाला पादाभूषण दर्शाया गया है। इसका अधिक स्पष्ट रूप राजारानीमन्दिर और लिंगराज मन्दिर की शालभंजिका की मूर्तियों (रे० वि० १०)[५४] में देखा जा सकता है।

पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में हिंगलाजगढ़ की पार्वती–प्रतिमा[५५] (१०वीं शताब्दी) (रे० वि० ११) में तथा खजुराहो के विश्वनाथ मन्दिर (११वीं शताब्दी) की वंशीवादक स्त्री–मूर्ति[५६] में इस प्रकार का पादाभूषण अलंकृत दर्शाया गया है।

सारांशतः तुलाकोटि विभिन्न वर्ग की स्त्रियों द्वारा धारण किया जाने वाला अलंकार था। पुरुष इस प्रकार का आभूषण धारण नहीं करते थे। पादकटक (पादवलय) हस्तवलय की भाँति पैर पर धारण किया जाने वाला एक सामान्य आभूषण था, जिसे सभी वय और वर्ण के नर–नारी धारण करते थे। पादकंटक की परम्परा प्राचीनकाल से विदित है। वैदिक साहित्य में वर्णित खादि[५७] नामक पादाभूषण आगे चलकर पादकण्टक के नाम से प्रचलित हुआ। मूर्तिशिल्प में इस आभूषण की परम्परा कुषाणकाल से अबाधित रूप से चली आ रही है। कुषाणकालीन प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित पादकटक अधिक स्थूल दर्शाया गया है, परन्तु पूर्वमध्यकाल में पादकटक स्थूलता में कम होकर अलंकृति में अधिक परिष्कृत दिखायी पड़ते हैं।

पूर्वमध्यकालीन साहित्य में अवसरानुकूल विभिन्न प्रकार के पादकटक का उल्लेख है। कभी–कभी विशेष अवसरों पर एक से अधिक पादकटक भी धारण किये जाते थे। बाण ने हर्ष की विजय यात्रा के सन्दर्भ में राजाओं द्वारा धारण किये गये संलाप उत्पन्न करने वाले कटकों का उल्लेख किया है।[५८] इसके अतिरिक्त सैनिकों द्वारा धारित कदम्बकटक[५९] का वर्णन भी **हर्षचरित** में किया गया है। **मानसोल्लास**[६०] में विभिन्न प्रकार के रत्नों से सुशोभित पादकटक रानियों द्वारा धारण करने की बात कही गयी है।

पूर्वी क्षेत्र के मूर्तिशिल्प में विभिन्न देव–देवियों के अतिरिक्त बालकों की प्रतिमाओं में भी पादकटक का अंकन दिखाई पड़ता है। नालन्दा से ज्ञात (८वीं शताब्दी) मंजुश्री की

---

५३. ए० आई० आई० एस०, वाराणसी, निगे० नं० २८६.३७.

५४. एस०पी०तिवारी, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, फलक ३५ पृ० ६५.

५५. ए० आई० आई० एस०, वाराणसी, निगे० सं० ३१८.३.

५६. एस०पी० तिवारी : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, फलक ३०१

५७. राय गोविन्दचन्द्रः **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १०६.

५८. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, १९६४, पृ० १६२.

५९. **वही**, पृ० ३३१.

६०. शिवशेखर मिश्र : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० २७०

प्रतिमा (रे० वि० १२)[६१] के दोनों पैरो में एड़ी से सटे हुए पादवलय साधारण अलंकरण से सुशोभित हैं जबकि कुर्किहार (गया) से ज्ञात (६वीं शताब्दी) अवलोकितेश्वर की कांस्य–प्रतिमा[६२] में एड़ी पर आलोड़ित पादवलय रेखाकृतियों से सज्जित दर्शाये गये हैं। इण्डियन म्यूजियम (कलकत्ता) में सुरक्षित बिहार से ही प्राप्त (६वीं शताब्दी) पार्वती की गोद में स्थित कार्तिकेय की प्रतिमा[६३] में प्रदर्शित पादवलय का मध्य भाग अपेक्षाकृत स्थूल दर्शाया गया है। इसी काल की बिहार से प्राप्त बोधिसत्त्व की प्रतिमा[६४] में ज्यामितीय रेखाकृतियों से सज्जित पंजे पर प्रदर्शित पादवलय का मध्य भाग चौड़ा बना है जबकि दोनों ओर के सिरे अपेक्षाकृत संकुचित दर्शाये गये हैं।

पूर्वी क्षेत्र की भाँति पश्चिमी क्षेत्र की प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित पादवलय भी कभी एड़ी से सटे हुए साधारण दर्शाये गये हैं तो कभी एड़ी या पंजे पर आलोड़ित पादवलय का मध्य भाग स्थूल दर्शाया गया है। इस प्रकार के पादवलयों के उदाहरण हिंगलाजगढ़ से ज्ञात (१०वीं शताब्दी) चक्रपुरुष, गरुड, यक्ष, पार्वती आदि की प्रतिमाओं में देखे जा सकते हैं।

इसके अतिरिक्त ग्वालियर के मार्कण्डेय मन्दिर (११वीं शताब्दी) की ब्रह्मा और सूचित परिचारिका की प्रतिमा में दोहरे और तिहरे पादकटक एड़ी के ऊपर सटे हुए दर्शाये गये हैं।

यौक्त्रनूपुर - रस्सी की भाँति बटे हुए आकार का नूपुर यौक्त्रनूपुर के नाम से ज्ञात है।[६५] यह सम्भवतः आभूषण के रूप में धातु के तार से निर्मित रहा होगा। अश्वघोष के ग्रन्थ **सौन्दरानन्द** (दूसरी शताब्दी ई०)[६६] में यौक्त्रनूपुर का उल्लेख हुआ है। परन्तु समकालीन साहित्य में पादाभूषण के अन्तर्गत इसका उल्लेख प्रायः विदित नहीं है।

पूर्वमध्यकाल के मूर्तिशिल्प में यौक्त्रनूपुर की परम्परा आंशिक रूप से दिखायी पड़ती है जैसे पूर्वी क्षेत्र में बिहार से प्राप्त (८वीं शताब्दी) पार्वती–प्रतिमा[६७] के दोनों पैरों में रस्सी के सदृश बल पड़े हुए आकार जैसी पायल पंजे पर आवृत है, इसके मध्य भाग में एक वर्तुलाकार पदक भी दर्शाया गया है। पश्चिमी क्षेत्र के मूर्तिशिल्प में खजुराहो के शान्तिनाथ मन्दिर से ज्ञात स्त्री–मूर्ति (रे० वि० १३)[६८] में सुशोभित यौक्त्रनूपुर का उदाहरण देखा जा सकता है।

---

६१. दयाराम साहनी : (सं०) **आर्कियालॉजिकल सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया एनुअल रिपोर्ट**, १६२६–३०, दिल्ली १६३५, फलक ३४ सी.

६२. पटना संग्रहालय, सं०सं० ६७८८.

६३. इण्डियन म्यूजियम, सं०सं० ए २५१७७/३४४८.

६४. लुइस फेब्री चाटर्स : **हिस्ट्री ऑफ दि आर्ट ऑफ उड़ीसा**, कलकत्ता १६७४,फलक २२.

६५. रायगोविन्द्रचन्द्र, **पूर्वोद्धृत**, परिशिष्ट ६ पृ० १२१.

६६. **वही**,

६७. रुस्तम जे० मेहता : **मास्टरपीसेज ऑफ इण्डियन स्कल्पचर्स**, बम्बई, १६७६ चित्र ३१.

६८. विद्याप्रकाश : **खजुराहो**, बम्बई, १६६७, फलक८, चित्र ५.

पादजालक - पैर के टखने के नीचे पंजे पर आवृत लम्बी गोल आकृति के आभूषण को पादजालक कहा जाता है।[६९] यद्यपि **नाट्यशास्त्र**[७०] जैसे ग्रन्थों में पादाभूषण के रूप में रत्नजालक का उल्लेख मिलता है जो सम्भवतः इसी प्रकार का रत्नजटित आभूषण रहा होगा। परन्तु मूर्तिशिल्प में पूर्वमध्यकाल से इस आभूषण की परम्परा अधिक लोकप्रिय दिखायी पड़ती है। समकालीन साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों के अन्तर्गत **अपराजितसूत्र** (१२वीं शताब्दी) में वर्णित सोलह अलंकारों में पादजालक का उल्लेख भी किया गया है।[७१]

पूर्वी क्षेत्र से ज्ञात विभिन्न प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित पादाभूषणों की पहचान अलंकरण के आधार पर पादजालक से की जा सकती है।, उदाहरणार्थ भुवनेश्वर संग्रहालय में सुरक्षित वाराही की प्रतिमा (८ वीं शताब्दी) (रे० वि० १४)[७२] में पैर के पंजे पर आवृत पादाभूषण के अग्रभाग में पुष्पाकार अलंकरण है तथा शेष भाग में चारों ओर कली के सदृश डिजाइन की एक पंक्ति दर्शायी गयी है। बंगाल से प्राप्त (१०वीं शताब्दी) मारीचि की प्रतिमा (रे० वि० १५)[७३] में रत्नजड़ित पादजालक का अग्रभाग आलंकारिक सज्जा से युक्त दर्शाया गया है। ११वीं–१२वीं शताब्दी की प्रतिमाओं में प्रदर्शित पादजालक के स्वरूप में परिवर्तन परिलक्षित हैं। उदाहरणार्थ हीरापुर (उड़ीसा) से प्राप्त वेणुगोपाल की मूर्ति[७४] में रत्नजटित पदक से आबद्ध दोहरी लड़ियों वाला पादाभूषण बाएँ पैर में पंजे पर आवृत है। बंगाल से ज्ञात पार्वती–प्रतिमा (रे० वि० १६)[७५] में प्रदर्शित पादजालक में समान दूरी पर सेब के सदृश (फलाकार) पेन्डेन्ट सुशोभित है।

पूर्वी क्षेत्र की भाँति पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में भी पादजालक के विभिन्न उदाहरण उल्लेखनीय हैं जैसे औड़िहार (गाजीपुर) से प्राप्त अम्बिका की मूर्ति (९वीं शताब्दी) (रे० वि० १७)[७६] में दोहरी मुक्तालड़ियों से निर्मित पंजे पर आवृत पादाभूषण में निचले भाग के चारों ओर चम्पाकली के सदृश छोटे–छोटे पेन्डेन्ट दर्शाये गये हैं। गढ़वा (इलाहाबाद) से प्राप्त (९वीं शताब्दी) नरसिंह–प्रतिमा[७७] में उपरोक्त प्रकार का पादाभूषण छोटी–छोटी पंखुड़ियों के सदृश पेन्डेन्ट से युक्त दर्शाया गया है। खजुराहो के मूर्तिशिल्प में पादाभूषण के अन्तर्गत इस प्रकार का अलंकरण प्रचुर रूप से दिखायी पड़ता है।[७८]

---

६९. प्रभाकर शंकर ओ० सोमपुरा : **भारतीय शिल्पसंहिता**, बम्बई, १९७५ पृ०, ३७.

७०. रायगोविन्द चन्द्र **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १२६.

७१. प्रभाशंकर ओ० सोमपुरा : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० २८.

७२. उड़ीसा स्टेट म्यूजियम, भुवनेश्वर, सं०सं०, ए०वाई०/६५.

७३. ए० आई० आई एस०, वाराणसी, ऐशर, निगे० नं० ७४.६२.०४.

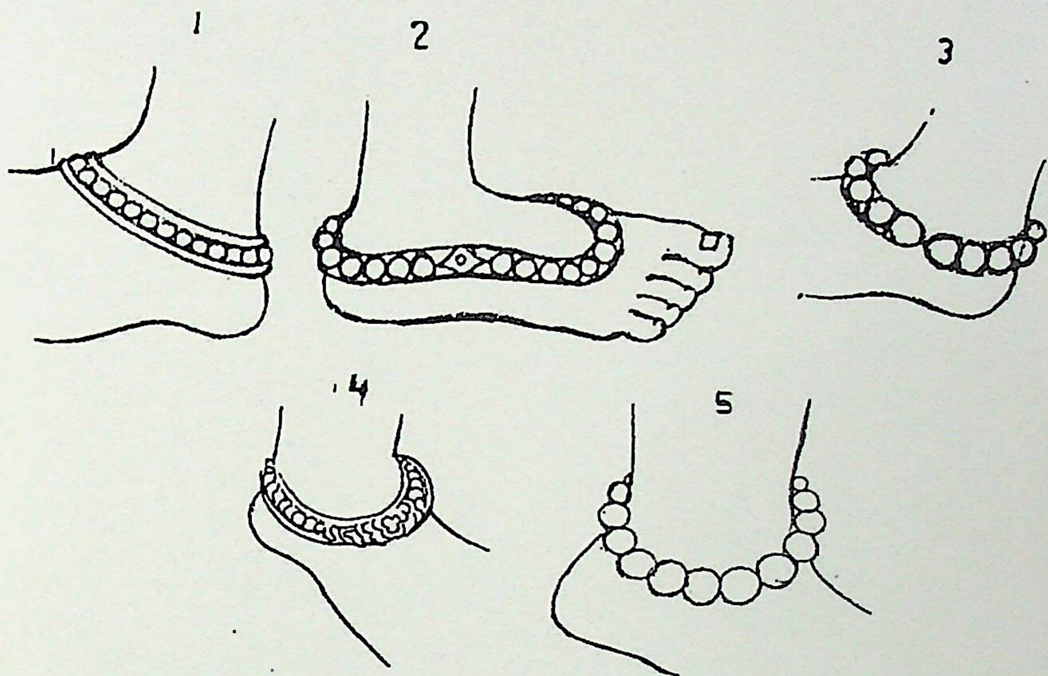
७४. चैसठयोगिनी मन्दिर (हीरापुर) के निकट मंच पर स्थित

७५. इण्डियन म्यूजियम, सं०सं० ए २५२०६/६४८

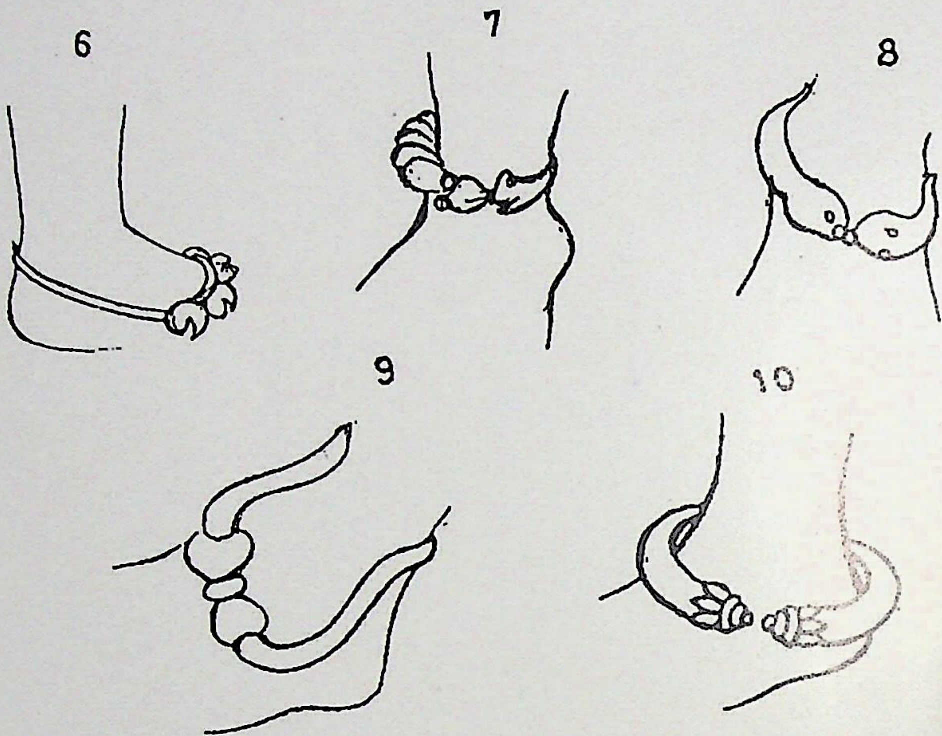
७६. स्टेट म्यूजियम, लखनऊ, सं०सं० वी० २८६.

७७. गढ़वा मूर्तिशाला में स्थित, ए०आई०आई०एस०, वाराणसी, निगे० रं० ३६०.२.

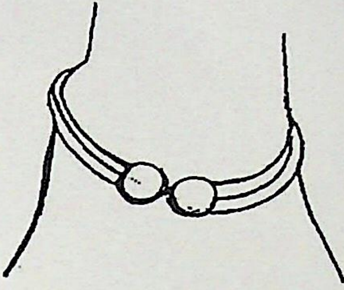
७८. विद्या प्रकाशः **पूर्वोद्धृत**, फलक८, चित्र ३–४.

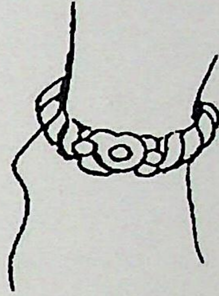


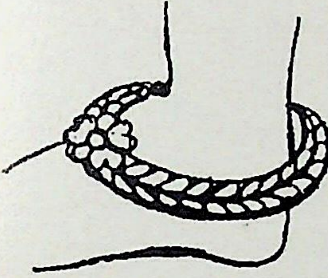
नूपुर
रेखा चित्र 1-5



नूपुर
रेखा चित्र 6-10



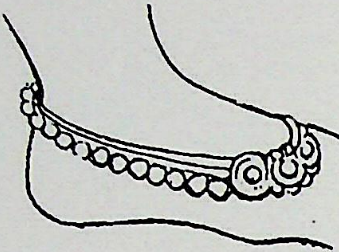




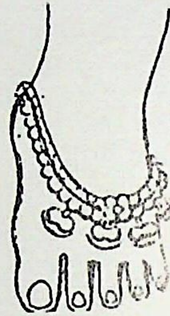


नूपुर
रेखा चित्र 11-14

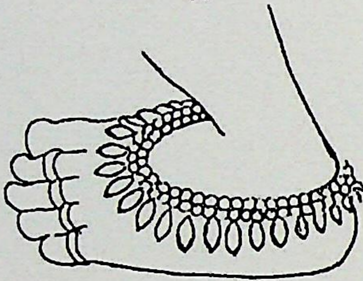
15



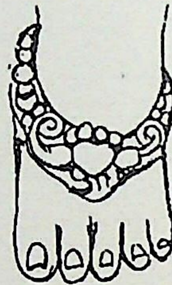
16



17



18



नूपुर

रेखा चित्र 15-18

Adhiraja (V. S. 1040 –1055 = 943-95 A. D.). He is also known from various epigraphical sources.[9] His grandson was Raṇapāladeva (V. S. 1100 A. D. = 1043 A.D.) who is known from Burhi Chanderi Inscription discovered and edited by the author.[10] These rulers established various art centres including the Temple-cities. Forced by the circumstances inste a raising shrines with lofty *Sikharas* e.g. Gadarmal Temple, Pathari (Vidisha), Teli Ka Mandir (Gwalior), Gargaja Mahadeva Temples, Indor, Jaraimatha Baruasagar, nearer home Sun Temples at Umri and Marhkhera (Distt: Tikamgarh), Santinatha Temples Deogarh (Lalitpur), they evolved small unpretencious simple flat-roofed shrines preceded by a chatuski or mukhamandapa, *Mandapika,* some with stunted Sikharas. In local pariance these are called *Marhia.* They had their roots in the early Gupta Temples simulating wooden construction. Instead of raising these in high plain, they perferred river valleys, out of the way places hidden in the jungle. As a rule these are found in clusters, near the water sources, springs and quarry areas. The region between the Betwa *(Vetravati)* and the Dhasana *(Dasarna)* is considered the home of the Mandapika shrines.[11]

Description of the Temple

The shrine is located North East of the village Thoban on the road leading to Jaina group of Monuments, on the western embankment of ancient bank of the tank grown with lotus flowers. By the side of it flows the ancient chanel, contemporary to the monument itself.

The *Mandapikā* faces east, consists of a sanctum *(garbhagriha),* preceded by a *Mukhamandapa,* measures 3.50 m x 6.00 m x 2.75 m, is rectangular in plan. Externally the *garbhagriha* is *pancharatha.* The *Pitha* measures 0.70 m (height),

---

9. D. C. Sircar, 'Bharat Kala Bhawan Plate of Harirajadeva V.S. 1040, Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXXI (pp. 309-II); a Fragmentary Stone Inscription from Kadwaha, E. I. Vol. XXXVII, p. 117; and C. B. Trivedi, Thubaun Stone Inscription of Pratihara King Harirajadeva : V. S. 1030 EI. Vol. XL, part III, pp. 105-108.

10 C. B. Trivedi, and Jain B. C., 'Burhi Chanderi Stone Inscription of Ranapaladeva V. S. 1100' *The journal of the Oriental Institute,* Baroda, Vol. XXVII No. 1. September, 1976, pp. 87-90.

11 W. Meister Michael, M. A. Dhaky, Krishnadeva, *'Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture,* p. 152 (Delhi, 1988); also Trivedi R.S. *'Temples of the Pratihara Period in Central India - Archaeological Survery of Temples.* No.4 (New Delhi, 1990).

consists of *Kharśilā*, bhiṭṭa. The *Vedībandha* mouldings comprise *Jādyakumbha* carved with lotus petals, *Khura*, *Kumbha*, *Kalaśa*, *Kapotika* *decored* with *ardhapadma* (Cyma-recta).

The *Jangha* portion has pilastered *bhadra* niches, each under *Khurachhadya* surmounted by pedimented *Chaitya* arches carved with human and monkey figurines. The *Pratirathas* flanking the *bhadras* are divided by a *parnabandha*, registers two bands of sculptures portraying the *Dikapalas* and bearded sages. On the Karṇas are sculptured various deities.

The *Varandikā*, the lower most moulding is richly decorated with floral designs, the two *kapotikas*, surmounted by *simhamukhas* carved on rafter-ends *(Tulāpītha)*, *kapotāli* and the *Chhādya* are decorated with bevelled edges and *ardhapadma*.

The *Mukhamandapa* rests on two pillars and two pilasters *(Kūḍyastambha)* *triratha* in plan. The pillars are divided into two segments, the lower supports the *Kakshāsana*, the upper rests on the balustrades, the latter marked by sockets. The *bhadraka* shafts are *ruchaka* (square) with bevelled show lotus foliage, scroll and *ghata-pallva* motifs support the knife-edged *bharṇī* and the bracke0ts sculptured with *bhārvāhakas*, support the architraves. On both the pillars and the pilasters are carved Vaiṣṇava Dvārapālas at the *Kakchhasana* level. The latter rests on the *Salilāntara* (light and shade) exquisitely carved with stencilised *patrāvali*, foliage patterns and *Ghatapallava* motifs, planted on simulating tulā (rafter-ends), embellished with *padma*. The balustrades, copings are decked with *taranga* base and trefoiled lotus. In contrast to the *Garbhagriha Varandikā*, the architraves of the *Mukhamandapa* are decorated with cut-triangles, *antarpatra*, *ratnapattika* in shape of triangles, surmounted by the *Chhadya* decorated with *ardhapadma*. On the southern side are remnants of *praṇāla*. Joints of *garbhagṛiha* and the *mukhamandapa* were originally covered with horizontal grooved inverted *praṇāla* to stop the seepage of water, as evident from other shrines in group 6. The broken architrave of northern Jangha is supported by a cylindrical pillar at some later date.

The sanctum doorway is *chatuḥ-śākha* variety, rests on *chandraśilā*. The first Śākha is carved with diamond and rosettes, the second is puṣpa-*śākha*, the third is *Mithuna śākha* flanked by human figures standing in profile served as *bhūta-śākha*, the fourth is *Vyālaka- śākha* running over the *Uttaranga*. Of the three mithuna panels

on either sides, two are depicted with Ganesa seated with consort Riddhi and the other Dancing. Rest of four panels depicted Mithuna figures, one dancing and other standing, making amorous approaches.

The lalāt-bimba shows four-armed Garuḍāsīn Viṣṇu with varada, gadā, chakra and Śankha. He wears kiriṭamukuta, Kunḍala, graiveyaka, hāra, kankaṇa, Vanamālā and yajñopavīta. The dexter end of the lintel portrays Brahma seated in ardhaparyankāsana, carries in four arms, abhaya, sruka, pustaka and kamanḍalu. Below is depicted his mount Hamsa. He wears Jaṭāmukuta, torque, yajñopavita, valayas, keyūras and Nūpuras. The lower garment is decked with loops and tassels. On the sinister end is four armed Śiva seated on a cushioned seat in lalitāsana carrying abhaya, triśūla, sarpa and kunḍikā. He is exquisitely decked with jatāmukuta, torque, yajñopavita, Keyūras, Valayas, Nūpuras and long mālā. The lower garment is fastened by the waistband decorated with loops and tassels.

Recesses in between are marked by three horizontal panels. The uppermost portrays *Saptamātrikās* seated in *lalitāsana* carry *Kunḍikā,* are flanked by Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra. The middle portrays two-armed seated Balarāma carrying plough *(hala)* and *Kalaśa,* seated in *lalitāsana* on a cushioned seat, canopied by three hooded Naga, flanked by female attendents carrying *Kalaśa.* The sinister recess shows Dashrathi Rama, holding bow and arrow, is similarly seated, flanked by female attendants. The lower panel has eight *bhāraputrikās* supporting the lintel.

The lower portion of the doorjambs show Ganga and Yamuna standing in profile, hold *Kumbha,* instead of their mounts, the *Makara* and the *Kūrma.* These are flanked by Nāgis standing in *tribhanga,* holding *Chauri* and the *Kalaśa.* To the right is a bearded male holding a garland and to left a male similarly stands in *chinamudrā* and in *kāṭyalambita* pose.

The *Udumbara* is sculptured with *Mandāraka,* with four-armed Lakshmi, carrying varada, lotus, lotus and *Kunḍika,* is flanked by three male attendants, on the extreme ends are shown *Gaja-Simha* in dalliance.

The *Vitāna* of the *Mukhamandapa* is samatala and carved with full blossomed lotus in three courses with *Kirtimukhas* enclosed in triangle on the three corners.

Exterior of the Jangha (Southern facade).

1. Four-armed Gaṇeśa seated in a pilastered niche in *lalitāsana* under the *Kūṭa-Chhādya,* surmounted by pedimented Chaitya arch.

2. Four-armed Agni, carrying *Varada,* sruka, *pustaka* and broken with his mount ram.

3. Indra four-armed standing holding vajra and other attributes with his mount elephant.

4. On the bhadraka niche under the *Kūṭa-Chhādya* is Bhūvārah carrying *Kaṭi, gadā,* seated Bhūdevi on his snout stands in *pratyālīdha.* On the waist is *asiputrika.* It is framed between the two circular pilasters flanked by Vyālas.

5. Yama, four armed, stands in *tribhanga,* carry *varada,* broken, *Kamanḍalu,* wears fan-shaped head dress, has ferocious look. By the side is his mount, buffalo.

Above the figures of *Dikapālas* are seated four armed deities, carry *varada,* lotus, broken and *kunḍikā.*

Western Jangha facade

1. Four-armed Nirriti standing nude in *tribhanga* on *Śava* carrying broken *Khadga, khetaka* and a muṇxa, wears fan-shaped head dress.

2. Four-armed Viṣṇu seated in lalitāsana on the bhadra-niche with pilasters flanked by *Nara-śārdūla* and *Makarmukha, Kūta-Chhādya* surmounted with pediment Chaitya arches. The latter is flanked by two-armed seated male-figurines and fantastic figurines resembling monkeys. He carries *akshmālā, gadā, chakra* and *Śankha,* wears *Kirīṭamukuṭa, Suvarṇa-Vaikakshyaka, hāra, Yajñopavita* and *Vaijayantimālā.* Above are shown flying *Vidyādharas.*

3. Above the figure of Nirriti is seated four-armed deity seated in *lalitāsana* carries *varada,* lotus, broken and *Kunḍikā.*

Northern Jangha facade

1. Four-armed Kubera, standing in *tribhanga* carries *gaḍa,* end of *Nakulak* purse on the two upper hands and *kundika,* wears *karandamukuta.*

इसके अतिरिक्त खुखुन्द (गोरखपुर) से प्राप्त विष्णु-प्रतिमा (१२वीं शताब्दी) (रे०वि० १८)[७६] में प्रदर्शित पादजालक मेहराब के आकार में बना भव्य अलंकरण से सज्जित दर्शाया गया है। अलंकरण की दृष्टि से इस प्रकार के पादाभूषण को पश्चिमी क्षेत्र का विशिष्ट उदाहरण माना जा सकता है।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से पूर्वमध्यकालीन उत्तर भारत के पादाभूषणों (नूपुर) के विशेष सन्दर्भ में व्याप्त वर्गभेद, क्षेत्रीय भिन्नता, विकास-क्रम, साहित्यिक एवं पुरातात्त्विक साक्ष्यों की समानता एवं भिन्नता आदि का अनुमान होता है। जैसे अधिकांश पादाभूषण नर-नारी दोनों ही धारण करते थे। परन्तु तुलाकोटि जैसे कुछ पादाभूषण मात्र स्त्रियों के ही अलंकार थे। इसके अतिरिक्त साहित्यिक साक्ष्यों में किंकणी के सन्दर्भ में केवल स्त्रियों द्वारा धारण करने की बात कही गयी है, जबकि मूर्तिशिल्प में शिव और सूचित देव-प्रतिमाओं में भी इसके उदाहरण उपलब्ध हैं। क्षेत्रीय भिन्नता की दृष्टि से हंसक नामक पादाभूषण के आंशिक उदाहरण पूर्वी क्षेत्र से ही ज्ञात हैं। पश्चिमी क्षेत्र की मूर्तियों में प्रायः इसका अंकन नहीं है। विकास-क्रम के संदर्भ में पादजालक को पूर्वमध्यकाल का लोकप्रिय पादाभूषण माना जा सकता है।



---

७६. स्टेट म्यूजियम, लखनऊ, सं०सं० एच० १०६.

VIṢṆU MAṆḌAPIKA FROM THOBAN

(Holi Ki Marhia - Temple 3A)

C.B. TRIVEDI

Thoban, (24^0 35'N, 77^0 55'E) ancient Tapovana, or Thupavana, according to Digambara Jina is Thubanagari. To me name appears to have been derived from botanical plant, *thūbar,* a variety of cactus grown almost all over Bundelkhand. It is located in the Esagarh District of erstwhile Gwalior State (now, District, Guna) at a distance of approximately twenty kilometers from chanderi on Ashoknagar Road on the bank of the Orr (ancient, *Urvaśī*). Like Khajuraho, the Temple City of the Chandellas, it is veritable art centre of the Pratihars of Siyodoni (Siron Khurd, District Lalitpur in Uttar Pradesh). The site was brought to light during 1915-16[1] but nothing was known till it was rediscovered by the author when he was in the Archaeological Survey of India in the year 1971.[2]

The purpose of this paper is to discuss its architectural importance in order to establish the chronology of this unique Shrine. It may however be mentioned that the site has atleast eight groups of temples excluding the Jina group which in addition to three ancient remains of temple has a number of shrines which from archaeological point of view are comparatively modern.

As is well known that during their heyday, the mighty Pratiharas possessed a vast empire extending from Gujarat in the west to undivided Bengal in the east and from Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal of Uttar Pradesh to the Narmada river in the south. About their origin a number of versions occur in various epigraphical records tracing their geneaology from Lakshmana *(Saumitra)* who served as a door-keeper of Rama. The other evidence is dated to

---

1. Annual Report of the Department of Archaeology, Gwalior State - 1915-1916 (Unpublished).
2. Indian Archaeology – A Review 1971-72, p 74.

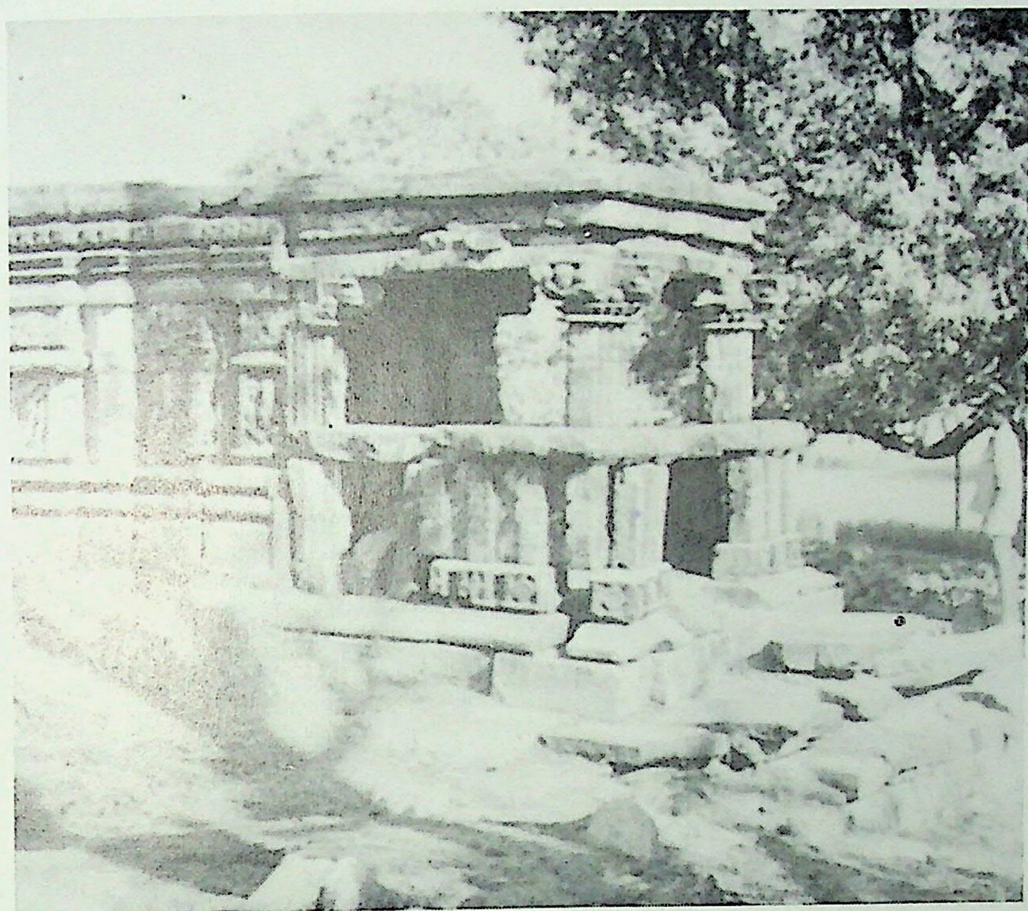
between c. 773-758 A.D. when Rastrakuta king, after a defeat to the Gurjara Pratihara is said to have made them door-keeper[3].

However, recently, an inscription from Vidisha[4] dated to c. 6 cent A.D. throws a welcome light on their origin. It reveals that certain Naga ruler Vijaya-Naga and his sons who were vassals of the Guptas had feudatories who claim to belong to the pratihara stock. It refers to certain Bhumimitra and his son Drona. This sets at rest the theories mentioned in later inscriptions of Jodhpur, Buchkala and Ghatiyala[5].

These Pratiharas were refered to *Avantibhubhrita,*[6] shifted their capital from Ujjain to *Mahodaya* (Kannauj), and later a branch to *Gopagiri* (Gwalior). After their successful rule of more than four centuries, the longest in the history of india, their power faded because of continued tri-partite struggle between the Palas and the Rasthtrakutas. They were so powerful that they resisted Arab invasions and stood as bulwark. As is natural their power dwindled even their homeland, comprising western Bundelkhand (Vidisha, Guna, part of Shivpuri, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Damoh districts of Madhya Pradesh and Jhansi districts of Uttar Pradesh). They were divided into four or five branches, the most powerful being that of Siyodoni.[7] Earlier, it was under the Imperial Pratiharas who had their Governor at Deogarh. The earliest ruler referred to is Maharajadhiraja Dhurbhata (V. S. 969=912-13 A. D.), Undabhatta (V. S. 994 = 937-38 A. D.), *Bhudhipa* Nilakantha derived their authority from the paramount only in name. His grandson Harirajadeva, also referred to in the Siyodoni[8] Inscription seems to have been risen from humble position is known as

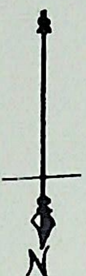
---

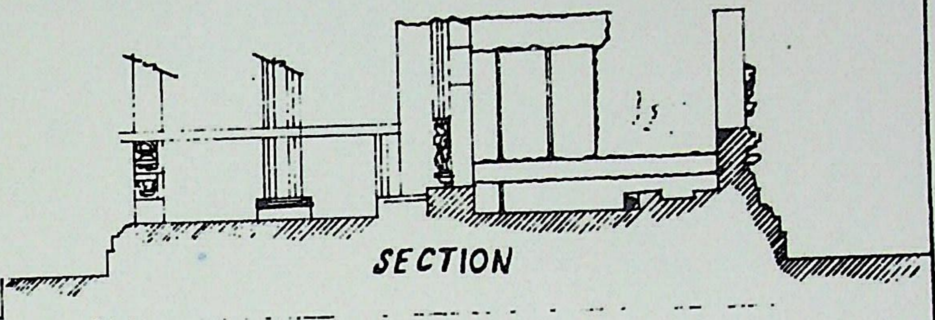
3. R.C. Majumdar *'The Age of Imperial Kanauj'*, PP. 21-22 (Bombay, 1964), Puri B.N., *'The History of Gurjara* Pratihara, PP. 18-32, Delhi, 1957. Dashratha Sharma *Rajasthan, Through the Ages,* Volume I, pp. 120-210 Bilkaner, 1966).
4. K.V. Ramesh and Subramanyam Iyer, No. 19, 'A fragmentary Inscription from Vidisha', pp. 187-188. *Epigraphia Indica* XLI (1975-76), New Delhi.
5. D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Proceedings of Royal Asiatic Society 1906-07, p. 381; *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IX, p. 210.
6. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kannauj,* pp. 225-26 (Delhi,59.)
7. Keilhorn, Siyodoni Inscription of V.S. 960-1025 (=903-968 A. D.). *Epigraphia Indica.* Vol. I, pp. 162-179 and F. E. Hall *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XXXI, p. 611.
8. Ibid.



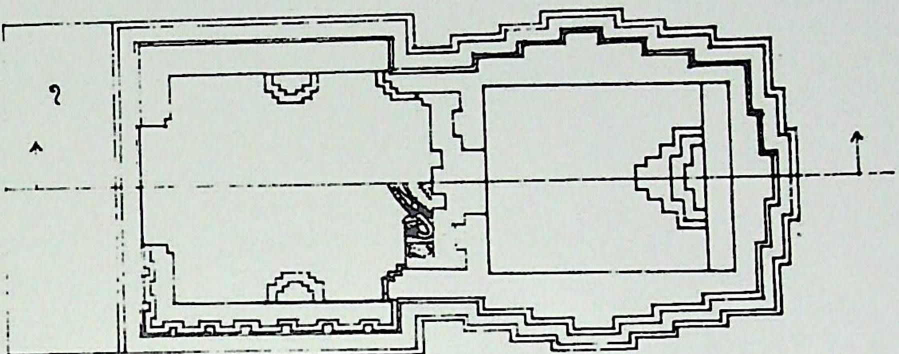
General View of Temple 3A
(Holi ki marhia)
Thoban (Guna)

THB-3A
HOLI KI MARHIA
(VISHNU TEMPLE).
THOBAN, DISTT. GUNA





SECTION



PLAN

2. Four-armed Krishna subduing elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa carries, *chakra, gadā,* broken and the trunk of the elephant while his right foot is planted firmly on the ground. He wears *Kiritamukuta, kundala, keyuras, Valayas, Nupuras* and *Vaijayantimala.*

Since the North-western and North-eastern jangha is missing, other figures of Dikpalas do not exist.

The Kharśilā was levelled by means of atleast several courses of Chinkari stones (un-hewned slabs) of which atleast seven courses are visible. After fixing these ground was consolidated.

The temple is unique as much as it shows the transitional phase depicting post-Gupta features : the characteristics of Early Pratiharas, their assimilation in the medieval Temple architecture viz., the low pitha barely 0.70 cm. analogus to most of the early shrines of Naresar (Dist. Morena M.P.) dated to c. 725-800 A.D. nearer home at Mahua (Distt. Shivpuri M.P.) Siva *Mandapika* datable to c. 7th century and the Chamunda Temple, datable to mid-ninth century A.D. introduction of *Jādyamba padmapatra* mouldings, a feature borrowed from Sun Temples at Umri (District, Tikamgarh) and Jarai Matha, Barua Sagar (District Jhansi) datable to Middle and Late 9th Century A.D. respectively. Instead of lofty elongated Udgama Motifs, this has stunted three or four-tiered pediment, carries human beings, *tulā-pitha* (rafer ends) carved in panels, *samatala-vitāna* and its embellishments, *ardharatna* motifs on architraves. Introduction of two registers of sculptures on the *Janghā,* absense of Hamsa-mithuna, their foliated tails marked angularity in sculptures instead of roundness depicted in early phase, stencilised creepers on the janghas of *mukha-mandapas* similar to that of Khajuraho make it datable to the end of tenth century A.D.



डंगवै कथा

डा० शिवगोपाल मिश्र

इलाहाबाद

डंगवै कथा, डंगवै पुराण, डंगी परिग्रह, डंगी सरन, डंगवै पर्व नाम से कई कवियों ने काव्य रचनाएँ की हैं जिनमें भीम कवि सर्वप्रमुख हैं। भीम कवि के विषय में अभी तक इतना ही ज्ञात है कि ये बघेल खण्ड के राजदरबारी कवि थे और मनिकादेवी के पठनार्थ इन्होंने 'डंगवै कथा' की रचना संवत् १५५० में की। इस रचना के बहुत बाद संवत् १६०८ में बलवीर ने भी डंगवै पर्व नाम से एक रचना की। अन्य जितनी भी रचनाएँ हैं, उनकी रचना–तिथियाँ ज्ञात नहीं हैं।

डंगवै कथा का उल्लेख कुतुबन (संवत् १५५८) तथा जायसी (सं० १५६७) जैसे प्रसिद्ध सूफी कवियों ने अपने अपने ग्रन्थों **'मृगावती'** तथा **'पद्मावत'** में दृष्टान्त स्वरूप किया है। अवधी के ही हिन्दू कवि ईश्वर दास ने भी **'स्वर्गारोहणी कथा'** में इसका संकेत किया है। इन उल्लेखों की विशेषता है कि भीम, डंगी तथा अहुठवज्र इन तीनों का साथ साथ प्रयोग हुआ है।

स्पष्ट है कि संवत् १५००–१६०० की अवधि में डंगी कथा का पठित–अपठित समाज में प्रचार था। किन्तु हिन्दी साहित्य के इतिहासों में भीमकवि या डंगी कथा का कोई उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। मिले भी कैसे! भीमकवि कृत डंगी कथा तथा 'चक्रव्यूह कथा' का सम्पादन इस लेखक द्वारा सन् १६६६ में हुआ जिसे हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन प्रयाग ने प्रकाशित किया है।[1]

भीम नाम के अनेक कवि ज्ञात हैं। हिन्दी के अतिरिक्त मराठी, गुजराती तथा राजस्थानी में भीम नाम के कवि हुए हैं किन्तु ये सब अवधी कवि भीम के परवर्ती सिद्ध हो चुके हैं। इस तरह भीम अवधी के प्रथम कवि हैं जिन्होंने यह वीररस–युक्त 'कृष्ण कथा' लिखी। डंगी के लिए दंगी शब्द भी मिलता है। डा० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल ने **'पद्मावत'** के संजीवनी भाष्य में दंगवै पाठ स्वीकार करते हुए इसका अर्थ गढ़ बतलाया है। मोनियर विलियम्स के कोश में द्रंग का अर्थ शहर या कस्बा दिया है। ग्वालियरी

---

१. डंगवै कथा तथा चक्रव्यूह कथा ६.२५ रू० ।

में ड़ांग[२] शब्द मिलता है जिसका अर्थ वास्तव में डंगी पौराणिक राजा का नाम है जो नेपाल का रहने वाला था। भीमकवि ने इंगित किया है कि उन्होंने यह कथा 'भारथ' अर्थात् **महाभारत** के आधार पर लिखी। वासतव में यह कृष्ण चरित्र का अंश है जिसका सम्बन्ध उर्वशी से है। इसमें भीम के पराक्रम का वर्णन है। भीमसेन डंगी राजा को शरण देकर उसकी रक्षा करते हैं। इसलिए भीम तथा डंगी का नाम साथ–साथ आता है। भीमकवि ने 'चक्रव्यूह कथा' की भी रचना की है जिसमें कृष्ण के ही चरित्र का गुणगान है। डंगी कथा तथा चक्रव्यूह कथा को जोड़ने वाली कड़ी है कृष्ण की बहन सुभद्रा। सुभद्रा के ही कहने पर भीम ने डंगी नरेश की रक्षा की थी और कृष्ण से लड़ने के लिए कौरवों को भी अपने साथ ले लिया था। डंगी नरेश की विपत्ति यह थी कि उसने उर्वशी को शरण दे रखा था। यह उर्वशी नारद के श्राप से घोड़ी बनकर पृथ्वी लोक में आई विलक्षण घोड़ी थी जिसे कृष्ण भी लेना चाह रहे थे। यह घोड़ी रात में सुन्दर स्त्री बन जाती थी।

डंगी तथा चक्रव्यूह कथा की अनेक हस्तलिखित प्रतियाँ एकडला (जनपद फतेहपुर) से प्राप्त हुई हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि बघेलखण्ड के कवि भीम द्वारा रचित ये कथाएँ काफी प्रसिद्धि पा चुकी थीं जिससे महाराष्ट्र तथा गुजरात के कवियों ने भी उन्हीं के आधार पर काव्यग्रंथ लिखे। मराठी में डंगी कथा से सम्बन्धित छह काव्यग्रंथ प्राप्त हैं।[३] डा० कुलकर्णी ने इस कथा का स्रोत ढूँढने का प्रयास किया है। मराठी के ग्रंथों में **महाभारत** तथा भागवत को स्रोत बतलाया गया है किन्तु खोजबीन करने पर डा० कुलकर्णी को यह कथा न तो मूल **महाभारत** में, न ही **'श्रीमद्भागवत'** में मिली। उन्हें **'भागवत'** के षष्ठ स्कन्ध में विवस्वान् की पत्नी का घोड़ी बनना तो प्राप्त हुआ[४] किन्तु **महाभारत** में इस कथा का कोई संकेत भी नहीं मिला । हाँ उन्होंने किन्हीं विष्णुदासनामा के **महाभारत** (उद्योगपर्व, ३२०) में इस कथा के पाये जाने का उल्लेख किया है। यद्यपि ग्वालियरी के कवि विष्णुदास ने (सं० १४६६) भी **महाभारत** काव्य लिखा है किन्तु उसमें यह कथा नहीं मिलती। डा० कुलकर्णी ने मराठी महानुभाव सम्प्रदाय में तथा शिवगाँव मठ की परम्परा में डांगी आख्यान की लोकप्रियता का भी उल्लेख किया है किन्तु उनका अन्तिम निष्कर्ष यही है कि यह कथा मूलतः अवधी क्षेत्र से ही महाराष्ट्र में प्रविष्ट हुई होगी। अपने समर्थन में उन्होंने बुन्देलखण्ड में प्रचलित लोककाव्य का उद्धरण दिया है।[५]

---

२. विष्णुदास कृत महामारत सम्पादक हरिहर निवास द्विवेदी, विद्यामन्दिर ग्वालियर मझार (आदि पर्व, द्वादश अध्याय) शब्द मिलता है।

३. डा० बसन्त दामोदर कुलकर्णी द्वारा संपादित डंगवैपुराण (१६७२), डंगवी आख्यान (यशवंतवुत कृत) १६७० तथा डंगवी आख्यान नरसिंह गणांकुश कृत १६७४ मराठी रिसर्च जर्नल.

४. विवस्वतः श्राद्धदेवं संज्ञासूयत वै मनुम्, मिथुनं च महामागा यमं देवं यमीं तथा, सैव भूत्वाथ वडवा मास्त्यौ सुषवे मुवि (६.६.४०)

५. भारतीय दांगी–शत्रुघ्नसिंह दांगी : दाण्डेय प्रकाशन टिकारी (गया)बिहार १६६८ पृष्ठ ३६–३७

उत्तरदिशा में नैपाल नृपति महिपाल सिंह राजा
अस्सि सहस्त्र तुखार सहस्त्र दस रथ अरु बाजा
खुरासान गुजरात देश तक राज विराजा
पैदल ओर न छोर भयो द्वापर में राजा।
एक समय उर्वशी श्राप भुगतन को आयी
घोड़ी बागन जाय राज दंगव ने पाई
दिन को घोड़ी रहे रात को नारि सुहाई
नारद मुनि ने जाय कृष्ण को खबर सुनाई।
मांगी घोड़ी कृष्ण दंग ने कर इन्कारी
कृष्ण कोप दल साज करी लड़ने की तैयारी।
इत दंगव नरपाल सूर्यवंशी दल साजो
जुट आये कुरुक्षेत्र जुझाऊ बाजत बाजो।
अष्ट बज्र की जोर श्रम से नारि उधारि
अचरज सबको भयो मिटि दोऊ दलरारी।।

इसके प्रमाण में बुंदेलखण्ड में कहावत है "घोड़ी जां की तां गई। दंगी हात कर हाइ रही।" भीम कवि ने डंगी कथा में उपसंहार में जो कुछ लिखा है वह पठनीय हैः

जेहि घोरी निति चौचदु भयेऊ, चढि बेवान सो सरगै गयेऊ
दंगी अपने मन पछिताई, भल बिधना मोर मति बौराई
वासुदेव की आज्ञा टारेऊं, कौरौ पांडौ आनि खभारेऊं
जेहि निमित्त भीम कथा यह कहेऊ, सो घोरी मोरे हाथ न लहेऊ,

महाभारत में इस कथा का प्राप्त न होना अधिक विस्मयजनक नहीं लगता, क्योंकि भीम कवि कृत चक्रव्यूह कथा में 'उत्तरा के गर्भ धारण' की जो कथा प्रारम्भ में दो गई है वह भी महाभारत में नहीं मिलती। किन्तु आश्चर्य है कि अवधी के अन्य कवि छत्रसिंह विरचित विजय मुक्तावली (सं० १७५७) में यह कथा इसी रूप में दी गई है। यही नहीं गुजराती कवि प्रेमानन्द ने (सं० १७४०) अभिमन्यु आख्यान में यही कथा दी है। पता नहीं मराठी के अभिमन्यु–विवाह में यह कथा है अथवा नहीं।

अतः ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि डंगी कथा का स्रोत कोई लोक–प्रचलित कथा रही होगी जिसे भीमकवि ने 'बनाकर' लिखा– 'भीमकथा डंगवै बनाई' अथवा जैसा कि अन्यत्र उल्लेख है, भीम ने यह कथा ' पशुभाषा' (पैशाची) से ग्रहण की –

पसुभाषा कथा डंगवै पाँचौ कुरी मेराइ
X X X
भाषा कवित अरंभी, आपन गुन अनुमानि

या फिर **महाभारत** के किसी संस्करण में ऐसी कथा उस समय तक रही हो क्योंकि छत्रसिंह ने भी अभिमन्यु कथा का समावेश अपने ग्रंथ में किया है। जो हो, भीम कवि की इस कथा का उत्तर भारत, महाराष्ट्र तथा गुजरात में प्रचार था।

इधर "भारतीय वाङ्मय में दंगवै साहित्य समाज और संस्कृति" नाम से गया के डा० जनकनन्दन प्रसार सिंह ने एक शोध प्रबन्ध भी लिखा है। इस ग्रंथ में डंगी को नेपाल वासी होने के अनेकानेक साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत किये गये हैं। वस्तुतः इतिहास–पुराण तथा साहित्य–सभी दृष्टियों में डंगी कथा महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रतीत होती है। संस्कृत के विद्वानों को इस कथा के विषय में गहराई से शोध करना होगा और देशी भाषाओं में सुरक्षित इस कथा को सत्यापित करना चाहिए।



AUROBINDO'S CRITIQUE OF THE DOCTRINE OF DOUBLE NEGATION OF MATTER AND SPIRIT

Dr. D.R. BHANDARI

Jodhpur

The various systems of Indian Philosophy were primarily concerned with the salvation of the individual. Jainism, Samkhya, and Nyaya-Vaisesika clearly maintained an ultimate distinction between the spiritual and the non-spiritual phenomena, which had wholly different characteristics, and nothing in common. Matter does not become spirit, so there is no salvation for matter according to these systems, therefore a satisfactory relation is not established between the physical and the non-physical phenomena. This bifurcation of nature has prevented, for quite a long time, the construction of a well-integrated philosophy of cosmic evolution. Many Vedantic systems declared that the Brahman includes matter, but even in such cases, the doctrine of the Brahman undergoing actual modification was expounded in a half-hearted manner.

Aurobindo declares that the Brahman is not only the cause and supporting power and indwelling principle of the universe, it is also its material and its sole material. Matter also is Brahman and it is nothing other than of different from Brahman[1]. "Matter is Sachchidananda represented to His own mental experience as a formal basis of objective knowledge, action and delight of existence"[2].

The ultimate Reality, from which the origin and evolution of the world proceed, has been called by Aurobindo as Sachchidananda, Brahman,

---

1. Sri Aurobindo: 'The Life Divine', p. 289. One volume edition, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1955.

2. *Ibid.*, 286.

spirit, the triune principle of Existence-Consciousness-Bliss, Absolute, Delight, Truth-Consciousness-Force, Shiva, Shakti, Kali, the Mother, and so on[3]. This original creative power is neither material, nor vital, nor merely mental; it is , however, the source of all these. "Mind-Energy, Life-Energy,

Material-Energy are different dynamisms of one World-Force".[4] This universal force is identified with universal consciousness; "Cosmic force is the operation of cosmic consciousness".[5]

This supreme consciousness is a creative or a self-expressive force capable of infinite variation in its manifestations. Aurobindo rejects the claim of materialists that ultimate reality is purely material. Although matter is the first substance, the original power is not an inconscient material energy. Similarly, he discards the claim of those who deny matter as an illusion. His whole philosophy revolts against what he calls the two great denials, viz., the denial of the spirit and the denial of matter. Matter cannot be cut off from the spirit, since it is the spirit itself in an involved condition. He says:

"If indeed matter were cut-off from spirit, this would not be so; but it is, as we have seen, only a final form and objective aspect of the divine Existence with all of God ever present in it and behind it". ".....all matter as well as all life, mind and supermind are only modes of the Brahman, the Eternal, the spirit, Sachchidananda, who not only dwells in them all but in all these things though no one of them is His absolute being."[6]

Though Aurobindo holds that the Absolute is undifferentiated and indeterminable, he deprecates negative approach to describe its nature. He says:

"The Absolute is indeterminable in the sense that it cannot be limited by any determination or any sum of the possible determinations, but not in the sense that it is incapable of self-determination". "The Absolute is not a

---

3. *Ibid.* pp. 120, 157, 169, 215, 381, 785, 1103-4.

4. Sri Aurobindo : The Life Divine, p. 215. "Mind and Matter are rather different grades of the same energy, different organisation of one conscious force of existence". *Ibid.* p. 105.

5. *Ibid.,* p. 163.

6. *Ibid.,* pp. 289-90.

mystery of infinite blankness nor a supreme sum of negations; nothing can manifest that is not justified by some self-power of the original and omnipresent reality".[7]

The one attribute, at least, which cannot be denied of the Absolute, is that of self-expression. Here we find, as in the philosophies of Ramanuja, Pasupata, Pancaratra and Sakta, that self-expression is not only quite compatible with perfection, but that it is also the nature of the ultimate reality. He maintains that Shiva and Kālī, Brahman and Shakti are one and not two who are separable.[8] Force is inherent in existence which may be at rest or in motion. When it is not in motion, it exists in a potential condition. Aurobindo applies the doctrine of 'The conservation of force' to demonstrate the futility of all enquiries concerning the "how" of the origin of the world-process. It is said:

"Since Force is thus inherent in existence and it is the nature of Force to have this double or alternative potentiality of rest and movement, that is to say, of self-concentration in Force and self-diffusion in Force, the question of the how of the movement, its possibility, initiating impulsion or impelling cause does not arise".[9]

NATURE OF EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

In the philosophy of Aurobindo, evolutionary process is real, and not illusory. Evolution is the manifestation of the supreme consciousness into different forms. During its descent, the spirit becomes involved and appears to us in different forms. Evolutionary process consists in the ascent of the spirit which is now already in the involved condition.

"Evolution of life in matter supposes a previous involution of it there, unless we suppose it to be a new creation magically and unaccountably introduced into Nature. If it is that, it must either be a creation out of nothing or a result of material operations which is not accounted for by anything in the operations themselves or by any element in them which is of a kindred nature;".[10]

---

7. *Ibid.,* pp. 381, 371.
8. *Ibid.,* pp. 98-99.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 1017.
10. *Ibid.,* p. 221.

"All creation or becoming is nothing but this self-manifestation. Out of the seed there evolves that which is already in the seed, pre-existent in being, pre-destined in its will to become; prearranged in the delight of becoming. The original plasm held in itself in force of being the resultant organism. For it is always that secret, burdened, self-knowing force which labours under its own irresistible impulse to manifest the form of itself with which it is charged."[11]

Evolutionary process is governed by laws, there are no miracles. "This Existence, Consciousness-Force, Delight does not work directly or with a sovereign irresponsibility like a magician - building up worlds and universes by the mere fiat of its world. We perceive a process, we are aware of a Law ....This power was known to the Vedic seers by the name of Maya .... It is by Maya that static truth of essential being becomes ordered truth of active being".[12]

This Maya or Shakti is part and parcel of the Brahman itself. Aurobindo does not accept the claim of the materialists that the universal Force is unconscious and unintelligent and that its operations are non-purposive. For him, "material force is, in fact, the sub-conscious operation of will".[13] Shakti is the expression of the free will of the Brahman.

THE LADDER OF EVOLUTION : DESCENT AND ASCENT : ASCENT AND INTEGRATION

Aurobindo's scheme of evolution involves two processes : Descent and Ascent. His ladder of evolution consists of many rungs. Reality at the top is the triune principle of Existence-Consciousness-Bliss which is the Life Divine. The Divine descends from pure existence through the play of consciousness-Force-and Bliss and the creative medium of supermind into cosmic being. Matter is the last rung of the ladder of descent. The Divine Existence is involved in the apparent inconscience of matter. Evolutionary movement is the progressive self-manifestation of the spirit which got involved during the process of descent. We ascend from matter

---

11. *Ibid.,* pp. 133-134.
12. *Ibid.* pp. 136-137.
13. *Ibid.* p. 207.

through a developing life, soul and mind and the illuminating medium of supermind towards the divine being. The knot of the two, the higher and the lower hemispheres, is where mind and supermind meet with a veil between them :

Descent	Existence	Ascent
	Consciousness-Force	
	Bliss	
	Supermind	
	------------(The knot)	
	Mind	
	Psyche	
	Life	
	Matter	

The whole process is thus a movement between two involutions:

Spirit, in which all is involved and out of which all evolves downward to the other pole of Matter, and Matter, in which also all is involved and out of which all evolves upwards to the other pole of spirit. The planes in the lower hemisphere are in themselves powers of the superior principles; but wherever they manifest in a separation from their spiritual sources, they undergo as a result a phenomenal lapse into a divided in place of the true undivided existence : this lapse, this separation creates a state of limited knowledge exclusively concentrated on its own limited world-order and oblivious of all that is behind it and of the underlying unity, a state therefore of cosmic and individual ignorance. Each ascent will bring with it a partial change and modification of the old nature taken up and subjected to a new fundamental principle leading to a gradual diminution of inconscience and ignorance.

In the evolutionary process there is not only a nisus or urge impelling the lower levels to realise the higher levels, there is also descent from the above. The higher precipitate their influence on the lower, the lower react to the higher and develop or manifest in themselves within their own formula something that corresponds to the superior power and its action. The material world has evolved life in obedience to a pressure from the vital plane, mind in

obedience to a pressure from the mental plane. It is now trying to evolve supermind in obedience to a pressure from the supermental plane.

This process of evolution is a triple one, which we may call a widening, a heightening and an integration. First of all, it means a widening of the field, providing greater room for the operation of each principle as it emerges, secondly it means an ascent from grade to grade, from the lower to the higher, and thirdly, it means taking up within itself, as soon as it reaches a higher grade, all the previous lower grades and transforming them, so that at each step of the ascent, there is not merely an ascent to a higher principle but a lifting up and transformation of all the lower grades.[14] Aurobindo describes[15] the process of transformation of the lower levels as "integration" which means "a spiritualising or supramentalising of the mental, vital and physical nature".[16] When the higher descends into the lower consciousness, it alters the lower but is also modified and diminished by it; when the lower ascends, it is sublimated but at the same time qualifies the sublimating substance and power. Mind and life are evolved in matter, but they are limited and modified in their action by the obligation to use its substance for their instrumentation and by their subjection to the law of material nature even while they modify what they undergo and use. Each new advance or formation takes up what was before. The animal takes up into himself living and inanimate matter, man takes up both along with the animal existence. The evolution of life and mind leads to the transformation of the material nature - first into living substance and then into conscious substance - but this is not a total transformation: "Life nature evolving is bound to death; mind evolving is materialised as well as vitalised; it finds itself rooted in inconscience, limited by ignorance; machanised by the physical forces on which it has to depend for its own self-expression". Aurobindo accepts life and mind as creative principles, but these are not original or primary. "Life, though not the original Reality, is yet a form, a power of it which is missioned here as a creative urge in Matter".

---

14. S.K. Maitra: *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Aurobindo,* pp. 65-66, Banaras Hindu University, 1945.

15. *The Life Divine,* pp. 808, 1137, 840-43, 867-68.

16. *Ibid.* p. 808.

AUROBINDO AND MODERN THEORY OF EMERGENT EVOLUTION

Here we find a marked difference between Aurobindo's conception of the evolutionary process, and that of the western philosophers of modern evolutionism. For Alexander, Morgan and Smuts, evolution exhibits a nisus from lower to higher levels; there is a straight -line evolution. The higher levels are not existent at the level of events or space-Time. Though there is progress in evolution, the higher is explained in terms of the lower. But Aurobindo does not find in such schemes an adequate explanation or evolution. He cannot accept the absence of Divine at any stage of evolution. For him, the Brahman is eternally present at each level of evolution in a more or less involved state. It is because of the previous involution or what he calls 'descent' that the present evolution or 'ascent' is possible. Mere evolution is not a sufficient explanation; it must be supplemented by the doctrine of previous involution. "Ascent without descent, evolution without involution is unthinkable".[17] The spirit descends and during its descent it gets involved into various levels; evolutionary process or ascent is the nisus towards the realisation of its original state. In the philosophy of Aurobindo, the evolutionary process is circular rather than rectilinear.

THE SUPRAMENTAL MANIFESTATION

Aurobindo refers to a series of gradations between the mental and supremental levels according to the sublimations of the consciousness, viz., Higher Mind, Illumined Mind, Overmind. In due course of time, there will be a race of supramental beings on the earth just as now there is a race of mental beings.[18] "The gnostic consciousness is a consciousness in which all contradictions are cancelled or fused into each other in a higher light of seeing and being, in a unified self-knowledge and world-knowledge."[19]

"It is not to be supposed that all humanity would rise in a block into the supermind; at first those only might attain to the highest or some intermediate heights of the ascent whose inner evolution has fitted them for

---

17. S.K. Maitra: *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Aurobindo,* p. 5.

18. *Letters of Sri Aurobindo,* First series, p. 15. Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay, 1947. Also see the chapter on 'The Gnostic Being' in 'The Life Divine', p. 1151.

19. *The Life Divine,* p. 1265.

so great a change or who are raised by the direct touch of the Divine into its perfect light and power and bliss. The large mass of human beings might still remain for long content with a normal or only a partially illumined and uplifted human nature. But this would be itself a sufficiently radical change and initial transformation of earth life. ...."it would be a new orientation of the earthly life but not the consummation of its change".[20]

According to many modern biologists and philosophers, evolutionary process is epigenetic. Life and mind have emerged as a result of peculiar combining factors under definite conditions in the history of the earth. For them emergence is a fact which has to be noted and accepted in a spirit of "natural piety", and no explanation can be given for it. "What emerges is something new, which was not previously present in any of the constituting factors analysed or considered separately. It is something more than a mere sum of the entities entering into any organisation. This has led them to distinguish between the resultant and emergent phenomena.

Aurobindo rejects the doctrine of materialistic emergence and advances his psychical interpretation of the world-process. If there is unity and continuity in the world-process and "if we suppose the unity to be unbroken, we then arrive at the existence of consciousness in all forms of the Force which is at work in the world". ...."Mind and Matter are rather different grades of the same energy, different organisations of one conscious force of Existence". He thinks that life, mind and supermind are present in the atom, are at work even there, but invisible, occult, latent in a subconscious or apparently unconscious action of the Energy. "The electron and atom are in this view eternal somnambulists".[21] He says:

"It is quite true that to a surface view life seems only an operation of Matter, mind an activity of life", ...But this is a superficial view of things ....."One might as well on the same lines have concluded that electricity is only a product or operation of water and cloud matter, because it is in such a field that lightening emerges; but a deeper inquiry has shown that both cloud and matter have, on the contrary, the energy of electricity as their foundation, their constituent power or energy-substance; that which seems to be a result

20. *The Supramental manifestation,* pp. 39-40, Pondicherry, 1952.

21. *The Life Divine,* p. 848.

is in its reality, though not in its form - the origin; the effect is in the essence pre-existent to the apparent cause, the principle of the emergent activity precedent to its present field of action. So it is throughout evolutionary Nature ; Matter could not have become animate if the principle of life had not been there constituting Matter and emerging as a phenomenon of life-in-matter; life-in-matter could not have begun to feel, perceive, think, reason, if the principle of mind had not been there behind life and substance".[22]

Aurobindo agrees with the evolutionists that higher levels have successively emerged on this earth, but he does not believe that their emergence is a production of something new which was not already involved there. "The progress of Nature from Matter of life, from Life to Mind, may be conceded: but there is no proof yet that Matter developed into Life of Life-energy into Mind-energy; all that can be conceded is that Life has manifested in Matter, Mind in living Matter" ...."Even if it be discovered here after that under certain chemical or other conditions life makes its appearance, all that will be established by this coincidence is that in certain chemical conditions are constituents of life".[23]

Aurobindo rejects the doctrine of "The Physical Basis of Life", made so popular by T.H. Huxley and many others. He says:

"Materialism indeed insists that, whatever the extension of consciousness, it is a material phenomenon inseparable from our physical organs and not their utiliser but their result". But "it is becoming always clearer that not only does the capacity of our total consciousness far exceed that of our organs, the senses, the nerves, the brain, but that even for our ordinary thought and consciousness these organs are only their habitual instruments and not their generators. Consciousness uses the brain which its upward strivings have produced, brain has not produced nor does it use the consciousness. There are even abnormal instances which go to prove that our organs are not entirely indispensable instruments, - that the heart-beats are not absolutely essential to life, any more than is breathing, nor the organised brain-cells to thought. Our physical organism no more causes or explains thought and consciousness than the construction of an engine causes or

---

22. *Ibid.* p. 1016.
23. *Ibid.* p. 988.

explains the motive-power of steam of electricity. The force is anterior, not the physical instrument".[24]

Or, again, "So long as Matter was Alpha and Omega to the scientific mind, the reluctance to admit intelligence as the mother of intelligence was an honest scruple. But now it is no more than an outworn paradox to affirm the emergence of human consciousness, intelligence and mastery out of an unintelligent, blindly driving unconsciousness in which no form or substance of them previously existed. Man's consciousness can be nothing else than a form of Nature's consciousness".[25] It is not the function of nervous matter as Huxley used to maintain.

S. -Alexander's metaphysics of evolution resembles in some respects with Aurobindo's doctrine of evolution. Alexander talks of the emergence of higher and higher levels of consciousness and believes in the emergence of a consciousness higher than the mental that has so far emerged, and calls it 'Deity'. Though both talk of the 'nisus' towards something supramental, Alexander frankly admits his inability to explain the nisus, and enjoins upon us to accept it with 'natural piety'. Aurobindo, on the contrary, holds that the nisus is due to the higher levels which have already been existing in an involved state in the inconscient matter. Aurobindo gives spiritual explanation in justification of the evolutionary process, whereas Alexander has none such to offer. The ascending evolutionary process would not have occurred if Brahman had not already descended by a process of involution. Alexander stops at Space-Time, and does not feel any need to extend his concerning the how and why of his original substance.

Aurobindo, strictly adhering to the logic of *satkāryavāda*, thus affirms that the entire material nature, of this earth and all that is beyond it, is the manifestation of the spirit of Brahman; "a self-energy put forth by the Brahman, a form and substance of Brahman".[26]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Aurobindo has tried to improve Indian metaphysical thought by the incorporation of the doctrine of evolution. The Samkhya also believed in

---

24. *Ibid.* pp. 101-102.
25. *Ibid.* pp. 106-107.
26. *Ibid.* p. 1174.

evolutions and involutions, but its eternal dualism of Puruṣa and Prakṛti did not make it a thorough-going philosophy of evolution. There was no question of the emancipation of Prakṛti in the Samkhya system. So also, the physical world of the Jaina as well as the Vaisesika was an eternally separate segment of reality, whose relation with the souls was of a temporary nature; i.e., till their emancipation. But there was no question of the emancipation of the physical nature as such. Indian philosophy upto this time was primarily concerned with the nature and purpose of the individual and was some what indifferent to the question of the nature and purpose of the world. But Aurobindo seems to have as much concern for the deliverance of Nature as for the souls. The physical world is not a separate segment of reality, but is an essential part of the whole circle. From Aurobindo's point of view, remarks Prof. S.K. Maitra[27], matter, which is the usual philosophical *pariah*, is spiritual, and has, therefore, been treated with due respect. Evolution is a spiritual movement from bottom upwards, the raising of the lower to the higher level.

Aurobindo thus thinks of the gradual transformation of the whole Nature that got involved in the previous process of descent. His scheme of evolution exhibits a higher unity and integration than was ever achieved in Indian Philosophy.



---

27. S.K. Maitra: *'Meeting of the East and the West in Sri Aurobindo's philosophy'*, p. 238. Also his book *'An Introduction to the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo'*. pp. 8-9.

शं नो निखाता वल्गाः (अथर्ववेद, १६.६.६)

डॉ० माया मालवीय

प्रयाग

अथर्ववेद संहिता (अ० सं०) का प्राचीनतम नाम **अथर्वांगिरस्** रहा है जो इसके स्वरूप, इसके प्रकृतिगत आन्तरिक विभेद एवं वैशिष्ट्य को सूचित करता है। **अ०सं०** में अथर्वांगिरस् को 'स्कम्भ' का मुख कहा गया है– **अथर्वांगिरसो मुखम्**[1]। मांगलिक, भेषज, शान्त और शोभन प्रकार के मन्त्र और 'अभिचार' आथर्वण कहे गये हैं, और घोर तथा क्रूर प्रकार के 'आंगिरस्'। इन दोनों प्रकारों को मूलतः **अथर्ववेद** की ही सम्पत्ति और वैशिष्ट्य माना जाता है लेकिन वस्तुतः दोनों ही प्रकार के अनुष्ठान एवं मान्यतायें प्राचीन वैदिक धर्म के अंग थे और तत्कालीन समाज में स्वीकृत भी थे। अश्वमेध यज्ञ के अवसर पर दोनों वेदों के अंशों का पाठ किया जाता था। भेषज का पाँठ **आथर्वण** से और घोर का **आंगिरस्** से होता था[2]। अथर्वांगिरस् वैशिष्ट्य युक्त सामग्री का जितना उपयोग यज्ञों में हो सकता था, अच्छी तरह किया गया है। यज्ञों में विभिन्न अनुष्ठानों के मध्य अवसर मिलते ही *"योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यं च वयं द्विष्मः"* के उद्घोष के साथ अपने समस्त शत्रुओं के विरुद्ध घोर अभिचारों का प्रयोग बेधड़क किया गया है[3]। घोर अभिचार वर्ग का ही एक कृत्य–विशेष वैदिक साहित्य में 'वलग' नाम से प्रसिद्ध है जो दैत्यों, राक्षसों, आभिचारिकों, प्रतिद्वन्द्वियों और शत्रुओं के विरुद्ध प्रयुक्त होता था। इस लेख में वैदिक संहिताओं में वलगों के प्रयोग पर एक संक्षिप्त विवेचन अभीष्ट है।

द्वेष्य–वधार्थ भूमि में गाड़े गये कृत्या विशेष 'वलग' नाम्ना अभिहित हैं। अभिचार विद्या में शत्रु से सम्बद्ध, उसके द्वारा उपभुक्त, प्रयुक्त, कभी उसके शरीर का अंग रही किसी वस्तु विशेष को भूमि में गाड़ने का अर्थ है शत्रु को लक्ष्य कर किसी अनिष्टकारी परिणाम को घटित कराना। अभिचार विद्या में वह वस्तु–विशेष या पदार्थ पृथक् होने के बाद भी उस व्यक्ति विशेष का ही अविभाज्य अंग और प्रतिरूप माना जाता है और उस पर की गई आभिचारिक क्रिया उस व्यक्ति विशेष को यथा कल्पित ढंग से प्रभावित करती है। इसी प्रकार भूमि में गाड़ी गई वस्तु को उखाड़ फेंकने या खोद डालने का अर्थ है विशिष्ट अभिप्राय से गाड़े गये टोने को नष्ट कर देना

---

१. **अ०सं०** १०.७.२०.

२. **शतपथ** १३.४.३३ आदि।

३. **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** १.३.१ में अवटों का परिलेखन करते समय–"परिलिखितं रक्षः परिलिखिता अरातय इदमहं रक्षसो ग्रीवा अपि कृन्तामि योऽस्मान् द्वेष्टि यं च वयं द्विष्मः"।

जिससे शत्रु का अभीष्ट परिणाम न घटित हो। वलग जमीन में गाड़ा गया गुप्त अभिचार (burial witchcraft) है। जब शत्रु के अस्थि–नख–रोम–चरणों की धूलि आदि को जीर्ण कट–पटादि के टुकड़ों में बाँध कर भूमि में हाथ भर गड्ढे में गाड़ा जाता है तो उसे वलग कहते हैं[४]। वह वलग वहीं से अपने शत्रु पर मारक प्रहार करता है। इस प्रकार वलग गड्ढे में गाड़ा गया, छिपाया गया, ढका, अदृश्य गुप्त अभिचार है जो इष्ट शत्रुओं को नष्ट करता है, उन्हें हानि पहुँचाता है और उनके द्वारा किये गये अभिचारों को कीलता भी है। इसका उल्लेख कभी–कभी कृत्या के साथ भी प्राप्त होता है[५]। प्रायः वलग के साथ √खन् धातु का प्रयोग और कृत्या के साथ √कृ धातु का प्रयोग मिलता है। वलगों को नष्ट करने वाले को 'वलगहन्' और 'वलगों' के विशारद को 'वलगिन्' कहते हैं।

ऋग्वेद में 'वलगिन्' शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं मिलता है लेकिन 'मूलकर्म' (root witch-craft) के प्रचलन का संकेत मिलता है[६]। अंगिरस् अभिचार-विद्या के जनक माने गये हैं। **ऋग्वेद** में सरमा–पणि सम्वाद सूक्त में सरमा पणियों को **"अंगिरसश्च घोराः[७]"** कह कर डराती है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि वलग भी अज्ञात न रहा होगा। लेकिन **ऋग्वेद** के मुख्यतः स्तुतिपरक होने एवं इतर विषयों की अप्रासंगिकता के कारण वलग रूप घोर अभिचार का उल्लेख प्राप्त नहीं होता है।

'वलग' शब्द का प्रयोग **अथर्ववेद**[८] के साथ ही **तैत्तिरीय संहिता**[९], **काठक संहिता**[१०], **वाजसनेयि संहिता**[११] और **शतपथ ब्राह्मण**[१२] में मिलता है। **अ०सं०** के एक मन्त्र में कृत्याकृत् वलगिन्, मूलिन्, और शपथेय्य शब्दों का एक साथ प्रयोग मिलता है जो रक्षात्मक प्रतीकारात्मक अभिचारों की चार विधाओं को द्योतित करता है। इस मन्त्र में इन्द्र और अग्नि देवताओं से वलग, कृत्या, और मूलकर्म में लिप्त और शाप देने वाले लोगों को अपने तीक्ष्ण हथियारों से नष्ट करने की प्रार्थना की गई है।

कृत्याकृतं वलगिनं मूलिनं शपथेय्यम्[१३]।
इन्द्रस्तं हन्तु महता वधेनाग्निर्विध्यत्वस्तया।।

---

४. "सायण, **तैत्तिरीय संहिता**-भाष्य १.३.२ आनन्दाश्रम संस्कृत–ग्रन्थावलिः ४२।" जीर्णकटपटादिखण्डबद्धा अस्थि–नख–रोम–पादपांसुप्रभृतयो विरोधिनां मारणार्थं ये भूमौ निखन्यन्ते ते वलगास्तान्घ्नन्तीति वलगहनः।"

५. **अ०सं०**– १२.३१; १०.१.६; १८, ३१; १६.६.६.

६. **ऋग्वेद** १०.१४५.१; **अ०सं०** १.२८.३ (मूरमादधे) आदि।

७. **ऋग्वेद** १०.१०८.१०

८. **अ०सं०** ५.३१.४, १२; १०.१.१८.३१; १६.६.६.

९. **तै० सं०** १.३.२.१, ६.२.११, १–२

१०. **का०सं०** २.११; २५.६

११. **वाज० सं०** ५.२३; ५.२५

१२. **श०प०** ३.४.४.२–३; ३.४.४.६–१४; १८–२२.

१३. **अ०सं०** ५.३१.१२.

ऋग्वेद में 'वल'

ऋग्वेद में 'वलग' शब्द तो प्राप्त नहीं है पर 'वल' शब्द का प्रयोग अनेकशः हुआ है। वल शब्द वहाँ 'घेरा', 'बाड़ा' या 'गुफा' के अर्थ में आया है जिसे इन्द्र भेदते हैं। यह शब्द प्रायः इन्द्र और बृहस्पति के मन्त्रों में प्रयुक्त है। **ऋग्वेद** में वल शब्द १.११.५; २.१२.३; ३.३०.१०; ४.५०.५ आदि स्थानों पर आया है। उन स्थलों का निरीक्षण वलग के अर्थ की दृष्टि से संभवतः उपयुक्त होगा।

ऋग्वेद १.११.५ **त्वं वलस्य गोमतोऽपो वरद्रिवो बिलम्** की व्याख्या सायण ने इस प्रकार की है– "हे अद्रिवः वज्रयुक्तेन्द्र ! त्वं गोमतः वलस्य गोभिर्युक्तस्य वलनामकस्यासुरस्य सम्बन्धि बिलम्। अपावः स्वसैन्यमुखेन अपावृतवानसि ! वृञ् वरणे"..................।

यहाँ सायण ने 'वल' को असुर मानते हुये एक पुराकथा दी है कि 'वल' नामक एक दैत्य ने देवताओं की गायों को चुराकर किसी बिल में छिपा दिया था। तब इन्द्र ने उस बिल को अपनी सेना से घेर कर उससे गायों को बाहर निकाला अर्थात् इन्द्र ने 'वल' के द्वारा निरुद्ध की गई गायों को उसके घेरे से मुक्त किया। **तैत्तिरीय संहिता** में भी इसका सन्दर्भ प्राप्त होता है।

ग्रिफिथ 'वल' को वृत्र या वृत्र का भाई मानते हैं और गुफा का अर्थ 'घने बादल' लेते हैं[१४]।

ऋग्वेद मन्त्र २.१२.३ "यो हत्वाहिमरिणात्सप्तसिन्धून्यो गा उदाजदपधा वलस्य" में भी 'वल' से वल नामक असुर का ही अर्थ सायण ने लिया है–"यः अहिं मेघं हत्वा मेघहननं कृत्वा सप्त सर्पणशीला सिन्धून् स्यन्दनशीला अपः अरिणात् प्रैरयत्। यः च वलस्य वलनामकस्यासुरस्य अपधा तत्कर्तृकान्निरोधान्निरुद्धाः गाः उदाजत् निरगमयत्"। ग्रिफिथ अपधा का अर्थ 'cave' ही लेते हैं।

ऋग्वेद ३.३०.१० का मन्त्र है–"**अलातृणो वल इन्द्र व्रजो गोः**"। सायण ने यहाँ 'वल' को मेघ माना है– "हे इन्द्र अलातृणः बहूदकतया अलमत्यर्थमातृद्यते हिंस्यत इत्यलातृणः। गोः माध्यमिकायाः वाचः व्रजः गोष्ठभूतः वलः। वृणोत्याकाशमिति वलो मेघः"। सायण ने **निरुक्त** (६.१) में यास्क कृत व्याख्या को भी उद्धृत किया है जो इस प्रकार है–

"अलातृणोऽलमातर्दनो मेघो वलो वृणोतेर्व्रजो व्रजत्यन्तरिक्षे गोरेतस्या माध्यमिकाया वाचः पुरा हननाद्भयमानो व्यार सुगान्पथो अकृणोन्निरजे गाः.....। वलः वल संवरणे। वल्यत आच्छाद्यते नभोऽनेनेति वलो मेघः"।

ग्रिफिथ उक्त पंक्ति का अनुवाद, "He who withheld the kine in silence" करते हैं। मैक्समूलर भी अलातृणः का अर्थ "in silence" ही लेते हैं।

ऋग्वेद ३.३४.१० में **बिभेद वलम्** में सायण ने 'वलम्' का अर्थ मेघ लिया है– "संव्रियतेऽनेन आकाशमिति वलो मेघः। तं मेघं बिभेद उदकप्रेरणार्थमभिदत्"।

ऋग्वेद ३.४५.२ के **वलं रुजः** की सायण कृत व्याख्या इस प्रकार है– "वलं रुजः। वृणोत्याकाशम् इति वलो मेघः। तस्य भंजकः। रुजो भंगे।" इन्द्र ने मेघ का भेदन करके जल को मुक्त किया। ग्रिफिथ ने भी यही अर्थ (cloud) लिया है।

---

१४. "...kept the light and waters imprisoned in dark clouds".

ऋग्वेद ४.५०.५ में बृहस्पति द्वारा बड़े शोर के साथ वल अर्थात् घेरे को तोड़ने का उल्लेख है। सायण 'वल' से यहाँ असुर अर्थ लेते हैं। मंत्र है–

स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन वलं रुरोज फलिगं रवेण। सायण – "सः बृहस्पतिः सुष्टुभा शोभनस्तुतिमता ऋक्वता दीप्तिमता गणेन अंगिरसां रवेण शब्देन च सह फलिगम्। ञिफला विशरणे" फलिर्भेदः तेन गच्छतीति फलिगम्[१५]। वलं वलनामानमसुरं रुरोज बभञ्ज"।

इन मन्त्रों से स्पष्ट है कि 'वृत्र' और 'वल' का अपने धात्वर्थ 'घेरे' से सम्बन्ध था। वृत्र ने जल को घेरे में बाँध रक्खा था और 'वल' ने 'बाड़ा' के घेरे में गायों को बाँध रक्खा था। 'वल' अर्थात् 'घेरा' रूप रुकावट जो राक्षस का पर्याय बन गया। 'वल' नामक राक्षस वृत्र का सम्बन्धी या भाई था जो इन्द्र द्वारा जीता गया था। 'वल' का अर्थ घेरना, आच्छादित करना, ढाँकना, छिपाना है। इस प्रकार 'वल' का सम्बन्ध घेरे से, गुफा या गूढ़ स्थान से है जो क्रमशः वल राक्षस का प्रतीक बन गया। वलग घेरे में छिपा राक्षस का प्रतीक है इसीलिये वलग को गड़ढे में छिपा कर रखते हैं। ऋग्वेद २.१२.११ में वर्णित असुर शम्बर भी पर्वत की गुफाओं में रहता था जिसे इन्द्र ने खोज निकाला था।

यास्क ने 'वल' के लिये दो धातुयें संकेतित की हैं– 'वृ' तथा ' वल्' और दोनों से मेघ ही अर्थ लिया है जो आकाश को घेर लेता है, आच्छादित कर लेता है। सायण ने भी यही माना है। यही 'वल' आगे चलकर 'वल' नामक शक्तिशाली असुर हो गया है जिसके बाड़े को भेद कर इन्द्र जल–प्रवाह रूप गायों को छुड़ाते हैं। 'वल्' धातु आत्मनेपद और कभी कभी परस्मैपद भी है। वलते, वलति का अर्थ है, 'to turn round', गोलाकार, चक्राकार गति में चलना, घेरना, ढाँकना। वल्क पेड़ की छाल है जो पूरे वृक्ष को आच्छादित किये रहती है। वल्गा घोड़े की, उसके सिर को घेरते हुये, उसे नियन्त्रित करने वाली, उपकरणों से युक्त लगाम है। 'वलय' कंगन है जो कलाई को घेरने वाला गोलाकार आभूषण है। वल्कल और वल्कवासस् छाल के वस्त्र हैं जो ऋषि–मुनि धारण करते थे। याज्ञवल्क्य प्राचीन प्रख्यात ऋषि थे जिनका अन्तः बाह्य सब दिव्यता और आध्यात्मिकता से आच्छादित था। उपर्युक्त सभी शब्दों में घेरने या आच्छादन की क्रिया स्पष्ट दिखाई दे रही है। 'घेरा' या 'बाड़ा' या 'अवरोध' अर्थ ही आगे चलकर 'वल' राक्षस हो गया। जो राक्षस की तरह गति करे, अवरोध करे, चारों ओर से घेर कर हानि या नाश करे वह 'वलग' है। शत्रु को अभिलक्ष्य कर, उसकी उपभुक्त या कभी उससे सम्बद्ध रही वस्तु जब अभिचार रूप में गड़ढे में गाड़ी जाती है तो वह 'वलग' है जो शत्रु को आच्छादित कर उसे नष्ट कर देता है। "यस्य वधार्थं क्रियते तं रोगादिभिर्वृण्वन् आ प्रच्छादयन् गच्छतीति वलगः[१६]। ते वलगा बाहुमात्रे खाताः[१७]। ये वलग एक हाथ गहरे गड़ढे में गाड़े जाते हैं। खोद कर फेंक देने पर इनका प्रभाव जाता रहता है। 'वलगविद्' इसे प्रत्यभिचरण मन्त्रों से उलटे शत्रु के विरुद्ध भी पलट देता है जिससे वह पलट वार करके अपने प्रयोक्ता को ही नष्ट कर देता है।

---

१५. मैक्डानल फलिग से अर्थ 'receptacle' और मोनियर विलियम्स 'mountain' लेते हैं। ग्रिफिथ "he destroyed obstructive vala" अर्थ करते हैं।

१६. आचार्य उवट, मन्त्र भाष्य, शुक्ल यजुर्वेदसंहिता, ५.२३। द्रष्टव्य तै०सं० १.३.२ पृ० ३५४ जीर्णकटपटादिखण्ड बद्धा........ ये भूमौ निखन्यन्ते ते वलगाः।

१७. असुरा वै निर्यन्तो देवानां प्राणेषु वलगान्यखनन्तान्बाहुमात्रेऽन्वविन्दन्तस्माद्बाहुमात्राः खायन्ते। (तै०सं० ६.२.११)।

अथर्ववेद संहिता में वलग

अ०सं० में वलग का उल्लेख कई मन्त्रों में कृत्या के साथ ही आया है। 'कृत्यापरिहरण गण' में परिगणित एक सूक्त[१८] हर प्रकार की कृत्याओं और वलगों के विरुद्ध प्रयुक्त होता है। इसी के एक अन्य मन्त्र में[१९] यातुविदों की कई श्रेणियों में एक 'वलगिन्' का भी उल्लेख है। अ०सं० के दशमकाण्ड का प्रथम सूक्त 'कृत्यादूषण' है जो कृत्याओं के विरुद्ध प्रयुक्त है। इसके दो मन्त्रों में वलग का उल्लेख है[२०]। इसी संहिता के एक मन्त्र में जो कि 'शान्तिगण' में परिगणित है उल्काभिहत नक्षत्र, अभिचार, कृत्याओं और निखात वल्गों आदि के शान्त होने एवं कल्याण करने की प्रार्थना की गई है[२१] –

नक्षत्रमुल्काभिहतं शमस्तु नः शं नोऽभिचाराः शमु सन्तु कृत्याः।
शं नो निखाता वल्गाः शमुल्का देशोपसर्गाः शमु नो भवन्तु।।

उपर्युक्त मन्त्र में 'वल्गाः' शब्द ध्यातव्य है जबकि अन्यत्र सभी स्थलों में 'वलगाः' पद ही मिलता है। संभवतः 'वलग' के साथ–साथ 'वल्ग' रूप भी प्रचलित था जिसका एक रूप 'वल्गा' (लगाम) में आज भी मिलता है।

तैत्तिरीय संहिता में वलग

श्रौत यज्ञों में विभिन्न अनुष्ठानों की प्रक्रियाओं को माध्यम या साधन बना कर लगे हाथ दूसरे अभीष्टों की भी सिद्धि कर ली गई है। इनके प्रमुख उद्देश्यों में एक है–शत्रुओं का नाश। जो भी समान, या असमान, विद्या, बुद्धि, वित्त, सौभाग्य आदि की दृष्टि से समकक्ष या असमकक्ष किसी से द्वेष करता है, शत्रुभाव रखता है, उसका नाश श्रौत यज्ञों की विविध क्रियाओं को साधन बना कर प्रतीकात्मक रूप से कर लिया जाता है। **तैत्तिरीय संहिता (तै०सं०)** में १.३.२ तथा ६.२.११ में शत्रुओं द्वारा गाड़े गये वलगों एवं शत्रुओं को नष्ट करने के लिये 'अग्निष्टोम' नामक याग में उपरवों के निर्माण की याज्ञिक प्रक्रिया को साधन बना कर प्रतीकात्मक रूप से अभीष्ट सिद्धि की गई है। अग्निष्टोम सोमयज्ञों की प्रकृति एवं आदर्श है। सोमक्रयण, यजमानदीक्षा, सदनिर्माण आदि कृत्यों के बाद अग्निशाला से हविर्धान नामक दो शकट महावेदि के दक्षिण एवं उत्तर में रक्खे जाते हैं जिनमें हवि के रूप में सोम रखा रहता है। उनके चारों ओर आवरक के रूप में हविर्धान नामक मण्डप बनाया जाता है जो साक्षात् विष्णु रूप या विष्णु देवताक माना जाता है।

उपरव-निर्माण

अध्वर्यु दक्षिण हविर्धान के सामने भूमि में लकड़ी की स्फ्य से अवटों (गर्तों) के परिलेखन के बाद एक हाथ गहरे चार गड्ढे खोदता है। जैसे यूप के लिये अवट बनाया जाता

---

१८. अ०सं० ५.३१.४ वलगं वा नराध्याम्।

१९. अ०सं० ५.३१.१२.

२०. यां ते बर्हिषि यां श्मशाने क्षेत्रे कृत्यां वलगं वा निचख्नुः (१०.१.१८)

२१. अ०सं० १९.९.९.

है वैसे ही ये चार गर्त (गड्ढे) बनाये जाते हैं जिन्हें 'उपरव' कहते हैं[२२]। इन गर्तों के ऊपर अधिषवण फलक (लकड़ी के तख्ते) बिछा कर अधिषवण चर्म (बैल का लाल चर्म) रक्खा जाता है जिस पर चार प्रस्तर खण्डों से सोम का रस निकाला जाता है। प्रस्तर खण्डों से उत्पन्न घोष (ध्वनि) को ये चारों गड्ढ़े गुञ्जित कर देते हैं इसी से इन्हें 'उपरव' कहा जाता है[२३]। जिस क्रम से चारों गड्ढे खोदे जाते हैं उसी क्रम से उन गड्ढों से मिट्टी, तृणादिक, मन्त्रपूर्वक उखाड़ फेंके जाते हैं। यह क्रिया शत्रुओं द्वारा भूमि के अंदर गाड़े गये वलगों को खोद कर अन्यत्र फेंकने का आभिचारिक प्रयोग भी है। चूँकि हविर्धान यज्ञ का शीर्ष है इसलिये चार कूप (गर्त) खोदे जाते हैं जो दो कानों के छिद्र और नांसिका के दो छिद्रों के प्रतीक हैं। अवटों के ऊपर कुशाच्छादन केशों का प्रतीक है। प्रस्तर खण्ड दन्त रूप है। एक सुन्दर रूपक द्वारा उपरवों की प्रशंसा की गई है–

शिरो वा एतद्यज्ञस्य यद्धविर्धानम्। प्राणा उपरवा हनू अधिषवणे जिह्वा चर्म ग्रावाणो दन्ता मुखमाहवनीयो नासिकोत्तरवेदिरुदरं सदम्[२४]....।

चारों उपरवों को "**रक्षोहणो वलगहनो वैष्णवान् खनामि**[२५]" मन्त्र से खोदते हैं। ये उपरव राक्षसों एवं वलगों के नाशक और वैष्णव कहे गये हैं। तत्पश्चात् इन गर्तों से मिट्टी को निकाल फेंकने की क्रिया को "**इदमहं तं वलगमुद्वपामि यं नः समानो यमसमानो निचखानेदमेनमधरं करोमि यो नः समानो योऽसमानो राऽतीयति। गायत्रेण छन्दसाऽवबाढो वलगः**"। गर्तों से खोदी गई मिट्टी को यजमान के पैरों के पास नीचे डालते हैं जो शत्रुओं को यजमान के पैरों पर डाल देने, उन्हें नीचा या पराजित करने का प्रतीक है, साथ ही वलग के अवबाधित होने की भी पुष्टि है। सायण की व्याख्या द्रष्टव्य है–

"अस्मान् विनाशयितुं विद्यावित्तसौभाग्यादिभिः समानोऽसमानो वा यं वलगं निचखान तं वलगमहमिदमुद्वपाभि। किंचास्मानुद्दिश्य समानोऽसमानो वा यः कोऽप्यरातिवदाचरति एनमिदमधरं यजमानपादस्याधोवर्त्तिनं करोमि। गायत्रच्छन्दोभिमानिदेवेन वलगोऽवबाधितः।"

ये चारों उपरव नीचे से एकीकृत (मिले) रहते हैं क्योंकि प्राण, अपान, चक्षु, श्रोत्रादि सभी शरीर के अन्दर एक होकर रहते हैं। दक्षिणपूर्व उपरवों का यजमान अवमर्शण करता है और उत्तर–पश्चिम उपरवों का अध्वर्यु। यजमान पूछता है "**किमत्र**" (यहाँ क्या है।) अध्वर्यु उत्तर देता है– "**भद्रम्**" (कल्याण, शुभ)। यजमान कहता है "**तन्नौ सह**" (वह हम दोनों को हो)[२६]। तत्पश्चात् इन उपरवों का अभिमर्शण "**विराडसि सपत्नहा, सम्राडसि भ्रातृव्यहा, स्वराडस्याभिमातिहा, विश्वाराडसि विश्वासां नाष्ट्राणां हन्ता**" इन चार मन्त्रों से प्रदक्षिण क्रम से किया जाता है जो कि सभी शत्रुओं का सर्वनाश करने वाला है। पश्चात् "**रक्षोहणो वलगहनः**

---

२२. **कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र** ८.४.२५ "दक्षिणस्यानसोऽधः प्रउगं खनति"....।

२३. **का० श्रौ० सू०** ८.४.१८ की टीका।

२४. **तै०सं०** ६.२.११

२५. **तै०सं०** १.३.२ (सायणभाष्य सहित) आनन्दाश्रमसंस्कृतग्रन्थावलिः ४२, १६५६।

२६. **तै०सं०** १.३.२.

प्रोक्षामि वैष्णवान्" मन्त्र से उपरवों का प्रोक्षण और **"रक्षोहणो वलगहनोऽवनयामि वैष्णवान्"** मन्त्र से उपरवों में जल उँडेला जाता है। उसके पश्चात् **"यवोऽसि. यवयास्मद् द्वेषो यवयाराती"** मन्त्रों से यथाक्रम उपरवों में यवों को डाला जाता है। इस प्रकार प्रतीकात्मक रूप से आभिचारिक प्रयोग द्वारा यव के धात्वर्थ–शत्रुओं के दूरीकरण रूप अभीष्ट को प्राप्त किया जाता है। तत्पश्चात् **"रक्षोहणो वलगहनोऽवस्तृणामि वैष्णवान्"** मन्त्र के साथ उपरवों के अन्दर दर्भप्रक्षेपण करता है, क्योंकि अक्षि की पलकों एवं नासिका के छिद्रों में लोमदर्शन होता है (सायण)। **"बर्हिरवस्तृणाति तस्माल्लोमशा अन्तरतः प्राणाः" (तै० सं० ६.२.११)**। पश्चात् **"रक्षोहणो वलगहनोऽभिजुहोमि वैष्णवान्"** से होम किया जाता है। आज्य तेज है और प्राण उपरव हैं, इस प्रकार आज्य होम से प्राणों में तेज को स्थापित करता है[२७]। उसके बाद **"रक्षोहणौ वलगहनावुप दधामि वैष्णवी"** मन्त्र से अधिषवण फलकों को उपरवों पर रक्खा जाता है और **"रक्षोहणौ वलगहनौ पर्यूहामि वैष्णवी"** मन्त्र से फलकों को परस्पर दृढ़ता (कसाव) प्रदान की जाती है। पश्चात् **रक्षोहणौ वलगहनौ परिस्तृणामि वैष्णवी** मन्त्र से फलकों पर कुश बिछा कर **"रक्षोहणौ वलगहनौ वैष्णवी"** मन्त्र से फलकों का अभिमर्शण करता है। तत्पश्चात् चर्मफलक पर पत्थर से शब्द करता है– **"बृहन्नसि बृहद्ग्रावा बृहतीमिन्द्राय वाचं वद"** अर्थात् हे पाषाण ! तुम अपनी शक्ति से महान् हो, तुम बृहद्ग्रावा हो। तुम इन्द्र को सुनाने के लिये ऊँची ध्वनि करो"।

शुक्ल यजुर्वेद माध्यन्दिन संहिता[२८] में ५.२३, ५.२५ में भी उपरवों के निर्माण एवं उसके माध्यम से वलगों के नाश की प्रक्रिया वर्णित है जिसमें **तै० सं०** से इसके मन्त्रों में काफी पाठभेद एवं क्रम भेद है। यथा–

"रक्षोहणं वलगहनं वैष्णवीमिदमहं तं वलगमुत्किरामि यं मे निष्ट्यो यममात्यो निचखानेदमहं तं वलगमुत्किरामि यं मे समानो यमसमानो निचखानेदमहं तं वलगमुत्किरामि यं मे सबन्धुर्यमसबन्धुर्निचखानेदमहं तं वलगमुत्किरामि यं मे सजातो यमसजातो निचखानोत्कृत्यां किरामि" (५.२३)।

उवट-भाष्य- ".......रक्षोहणम्। रक्षांसि या वागपहन्ति सा रक्षोहा तां रक्षोहणम्.... वलगहनम् वलगान् कृत्यविशेषान् भूमौ निखनितान् शत्रुभिर्विनाशार्थं हन्तीति वलगहा वाक् तां वलगहनम्....। वलो वृणोतेः। यस्य वधार्थं क्रियते तं रोगादिभिर्वृण्वन् आ प्रच्छादयन् गच्छतीति वलगः। वैष्णवीं विष्णुदेवत्यां वाचं वद इति सम्बन्धः। उत्किरति। इदमहं यत्करोमि तद्वलगं कृत्याविशेषम्। उत्किरामि उद्वपामि। यं मे निष्ट्यः। यं वलगं मे मम निष्ट्यः पुत्रः। स हि निर्गत्य शरीरात्ततो विस्तीर्णो भवति यं च अमात्यः वलगं निचखान निखनति........ द्वितीयमुत्किरति। यं मे समानः विद्यादिभिः सदृशः। असमानः विद्यादिभिरसदृशः।........ तृतीयमुत्किरति। यं मे सबन्धुः। सबन्धुः स्वजनः। असबन्धुस्तद्विपरीतः। .... चतुर्थमुत्किरति। यं मे सजातः। सजातो भ्राता। स हि समान- जन्मा भवति। असजातः असमानजन्मा भ्रातुरसदृशः।.........सर्वमुत्किरति उत्कृत्यां किरामि उत्किरामि कृत्याम्"।

---

२७. तै०सं० ६.२.११

२८. शु०य०सं०-श्रीमदुवटाचार्यविरचितमन्त्रभाष्येण श्रीमहीधराचार्यकृतवेददीपभाष्येण च समन्विता, मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, १९८७.

महीधर भाष्य

"............तथा वलगहनं वलगान् हन्तीति वलगहा ताम्।............पराजयं प्राप्य पलायमानैः राक्षसैरिन्द्रादिवधार्थमभिचाररूपेण भूमौ निखाता अस्थि–केश–नखादिपदार्थाः कृत्याविशेषा वलगाः..... ... यस्य वधार्थं क्रियते तं वृण्वन्नाच्छादयन् गच्छतीति वलगः। ते वलगा बाहुमात्रे खातास्ततस्तदु–द्धारार्थमुपरवस्य तावन्मात्रखननम्। तान्बाहुमात्रान्खनेत् इति श्रुतिः (३.५.४.६) तित्तिरिः।

"...........नितरां स्त्यायति संघातरूपेण सह वर्तत इति निष्ट्यः। यद्वा निर्गत्य शरीरात् स्त्यायति विस्तीर्णो भवतीति निष्ट्यः पुत्रादिः। यद्वा निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्ट्यः चण्डालादिः। ...... धनिकस्य स्वामिनो धनगृहादिनिर्वाहकोऽमात्यः। केनापि निमित्तेन कुपितः पुत्रोऽमात्यो वा मे मह्यं मद्वधार्थं यं वलगं निचखान निखातवान् तं वलगहमुत्किरामि उद्वपामि उद्धृत्य अन्यत्र परित्यजामि। ....समानो धनकुलादिभिः सदृशः। असमानो न्यूनोऽधिको वा। ....संबन्धुः कुलशीलादिभिः समानो मातुलपैतृष्वसेयादिः तद्विपरीतोऽसबन्धुः। ....सजातः समानजन्मा भ्राता तद्विपरीतोऽसजातः। ....येयं कृत्या शत्रुभिरभिचरद्भिः सम्पादिता वलगरूपा तामुत्किरामि उद्धृत्य दूरे क्षिपामि" (५.२३)।

यहाँ अर्थ की स्पष्टता की दृष्टि से दोनों (उवट–महीधर) भाष्यों को दिया गया है। **तै० सं०** में उद्वपन क्रिया के साथ जहाँ केवल "समान–असमान" है, वहीं यहाँ **शु०य०सं०** में चार उपरवों के लिये, चार अलग–अलग पुत्र–अमात्य समान–असमान, सबन्धु–असबन्धु, सजात–असजात इन शत्रु श्रेणियों के लिये चार भिन्न–भिन्न मन्त्र दिये गये हैं। **शु०य०सं०** में शत्रु–भाव रखने वालों में पुत्र, अमात्य, भाई को भी निर्दिष्ट किया गया है।

काठक संहिता– उपरवों से मिट्टी के उद्वपन के समय वलगों से सम्बन्धित उपर्युक्त मन्त्र यजुर्वेदीय **काठक संहिता**[२६] (२.११) में थोड़े पाठभेद से निम्न रूप में प्राप्त है–

"रक्षोहणं वलगहनं वैष्णवीमिदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्स्समानो यानसमानो निचखानेदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्नस्सबन्धुर्यानसबन्धुर्निचखानेदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्नस्सनाभिर्यानसनाभिर्निचखानेदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्नस्स्वो यानरणो निचखान............" इत्यादिः।

काठक संहिता का ही २५.६ भी द्रष्टव्य है–

"देवाश्च वा असुराश्च व्यभ्यचरन्त। तेऽसुरा देवानां प्राणेषु वलगान्यखनँस्तान् बाहुमात्रेऽन्व विन्दँस्तस्माद्बाहुमात्राः खेयाः........। इदमहं तान् वलगानुद्वपामि यान्नस्समानो यानसमानो निचखानेति। यदेवास्यात्र शप्तं यदभिचरितं तदनुविद्योद्वपति........"।

उपरवों की खनन–प्रक्रिया में प्रहार एवं क्रूरता समाहित है इसीलिये रक्षोघ्न, वलगघ्न वैष्णव उपरवों को अवसिञ्चित कर शान्त किया जाता है– "अथो यदेवैषां खनन्तः क्रूरं कुर्वन्ति तच्छमयति"।

---

२६. सम्पा० श्रीपाद दामोदर सातवलेकर, स्वाध्याय मंडल, पारडी, १९८३.

शतपथ ब्राह्मण— वाजसनेयि माध्यन्दिन शाखा के **शतपथ ब्राह्मण**[३०] (३, ४.४, २–३ तथा ३.४.४, ६–२२) में वलगों का प्रसंग प्राप्त है। इसमें उपरवों के निर्माण का दो प्रयोजन बताया गया है। प्रथम–हविर्धान के यज्ञ के शीर्ष रूप होने के कारण सोमाभिषव के लिये चार उपरवों का खनन होता है। द्वितीय कारण है असुरों द्वारा द्वेष्य–वधार्थ भूमि में स्थापित वलगों को उखाड़ फेंकना। जैसे देवों में वैसे ही मनुष्यों में यह अनुष्ठान कृत्यापरिहारोपाय है। **"द्वयं वा अभ्युपरवाः खायन्ते........ देवाश्च वा असुराश्च। उभये प्राजापत्याः पस्पृधिरे ततोऽसुरा एषु लोकेषु कृत्यां वलगान्निचख्नु.............. (२)। तद्वै देवाऽअस्पृण्वत। त एतैः कृत्यां वलगानुदखनन्यदा वै कृत्यामुत्खनन्त्यथ साऽलसा मोघा भवति। तथो एवैष एतद्यद्यस्माऽअत्र कश्चिद् द्विषन् भ्रातृव्यः कृत्यां वलगान्निखनति तानेवैतदुत्किरति तस्मादुपरवान्खनति स दक्षिणस्य हविर्धानस्याऽधोऽधः प्रउगं खनति" (३)।**

शतपथ ब्राह्मण में उपरवों के खनन से न केवल वलग बल्कि शत्रुओं द्वारा गाड़ी गई कृत्याओं को भी नष्ट किया जाना बताया गया है–

"इदमहं तं वलगमुत्किरामि यम्मे निष्ठ्यो यममात्यो निचखानेति। निष्ठ्यो वा वाऽमात्यो वा कृत्यां वलगान्निखनति तानेवैतदुत्किरति" (३.४.४.१०) इत्यादि।

इस प्रकार श्रौत–यज्ञीय–प्रक्रिया का कितनी कुशलतापूर्वक घोर आभिचारिक प्रयोग किया गया है और उसे वलगों, राक्षसों और शत्रुओं को नष्ट करने का साधन बनाया गया है।



---

३०. शतपथ ब्राह्मणम्, ज्ञान पब्लिशिंग हाउस, दिल्ली, १९८७

CONTRIBUTOR'S – LIST(Vols. L -Liii)

1. Agrawal, K. L.
2. Agrawal, P. K.
3. Angne Lal
4. Arora, U. P.
5. Arun Kumar
6. Bajpai, K. D.
7. Bajpai, Santosh Kumar
8. Bhandari, D. R.
9. Bhattacharya, Sibhesh
10. Bhuvan Vikram
11. Chattopadhyaya, Bhaskar
12. Dubey, D. P.
13. Dubey, Sitaram
14. Dwivedi, Lavakush
15. Dwivedi, U. C.
16. Gopal, Lallan ji
17. Goyal, Shanker
18. Goyal, S. R.
19. Gupta, N. P.
20. Handa, Devendra
21. Jain, Prem Suman
22. Jani, Varsha G.
23. Jayaswal, Kusum
24. Kamal Giri
25. Krishna Kumar
26. Lalit Kumar
27. Lokesh Chandra
28. Malaviya, Maya
29. Mishra, Ajay Kumar
30. Mishra, Bina
31. Mishra, B. N.
32. Mishra, Jayadeva
34. Mishra, Shivagopal
35. Mishra, Vibha
36. Mishra, V. D.
37. Mittal, K. K.
38. Murthy, A. V. Narasimha
39. Nagarch, B. L.
40. Ojha, Aditya Prasad
41. Om Prakash
42. Pande, Anupa
43. Pande, Susmita
44. Pandeya, Lalit
45. Pandey, O. P.
46. Pandey, S. L.
47. Pandey, Uma
48. Pathak, S. M.
49. Pathak, Vishvambhara Sharan

50. Puri, B. N.
51. Mukherjee, Sandhya
52. Renubala
53. Roy, Anamika
54. Roy, S. N.
55. Roy, U. N.
56. Sahay, Kiran
57. Seth, Veda
58. Sharmà, D. P.
59. Sharma, I. K.
60. Sharma, Madhuri
61. Sharma, S. K.
62. Shashi Kant
63. Shastri, Ajay Mitra
64. Singh, A. K.
65. Singh, Abhay Kumar
66. Singh, Keshav Prasad
67. Singh, Purushottam
68. Shukla, Pradeep Kumar
69. Singh, Tahsildar
70. Singh, Y. B.
71. Sinha, Atul Kumar
72. Sinha, Chitta Ranjan Prasad
73. Singhal, S. D.
74. Srivastava, A. L.
75. Srivastava, O. P.
76. Srivastava, Shashibala
77. Srivastava, V. C.
78. Sullerey, S. K.
79. Thakur, Upendra
80. Thakur, Vijay Kumar
81. Thaplyal, K. K.
82. Thosar, H. S.
83. Tiwari, Gauri Shankar
84. Tiwari, Maruti Nandana
85. :Tiwari, Ramchandra
86. Tripathi, D. N.
87. Tripathi, G. C.
88. Tripathi, Krishna Kumar
89. Trivedi, C. B.
90. Varma, R. K.
91. Vishwakarma, Ishwar Sharan
92. Yadav, B. N. S.

□□□

गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्ननूतनलघुग्रन्थानां
संकलनम्



गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठ-
शोधपत्रिकायाः परिशिष्टम्

✻

सप्तदशं पुष्पम्

सुन्दरकथा

संपादकः

डॉ० गयाचरण त्रिपाठी

अष्टादशं पुष्पम्

मूर्खशतकम्

संपादिका

डॉ० बीना मिश्रा

✻

२००० ई०

अज्ञातकर्तृका

सुन्दरकथा

चौरपञ्चाशिकामधिकृत्य कृता प्रबन्धकल्पना



सम्पादकः

गयाचरण त्रिपाठी



गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्
प्रयागः

॥ पूर्वपीठिका ॥

'चौरपञ्चाशिका' संस्कृत गीति-साहित्य का एक अनुपम रत्न है। युवजनसुलभ उद्दाम श्रृंगार के संयोग एवं वियोग दोनों पक्षों को एक साथ प्रस्तुत करने वाला यह गीतकाव्य श्रृंगार की अनेक मधुर एवं कोमल अनुभूतियों का अत्यन्त ललित और मनोरम चित्रण करता है। एक दूसरे के साहचर्य के लिये तड़पते हुए प्रेमी और प्रेमिका की मिलन वेला पर दोनों की शारीरिक और मानसिक स्थिति की अपूर्व अभिव्यक्ति इस खण्ड काव्य में हुई है। फिर भी केन्द्र बिन्दु में रही है नारी की रमणीयता, सरसता, कोमलता, भावविह्वलता एवं लज्जाशीलता के साथ-साथ अपने प्रियतम के प्रति त्याग एवं पूर्ण समर्पण की भावना। सारा का सारा काव्य वस्तुतः नारीसौन्दर्य की प्रशंसा में रचित एक उत्कृष्ट स्तोत्र है।

इस सरस काव्य का रचयिता कौन था, हमें ठीक से पता नहीं। परम्परागतरूप से इसका श्रेय प्रसिद्ध ऐतिहासिक काव्य विक्रमांकदेवचरित के यशस्वी कर्ता काश्मीरी कवि बिल्हण (११वीं शती) को दिया जाता है। पर इसमें कोई पुष्ट प्रमाण नहीं। काव्य का शीर्षक भी असामान्य है– चौरपञ्चाशिका अर्थात् एक चोर के द्वारा कहे गये ५० पद्य। यह चोरी चौर्य-सुरत से संबन्धित है, किसी का धन चुराने से नहीं। चौरपञ्चाशिका के समस्त पद्य इस 'चोर' के द्वारा एक अवैध प्रेमप्रसंग में भोगे हुए सुख की पुनः-स्मृति के रूप में रचित हैं। इस दृष्टि से कविता की आंग्ल कवि वर्ड्सवर्थ द्वारा दी गई परिभाषा– **'Emotions recollected in tranquility'** का यह उत्तम निदर्शन है। आज हमें न तो इस चोर की पहचान है, न ही उसकी सुरतसंगिनी की जब कि इस रचना के अस्तित्व में आते ही लोगों को इस विषय में उत्कट जिज्ञासा रही होगी।

जब तथ्यात्मक सत्य 'हिरण्मय पात्र' में बन्द हो तब उद्भावन-प्रवणता एवं कल्पनाशाक्ति का 'पूषा' ही उसका ढक्कन हटा कर उस 'सत्यधर्म' का दर्शन करा सकता है, जिसके लिये सहृदय रसिक पाठकों के मन में व्याकुलता रही है। मेघदूत के प्रसंग में भी ऐसा ही हुआ। कालिदास तो यक्ष के विषय में केवल "स्वाधिकारात् प्रमत्तः" कह कर

आगे बढ़ गये। पर सहृदय टीकाकारों ने अपनी कल्पना से आखिर उस 'अधिकार' (=कर्त्तव्य) की खोज ही निकाला जिसमें प्रमाद करने से यक्ष को अपनी प्रिय पत्नी से एक वर्ष तक पृथक् रहना पड़ा।

कुछ ऐसा ही इस "सुन्दरकथा' के संबन्ध में भी है। चौर पञ्चाशिका में कहीं कोई संदर्भ नहीं है कि आखिर किस चोर ने किस प्रसंग में ये अतीव रमणीय पद्य कहे। अतः सहृदय पाठक–लेखकों ने अपनी उत्प्रेक्षा को पंख लगाए और कल्पना–लोक से उतार लाए इस सुन्दर कथा को। जब काव्य की नायिका अनुपम सुन्दरी है तो नायक तो 'सुन्दर' होगा ही। विशेषण ही संज्ञा का काम करेगा। कन्या राजकुमारी है तो सुन्दर का राजकुमार होना भी आवश्यक है। कालिदास की काल्पनिक जीवनी के प्रसंग में विद्योत्तमा नाम सुलभ एवं परिज्ञात था, और उसकी यह प्रतिज्ञा भी कि वह अपने से अधिक विद्वान् से ही विवाह करेगी। हमारी कथा को इसका लाभ मिला और हमारी राजकुमारी बनी 'विद्या' तथा सुन्दर बना एक सर्वशास्त्रविशारद पण्डित। प्रतिज्ञा वही रही, अतः सुन्दर को कोई कठिनाई नहीं हुई विद्या को पाने में। विद्योत्तमा ने ऊँट की आवाज़ पर प्रश्न किया था, तो विद्या ने मोर की।

यह "सुन्दरकथा" हमारे विद्यापीठ में अवस्थित एक मातृका की सम्पादित-संशोधित पुनः प्रस्तुति है। मातृका प्रयाग के दारागंज निवासी सुविज्ञ महाराष्ट्री संस्कृत पण्डित डॉ० विद्याधर धर्माधिकारी से प्राप्त हुई थी। दुर्भाग्य से इसका प्रथम पृष्ठ विनष्ट हो गया है अतः यह 'अव्यक्तादि' है। आगे के कथानक से लगता है कि आरम्भ में नसीर शाह नामक राजा का, उसकी राजधानी (रत्नावली) का तथा उसके पुत्र एवं हमारे कथानायक सुन्दर की दिग्विजय यात्रा का वर्णन रहा होगा। माधव भट्ट, अर्थात् माधव नाम के भाट, से उज्जयिनी के राजा वीर सिंह की पुत्री विद्या के रूप एवं वैदुष्य का वर्णन सुन कर उसे प्राप्त करने के लिये सुन्दर अकेला उज्जयिनी आता है। प्रथम पत्र के अन्तिम अंश में उज्जयिनी का वर्णन प्रारंभ ही हुआ होगा जिसका सातत्य द्वितीय पत्र में है, जहाँ से हमारी मातृका प्रारम्भ होती है। यही माधव-भट्ट (भाट) कथा के अन्त में वीरसिंह के दरबार में आकर उसे सुन्दर एवं उसके

पिता नासीर शाह का परिचय देता है। नसीरशाह की पहचान मैं नहीं कर पाया, शायद हो भी नहीं सकती। सुन्दरकथा के पात्र इतिहास की वस्तु नहीं हैं। पर मुसलमानी छाप लिये एक हिन्दू राजा का यह नाम अपने उद्‌भव के लिये उस काल की ओर संकेत करता है जब अरबी-फारसी के कुछ शब्द धीरे-धीरे भारतीय भाषाओं में ऐसे घुल मिल गये थे कि हिन्दुओं को भी उन्हें नाम के रूप में अपनाने में कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं थी। यह नाम इस कथा के उद्‌गम के रूप में संभवतः सिन्ध, गुजरात या पंजाब की ओर भी इंगित करता है।

इस कथा की भाषा अत्यन्त सरल एवं प्रवाहमय संस्कृत है जिसमें यदा कदा छोटी-छोटी भूलें भी मिल जाती हैं (पृ०३ पर 'वेधाः अनुकूलः' के स्थान पर 'वेधानुकूलः' तथा पृ० पर 'रात्रिवासः परित्यज्य' के स्थान पर ' रात्रिवासं परित्यज्य' ऐसी ही प्रमादजन्य त्रुटियाँ हैं। पृ० ४ पर 'विद्ययातीव कुपितया पाणिना प्रहारः कृतः' के स्थान पर 'विद्यातीव कुपिता...' पाठ था जिसे मैंने लिपिकर्ता का प्रमाद मान कर शुद्ध कर लिया है, एवं क्वचिदन्यत्रापि)। मातृका संवत् १७३१ (सन् १६७४ ई०) में श्री नारायण त्रिपाठी द्वारा लिपिबद्ध की गई थी। उनके लेखन की त्रुटियों को यथासंभव सुधारा गया है पर यह सुविज्ञात है कि एक अकेली मातृका से मूल शुद्ध पाठ तैयार करना लगभग असंभव है। फिर भी यदि मैं इस रचना को विद्वानों के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत करने का साहस कर रहा हूँ तो केवल इसलिये कि यह आगे आने वाले विद्वान् शोधकर्ताओं के लिए एक स्रोत-ग्रन्थ का कार्य करे।

सुन्दरकथा की प्रमुख उपयोगिता इसमें उद्‌धृत चौरपञ्चाशिका के पद्यों में विद्यमान पाठान्तरों को लेकर है क्योंकि पञ्चाशिका के प्रायः सभी पद्य इसमें गुम्फित हैं, यद्यपि क्रम भिन्न है। चौरपञ्चाशिका के अधिसंख्य पद्यों में प्रचुर मात्रा में पाठान्तर प्राप्त होते हैं। बाद के मातृका लेखकों तथा पाठक-लेखकों ने अपनी-अपनी रुचि के अनुसार पद्यों के शब्दों तथा वाक्यांशों में खूब परिवर्तन किया है। इन्हीं डॉ० धर्माधिकारी से प्राप्त चौरपञ्चाशिका की एक स्वतन्त्र मातृका में अनेक पद्यों के पाठ पूर्णतया भिन्न है। मुद्रित संस्करणों के पाठों से तुलना करने पर भी प्रभूत अन्तर

मिलेगा। ४०वें पद्य में 'कुन्तलाक्षीम्' के स्थान पर अन्यत्र 'कुन्तलालिम्' (अधिक अच्छा !) पाठ है, ४१वें में 'दीर्घशयने स्खलितांगयष्टिम्' के स्थान पर 'दीर्घविरहग्लपितांगयष्टिम्' पाठ प्राप्त है, ४२वें में 'विशालजघना' के स्थान पर 'विशालनयना' है, ४४वें मे 'कस्तूरिकातरललेपविशुद्धगन्धाम्' के स्थान पर 'कस्तूरिकापरिमलोत्थविमिश्रगन्धाम्' है, ४८वें में हमारा 'श्रवणकुण्डल' अन्यत्र 'कनककुण्डल' है और 'मुक्ताफलप्रचुर' 'मुक्ताफलप्रकर' के रूप में प्राप्त होता है। अगले ४६वें श्लोक में 'श्रवणभंगुर' के स्थान पर 'प्रलयभंगुर' पाठ मिलता है जिसका मूल शुद्धरूप संभवतः 'प्रणयभंगुर' रहा होगा। ५४ वें 'विपरीतरताभियोगे' के स्थान पर कुछ मातृकाओं को 'सुरतक्लमविह्वलायाः' पाठ अभीष्ट है तो ६३वें में 'निर्वाक्यताद्विगुणिताश्रुजला' के स्थान पर 'वाचास्खलद्विगलदक्षिजला'। कहाँ तक गिनाया जाए, पाठान्तरों की संख्या बहुत बड़ी है। मेरा उद्देश्य चौरपञ्चाशिका का सामीक्षिक संस्करण तैयार करने का नहीं था, अतः उसे अन्य विद्वानों के लिये छोड़ दिया है। सहृदय पाठकवृन्द इस मनोरम कथा को पढ़कर यदि आनन्दित हुए तो मैं अपने परिश्रम को सफल समझूँगा, इत्यलम्।

विदुषामाश्रवः
गयाचरण त्रिपाठी

अथ श्री

।। सुन्दरकथा ।।

(चौरपञ्चाशिकामधिकृत्य कृता प्रबन्धकल्पना)

(मातृकायाः प्रथमं पत्रं नास्ति)

...नित्यं यत्र परं पुराणपठनं गोविन्दपूजा जपो
होमो, नृत्यकलाविलासकुशलाः योषिज्जना निर्भयाः।
दानं, दन्तितुरङ्गरङ्गरसिकः श्रीवीरसेनो नृपो
विद्या मूर्तिमती विराजति यतः कामारिमोहप्रदा।।1।।

तस्यां गच्छन् सुन्दरः सुन्दरं नानाशकुनिगणपंकेरुहवनमृदुलं सुरभितपवनगुञ्जन्मधुपयुतं सरोवरमाप्तवान्। अनन्तरं तस्य सरसो महीरुहमूले उपविष्टः कामपि विकचकमलविक्रेतुकामां मालाकारवामां विलोकयामास। अथ सा मालाकाराबला कुमारमालोक्य प्रहसितवदना पृच्छति—

कस्त्वं कस्य सुतोऽसि कुत्र नगरे वासः कुतो गम्यते
स्ववैद्यप्रतिमप्रतापतपनस्फूर्जच्छटामण्डलः।
मन्ये त्वं नृपनन्दनो गुरुतरं कार्यं विधातुं परं
धृत्वा वेशमपूर्वकैतवयुतं विद्योतितं निर्गतः।।2।।

ततस्तस्या इति वाचमाकलय्य सुन्दरो वाचमुवाच—

नसीरसाहतनयो रत्नावल्यां ममालयः।
सत्यं, सुन्दरनामास्मि यामि कामार्थमाकुलः।।3।।

इत्याभाष्यानन्तरं सोऽपि तां पप्रच्छ — किं नामास्या नगर्याः, राजा च कः ? ततश्च सा वदति— इयमुज्जयिनी नाम नगरी। नृपतिः श्रीवीरसिंहः अस्या अधीशः। ततः सुन्दर उज्जयिनीनाम श्रुत्वा विकसितहृदयकमलः पुनर्मालिनीं सस्मितमाह— भवत्याः किं नाम, सत्यं ब्रूहि। मालिनी वदति— श्रीवीरसिंहनृपतिमालिन्यहं नाम्ना सुचरितेति।

सुन्दरः — अहो, कस्मै कस्मै कुसुमं ददासि ?

मालिनी — *वीरसिंहसुता विद्या विद्याभूषणभूषिता।*

तस्यै प्रतिदिनं वीर ददामि दामपञ्चकम्।।4।।

सुन्दरः – आः, आप्यायितोऽस्मि भवतीवचनामृतेन। किन्तु दिनमणिरयमस्ताचलं चलितः। सुचरिते भवतीगेहे स्थातुं मनो विलसति। अथवा मूल्यं मणिमेकं नीत्वा बन्धकमपि कारय। ग्रामप्रवेश एव भवत्या यशः समाकर्ण्य मनोऽस्माकं नान्यत्र विशति।

मालिनि – दातव्यो न वो वासः परदेशिभ्यः। यतो दोर्दण्डमण्डित-प्रचण्डकोदण्डखण्डितशतशतकुकृतिदुर्वारोऽयमुर्वीशः उज्जयिनीतिनगर्य्याः प्रसिद्धः। सेनायुक्तो रजनीपालः करधृतकरवालः अन्यायतो न्यायतो वा परसदनमभिविश्य स्वयं दण्डं विधाय नृपमभिदिशति। भूपालबालापि अखिलकलाकुशला रूपेण रतिरिव। त्वमपि रूपलावण्येन खर्वीकृतमदनमहीपतिगर्वः। पद्यं च –

राजायमतिदुर्वारो रजनीपालकस्तथा।
दुर्वृत्तो, विदुषी विद्या भीता हन्त वरक्षणे।।5।।

सुन्दरः – *हेतुना केन चरिते वीरसेनकुलोद्भवा।*
पुरुषद्वेषिणी विद्या कथ्यतामत्र कारणम्।।6।।

मालिनी – *शृणु विप्रकुलाम्भोज विद्यावृत्तान्तमद्भुतम्।*
पुरुषद्वेषिणी विद्या विद्यागर्वेण गर्विता।।7।।

सुन्दरः – अहो, किमिति विद्या विद्याविलासिनी कुचकलशं विफलीकरोति ?

मालिनी – शृणुत तस्याः प्रतिज्ञाम् –

कुमुदबन्धुशिरोमणिवैरिणः किल रसालविशालतनुस्तनुः।
निखिलपुस्तकशस्तमतिः परां जयति मां यदि, जीवपतिः स तु।।8।।

भो, हस्तन्यस्तपुस्तक भवानपि लक्ष्यते। तत् किमिति सा न दासीक्रियते ?

सुन्दरः – विद्यायाः का कथा, तद्गुरुमपि पाठयितुं शक्नोमि।

मालिनी – अहो परदेशिन्, मैवं भण। विद्याकर्णकुहरे पतिते अनर्थो भावी।

सुन्दरः प्रकटं विहस्य वदति– चतस्रो दिशो विजिता मया। मालिनी, का विद्या !

मालिनीति समाकर्ण्य कुतुकिनी 'अस्तु अस्त्वि'ति पुनः पुनर्भणित्वा

नगरीनिन्दां विधाय गच्छन्तं तं करे धृत्वा ग्रामान्तावस्थित-पुष्पवाटिका निकटवर्तिनिजसद्मनि स्थापयामास। स तु मालिनीं प्राह– मुद्रामेकां नीत्वा वणिक्पथमेहि, परं किमपि एवं न कथयिष्यसि 'ममालये परलोकावस्थितिः, किन्तु भगिनीतनयोऽस्ति'। अपरमपि। यावद्दिनं नगरीवासो मम भवत्या एव गृहे, प्रत्यहमेवं च दास्यामि। ततो मालिनीति श्रुत्वा पाणिप्राप्तसुरपुरीकेवानन्दिता सती 'सत्यं कोऽपि महापुरुषो विद्योद्देशनार्थमत्रागतः। विधिनापि निधिरारोपितः पाणौ। विलासिनोऽस्य मनोऽभिलाषोऽवश्यं पूरयितव्यो मयेति चिन्तयन्ती पुनस्तं गोपनीयस्थले स्थापयित्वा यदा चलति तदा सुन्दरो वदति– मालिनि, स्वर्णङ्गुलीयकमपि नीत्वा गच्छ, उत्तमद्रव्यादिकं नीत्वा सत्वरमेहि। अहमद्य कुसुमं गुम्फामि। ततः सा द्रव्यं समानीय तं रन्धनमकारयत्। तेनापि भोजनं विधाय पुनरपि विद्यावयोलक्षणादिकं पृष्ट्वा रजनी नीता। ततः प्रातर्भृङ्गावली-कलकोलाहलमाकलय्य गतनिद्रा सा मालाकारिणी पुष्पवाटिकामाजगाम। तत्राभूतपूर्वकुसुमविकाशमालक्ष्य चिन्तयामास' ममासीद् वेधानुकूलः! यतो द्वादशवर्षावधि यो नाभूत् कुसुमविकाशः सोऽधुना दृश्यते। तदस्यागमनमेव कारणम्' इति निगद्य ततो नानाकुसुमान्यानीय विद्यादामगुम्फनमुद्यतां तां विलक्ष्य बन्धनद्रव्यानयनकैतवेन वणिक्पथं प्रस्थाप्य सुन्दरः स्वयं सौन्दर्यरसिको विना सूत्रम् अनन्तमणिखचितं कुसुमहारं गुम्फयामास। ततो मालिनी तत आगत्य त्वरितं हारमन्यदपि कुसुमं गृहीत्वा विद्यापूजास्थलं प्राप्तवती।

विधाय विधिवत्ततः स्नपनमेत्य पूजालयं
निकाममणिगुम्फितं कुसुमदाम विद्या तदा।
विलोक्य कुतुकान्विता चकितचारुनेत्राञ्चला
पुनः पुनरिदं वचः सभयमालिनीं पृच्छति।।9।।

'सत्यं ब्रूयाः, विलम्बः कथं पुष्पानयने, केन वाद्य गुम्फितं दाम ? किं परदेशिरसिकस्तवालयेऽस्ति' ? ततः सभयकौतुकमुखी मालिनी भणति– शृणु, भागिनेयोऽद्यागतो वर्तते न तु विदेशीति। विद्या– एवं न हि। सत्यं भण। कोऽपि न श्रोष्यति। "भवत्या किं मम चेतो न ज्ञायते", तद्दिने तथैव भणित्वा गृहमागता मालिनी।

परदिने –

विकचकमलवक्त्रा चारुकर्णान्तनेत्रा
ललितगतिविचित्रा चन्दनालिप्तगात्रा।
नृपपुरसमवेशा बद्धकेशा सुहासा
चलितचपलचित्ता मालिनी माल्यहस्ता।।10।।

एवंभूता विद्यायै दत्तवती दाम।

विद्या पुनरपि तादृशीं मालां विलोक्य जगाद –

'स्वरूपवचनं ब्रूहि मालाकारिणि साम्प्रतम्।
विदग्धः पुरुषः कोऽपि मन्दिरे तव तिष्ठति।।11।।

कठिने यदि एवं नहि, इयमपूर्वा प्रकटसौरभभूषिता मणिना कलिता विचित्रगुम्फिता कथमासीन्माला यदवलोकनेनैव मदनमृगयुमार्गणगण-मर्दितमृगीवाहमासम्'। पुनरपि मालिनी तथैव जगाद। विद्ययातीव कुपितया पाणिना प्रहारः कृतः। मालिनी नयनयोरसुधारामानीय मिथ्याप्रलापं कृत्वा 'भवत्या कण्ठे क्षुरिकामादाय प्राणनाशो विधेयः, परमपराध एव नास्ति, किमिति मयि प्रहारः ?' इति वदन्ती रोदनमारेभे। अथानन्तरं मालिनीविलापमालोक्य विस्मिता विद्या ताम्बूलं दत्त्वा प्रस्थापयामास।

मालिनी स्वगृहमागत्य कुमारं रोषाविष्टा वदति–

वासो वैदेशिकान्यत्र क्रियताम्, त्यजत गृहम्।
कर्मणा तव भाग्येन केवलं जीवितं मया।।12।।

कुमार ईषत्स्मेरमुखो वदति– मालिनि, तस्याश्चरितं ज्ञातम्। भवत्या गृहं त्यजामि, वसामि वा। परमादौ भण भवत्या सहाद्य यः संवादस्तस्या आसीत्। मालिन्यपि तत्संवादमवर्णयत्। अथानन्तरं कुमारोऽपि मालिनीसदने सुखशयने विद्याधरीमिव विद्यां ददर्श।

मालिन्या दत्तवासः कथमपि कलितश्चातुरीभिः कुमारः
स्वच्छन्देनाथ सुप्तः प्रमुदितमनसा संददर्शाभिरामाम्।
विद्यां सर्वानवद्यां सकलगुणगणालंकृतां पद्मवक्त्रां
स्वीयार्थासक्ताचित्तां मुखकमलसुधासिक्तभूषां सुवर्णाम्।।13।।

तत उत्थाय वदति – मालिनि प्राणदानं देहि। अद्य शयने सालोकिता। परं पञ्चबाणबाणवृन्दं चेतो दहति। अथानन्तरं मालिनी पुनरपि तथाभूतां मालां विद्यायै दत्तवती। ततो मालामालोक्य विद्या वदति–

महता कपटेनेत्थं वञ्चित्वा मां फलं कियत्।
तत् कार्यं कुरु यत्नेन यातायातं करोषि किम्।।14।।

मालिनी – भवतीचरित्राकलनेऽशक्ताहं ते न कथयामि।

विद्या – वद, नास्ति भीतिः।

मालिनी – सत्यम्। रमणीरमणो मनोभवमोहनो जनो ममालयेऽस्ति।

विद्या – मालिनि, अधुना सत्यं भणितम्। किन्त्वेतत् त्वरितं कुरु यथा तेन विद्याचर्चा जायते।।

मालिनी – स तु जितजगतीधीरः। स्त्रिया सह कथं वा तस्य विद्याविचारः।

विद्या – हृदयदयिते, तेनादौ दर्शनं कारय, पश्चाद् भविष्यति।

मालिनी – एषोऽभिलाषोऽपि निरर्थको यतो भवतीनिलये अमरस्यापि संचारो नास्ति।

विद्या – कियत् कार्यमिदम्। स तु धीरो लीलया आयास्यति। अथ च –

चरिते श्रृणु मद्वाक्यं प्राणसौजन्यकारिणि।
कुमारस्य कथां दिव्यां स्निग्धे वद पुनः पुनः।।15।।

अपि च वच इदं वदिष्यसि – 'अद्य यथामिलनं तथा विधेयम्'।

अथानन्तरं मालिन्या स्वगृहमागत्य कुमारं प्रति सर्वं निगदितम्। ततः कुमारोऽति कुतुकी तदर्थं चण्डिकासेवामारेभे –

टं टं टं टमितिप्रचण्डनिनदां घोरच्छटां बिभ्रती–
मुग्रां लोककरालकालसदृशीं जिह्वां च पञ्चाननाम्।
आसीनां प्रवरासने प्रकटितस्मेरां शिरोमालिकां
मुण्डालीस्फुटचर्वणेन निपतद्रक्तां शिवां तां भजे।।16।।

इति ध्यात्वा द्रव्यादिभिः कृतार्चा तस्याः।

ततः स्मरशरावलीकलितकायकाण्डो मुहु–
र्मुहुः श्वसन् वेपिताधरपुटोऽश्रुधारेक्षणः।
क्षणं विशति मन्दिरं क्षणमवेक्षते भास्करं
क्षणं स्वपिति वेपते क्षणमिवाकुलश्चिन्तया।।17।।

अथानन्तरं रात्रौ सुष्वाप सुन्दरः। ततः सप्तघटीप्रवेशे मालिन्यादिनिद्राप्रवेशे स्वयं देवी मातेवागत्य कुमारशिरोदेशे उषित्वाः निद्राभंगं कारयामास। ततः कुमार उत्थाय रात्रिवासं (!) परित्यज्य भृंगारजलं पादयोर्दत्त्वा सुरेश्वरीशिरसि जलं निधाय दिव्यवेश आसन उपविश्य चण्डिकां सस्मारातीवभक्त्या। तत आविर्बभूव देवी। कुमारस्तदवलोकन–जातोत्सवोत्थितरोमावलिः सजललोचनो मेदिनीमिलितमौलिः पादयोः पपात। देवी – वत्सोत्तिष्ठ, उत्तिष्ठ इति भणित्वा, हे सुन्दर, मनोऽभिलषितं वरं वृण्विति जगाद। सुन्दरः सानन्दमना बभाण – मातर्भवत्याः प्रसादत एव उज्जयिन्यां सकलकलावती विद्या वीरसिंहाज्जातास्ति। विद्या च सकला पठिता, यया च दिशो विजिताः। किन्तु अधुना विद्यायाः प्रतिज्ञामाकर्ण्य समागतोऽस्मि। विद्यान्तःपुरप्रवेशे महती चिन्ता चेतसि वर्तते। यदि दास्यसि वरं तदान्तकाले तव चरणसरोरुहप्रसादेनाधुना पुरीप्रवेशः।

ततो देवी अस्तु अस्त्विति निगद्यामूल्यमणिगणागुरुचन्दनचम्पक-सुमनोभूषिता सुरलोकगमनमाचकाम। ततस्तदानीमेव माहेन्द्रक्षणे सुन्दरोऽपि यात्रां कृत्वा उत्थायोच्चैर्देवीं यात्राकाले तां वदति– मातरितो मालिनीगृहाद् विद्यागृहावधि विवरो भवतु इति। देवी तथा वरं दत्त्वा ययौ। विवरोऽपि बभूव।

चण्डिकाया वरं प्राप्य सानन्दो राजनन्दनः।
रात्रौ प्रविश्य विवरं याति विद्यालयं प्रति।।18।।

ततस्तेन विवरेण निशीथसमये सुन्दरोऽतीवसुन्दरं विद्यापर्यङ्कतलं प्राप्तवान्। तदानीं कामानलतापिततनुर्विद्या सुप्तालिनिचया सुन्दरनाम जपन्ती गतनिद्रालस्यापरं पर्यङ्कमध्यास्ते। तदागमनिनदमाकलय्य चौरप्रवेश इति श्रुती निधाय [चकम्पे]। ततोऽयं विवरं विहायोत्थितो निःशंकः

शशांकशेखरवैरिपराजितः पर्यंक एवोपविष्टः। ततः –

संसारसारतनुमद्भुतहासपूर्णमम्भोजचारुनयनं जितचन्द्रवक्त्रम्।
नानाविलासकुशलं सहसा विलोक्य विद्या पपात चकिता भुवि सुन्दरं तम्।।19।।

ततोऽति विदग्धः कुमार उत्थाय भृङ्गारवारि ददौ तद्वदने। तदानीं सातिरसिका त्रपावार्यवपूरिता चेलाञ्चलेनाननमाच्छाद्य एकदेश उपविष्टा। सुन्दरोऽपि ईषद्विहस्य पुनः पर्यङ्कमधिविवेश।

अथानन्तरं कुमारी सुन्दरं लक्ष्यीकृत्य वदति – अहो, कं प्रति कुतुकमिदं कथयितव्यम् ? गृहिनं (णं) दूरं कृत्वा चौरो गृही कनकचम्पककायः कलितकमनीयवेशः पर्यङ्कमारूढः परं रंगमातनोति गतशंकः। परं निर्लज्जोऽपि मन्दवचनं स्मेरं रचयति। यदि सखीनिद्राभङ्गो भावी तदा हृतो वा यास्यति मनोरथः। अमुष्मिन्नर्थे पद्यम् –

अये किमिदमाश्चर्यं चौरोऽयं निरुपद्रवः।
शयनासनमारूढो लीलाकेलिपरायणः।।20।।

अथानन्तरं सुन्दरः – अये सुन्दरि, दैवफलतो राजालये जातासि। परं पठिता विद्या। तस्याः फलमपि च लब्धम् यत् कुलवधूः सती निर्लज्जा, अथ मां चौरं च निर्लज्जं च वदसि। अपि च महदाश्चर्यं यत् चौरावलोकने पञ्चबाणबाणवृन्दविद्धता लज्जावारिधिमज्जनं च, तत् कथं लज्जता (!) चौरजने चेति। पद्यं च –

लोके त्वं विदुषी यदा सुवदनेऽपृष्टा कथं भाषसे।
निर्लज्जं गणिकेव वक्षि वचनं विद्वज्जनैर्गहितम्।
चौरं वीक्ष्य कथं त्रपा च क्रियते सद्विद्यया विद्यया।
कश्चौरे जगति त्रपां प्रकुरुते, दृष्टं श्रुतं कैरपि।।21।।

अपि च। यद् भणितं, "प्रणान् गृहीत्वा याहि, सखी जनजागरणे प्रमादो भावी, रे चौर", तच्छृणु। नाहं चौरः किन्तु नसीरसाहितनयो नाम्ना सुन्दरः। भवत्या गुणग्रामं माधवभट्टादाकर्ण्य समागतोऽस्मि।

विद्या इति समाकर्ण्य कुतुककलितकलेवरा वदति – 'सत्यं, राजतनयेन भवता यामिकवेशेन मदर्थमागतम्। किन्तु मूढया मया प्रतिज्ञा कृता विद्यामधीत्य यो मां जयति जीवनेशः सः' इति। कुमारः – सुन्दरि, का कथा भवत्या। गुरुमाह्वयत, पाठयामि कति वत्सरान्। परं भवत्या पूर्वापरमनवलोक्य प्रतिज्ञा

कृता। यदि कोऽपि धूर्ततया जयति तदा किं विधेयम् ? विद्या – धीर, मयापि पूर्वं श्रुतम्, भवान् कृतदिग्विजयः। मम जये को वा सन्देहः, किन्तु तथाभूतोऽपि परप्रतिज्ञापूरणार्थं प्रवर्तते। अतः प्रश्नसमाधानं मम विधाय नानाकुतूहलं कुरु, स्वयंवरं कृत्वा।

अथानन्तरं जयजयेति गिरौ मयूरनादमाकलय्य कुमारं पृच्छति। धीर, कोऽयं 'के-ओं' इति वाचः सावधानश्चकार। पद्यम् –

गिरौ समकर्ण्य मयूरनादं जगाद विद्या विदुषी कुमारम्।
पद्येन कोऽयं वद रौति शैले मृदुस्वनः प्राज्ञवरो यदासि।।22।।

ततः सुन्दर ईषत्स्मितवलितकटाक्षपातेन तामालोक्य वदति –

गोमध्यमध्ये मृगलोचने हे सहस्रगोभूषणकिङ्कराणाम्।
नादेन गोभृच्छिखरेषु मत्ता नृत्यन्ति गोकर्णशरीरभक्षाः।।23।।

ततः कोमलपदपुञ्जकलितपद्यमाकलय्यातिहर्षिता पुनः परीक्षार्थम् अश्रुतमिव तदेव किंकिमिति कृत्वा पप्रच्छ। कुमारो गौरीपदपद्ममधुपस्तमेवार्थं पदचातुर्येण वदति –

स्वयोनिभक्षध्वजसंभवानां श्रुत्वा निनादं गिरिगह्वरेषु।
तमोऽरिबिम्बप्रतिबिम्बधारी रुराव कान्ते पवनाशनाशः।।24।।

ततो विद्या 'धन्या सा नगरी, धन्यं कुलं, धन्या ते प्रसूः, धन्यं मत्पुरं यत्र त्वं, धन्ये च मम लोचने' इति निगद्य प्रदक्षिणत्रयं कृत्वा प्रणामं चकार।

ततः कुमारः –

पण्डिते भवतीसमानैव नैव सुन्दरी यन्मुखमण्डलमालोक्य शशाङ्कः कलङ्की, यस्या नयनं खञ्जनं गञ्जयति, परमरसिके किमिति मन्दाक्षं तनोषि। मदनमहीपतिकिंकरे मयि मुनिमनोमोहनकारिणि कामशास्त्रं विचार्य सुरते चित्तं कुरु। वदनविधुसुधापूरेण पूरय मदनदहनदग्धममुम्। पद्यं च–

कन्दर्पकेलिसदने विद्ये कमललोचने।
लज्जां विहाय सुमुखि रात्रौ भज नृपात्मजे।।२५।।

विद्या –

गुप्तं मन्मथकौतुकं कुरु कुरंगाक्ष प्रियास्मत्कुच–
द्वन्द्वे, तीक्ष्णनखक्षतिं न तु तथा दन्ताहतिं वाधरे।

व्यक्तं दास्यति नैव यद्यपि कृती पत्रावलीमालयो–
भंङ्गं चापि हनिष्यते मम जनैर्जिज्ञासया तेऽन्यथा।।26।।

अथानन्तरं रतिपण्डितः कुमारः तथाविधि विधाय रतिं कोकिलकलरवमाकलय्य विद्यां निगद्य मालिन्यालयं ययौ। ततो विरहान्विता सखीं निगदति–

दत्त्वापि विधिनागत्य कृतो दूरे निधिः करे।
प्राणेशः किं करोम्यद्य बुद्धिं देहि द्रुतं सखि।।27।।

गमनकाले नालिङ्गितोऽतो रम्भाकाण्डमिव पवनो मदनो मां कम्पयति। अथवा त्वरितं मदङ्गावस्थितालंकारमपि दूरीकुरु।

अथानन्तरं सोऽपि विवरेणागत्य मालिनीं तां वदति। एवमन्यस्मिन्नहनि तत्रागत्य तथैव रतिरसव्यापारपारंगमो वदति– 'सुन्दरि, सरंगभृंगावलि-संगिवदनपंकजे विनोदिनि मन्दमन्दहसितं विरचय। चञ्चलापाङ्गि स्मरशरजर्जरशरीरं मामधरामृतेनाप्यायय' इति निगद्य रममाणां तां रमयित्वा रजनीशेषेऽपि नादं श्रुत्वा मालिन्यालयं ययौ। एवं प्रत्यहम्। ततो नानारसकथाकेलिभिः कियन्तो मासा गताः।

श्रृंगारेणाथ चौरस्य सर्वशास्त्रविदस्तथा।
विद्या गर्भवती जाता विदुषी योषितां वरा।।28।।

अथानन्तरं हारावती-तारावतीनाम सखीद्वयं दोहदलक्षणं विलोक्य सभयं तन्मातरं विज्ञापयामास।

श्रुत्वा सा त्वरितं जगाम भवनं पुत्र्याः कलंकाकुला।
दृष्ट्वा चालसलोचनां मलिनताव्यक्ताग्रतुंगस्तनीम्।
शश्वज्जृम्भणपाण्डुगण्डवदनां स्निग्धोदरां शीतलो–
वीतल्पां, कुलकज्जले मुहुरिदं चाह त्वया किं कृतम्।।29।।

विद्या –

मातः किमिति मयि निक्षिप्यते कलंकः। ममोदरे प्लीहारोगो जातः, महावायुश्च तनौ। अतो गण्डतुण्डनयनाशयवैपरीत्यं स्तनकालिमा च स्वभावत एवास्ति।

ततस्तन्माता दूरीकृतकन्याकपटं भणिता रुदती तत्स्वामिनमकथयत्।

निजकुलकलंकामितलपितमाकलय्य भूपालः कपोलपाणिर्मलिनमुखो धरोत्थितधूलिर्गलल्लोचनोऽधोमस्तको बभूव। ततः क्षणान्तरे अन्तकसदृशनर्तितभ्रूलतिको विकम्पितकलेवरः प्रचण्डचण्डकिरणनयनः सेनाचंकयामिकमाहूयाह– 'रे रे यामिक जीवति भवति किमिति चौरप्रवेशो देशे मद्वञ्चको, वर्ण्यताम्। यदि प्रहरद्वयाभ्यन्तरे मम समीपं नानयिष्यसि सवंशं भवन्तं हनिष्यामि तदा' इति।

ततः सभयो दिनत्रयं चौरानयनविधिं विधाय बहिः सर्वत्रान्वेष्य क्वापि तमप्राप्य भूपं बभाण – भो भो भूपाल, क्वापि न प्राप्तश्चौरः किन्तु विद्यान्तःपुरे सन्देहोऽस्ति। ततो राजा आज्ञां दत्तवान्, 'भवतां का शंका, तस्या अपि गेहं प्रविश्य पृच्छ्यताम्'। अथ भूपाललपितगतशंकः सेनाचंकः कन्यान्तःपुरमाविश्य कामसिन्दूरं निपात्य रजकालयमागत्य तं जगाद– रे रजक, प्रातर्यद्वसनं ससिन्दूरं प्राप्स्यसि तत्तदानीं मां कथयिष्यसि, अन्यथा संवंशं त्वां हनिष्यामि इति निगद्य निजालयमागतः। अथ यामिन्यां सुन्दरः विद्याविलासार्थमागतः। विविधश्रृंगाररसमनुभूय पुनरपि यामिनीविरामे मालिन्यालयमागत्य ससिन्दूरबिन्दुचेलाञ्चलमालोक्य मालिनीं दत्तवान्, मालिन्यपि रजकम्। रजकस्तद्वसनं प्राप्य सेनाचंकं कथयामास सकुतुकीति भो, मालिनीवसने चिह्नम्। तदानीं स तन्मुखपद्म पतितं निपीय सोत्सुको रजनीपालः करधृतकरवालः 'सत्यं कोऽपि तपस्विवेशः पुरुषो मालिन्यालयेऽस्ति' इति विचिन्त्य बहुभिर्जनैर्वेष्टयामास, विद्याकेलिपरं तं तत्र न प्राप्य प्रप्रच्छ–मालिनि भवद्भवनवासः क्वास्ते तपस्वी ? सा जगाद नो नित्यमायाति किन्तु स्वेच्छातः। ततस्तं मृगयमाणः कोऽपि जनो विवरं विलोक्य तद्गृहान्तः सेनाचंकमाह– भो, भवनान्तर्विवर एको महान् दृश्यते। सोऽप्यतिहर्षितः तं विवरं दृष्ट्वा। ततो दुःसाधुशतकं संस्थाप्य विद्यालयं वेष्टयामास। तत्र तत्स्थितिलक्षणं ज्ञात्वा कोलाहलो महानभूत् भूयो भूयश'चौरः प्राप्तः' इति पुरुषैः। कुमारस्तत् समाकर्ण्य त्वरितो विद्यया रंगं विहाय मालिन्यालयं चलितः। तत्र विवरद्वारि परिजनरवं श्रुत्वा पुनरपि रमणार्थमागतोऽभीतः इति ईषन्मलिनां तां विलोक्य वदति–

विद्ये विदग्धे वदनं विधुस्ते पीयूषधारा महती यतोऽस्ति।
तन्मामिहाङ्गीकुरु मे स्मराग्निं श्रृंगारपाथोनिधिना तु शातय।।30।।

इति विद्याकृतमानभंगस्तां रमयित्वा मालिनीगृहमागत्य तदानीमेव विद्यालयं समागतः। राजनन्दनो दुःसाधुवेष्टितः सन् विलपति इति शिव शिव नसीरसाहिनरपतिसुतभारतीलग्नकण्ठजितपण्डितमण्डली—पूर्वावस्थापितमतिभ्रंशहृतविवेकानीततपस्विनीपाणिग्रहणप्रसङ्गोऽहं सुन्दरि त्वद्गुणकुहरेऽवस्थितोऽस्मि। तत्राप्यधुना विधिना इयती दशा कृता यतः चौर इति जनरवः श्रूयते। तत् प्राणप्रिये भवत्या समं संसारसुखं सर्वमनुभूतं, कालोऽपि समागतः, त्वया च पुनर्दर्शनं नास्ति, जन्मान्तरीयालिंगनं देहीति वदन् लोचनगलितपानीयः पृथिव्यां पपात। पद्यं च—

किं कृतं विधिनागत्य मम दैवनियोजितम्।
चौरः प्राप्त इति व्यक्तं दुःसाधुर्द्वारि जल्पति।।31।।

ततो निरीक्ष्य नाथस्य तां दशां रुदती तथा।
विद्योत्थाप्याम्बु तद्वक्त्रे चिक्षेप च पुनः पुनः।।32।।

अथानन्तरं 'रे रे अत्र या योषितः सन्ति ता गृहान्तरं यान्त्विति सेनाचंकविकटवाणीं श्रुत्वा त्वरितं पुरुषालङ्कारं परित्यज्य सखिभिः समं भवनान्तरं गतः। यामिकोऽपि तदालये तं मृगयमाणो गर्तं विलोक्य सानन्दो दुःसाधुचतुष्टयवेष्टितो विवरं विवेश—अत्रैव चौर आस्ते। ततस्तमप्राप्य विलपति—

अहो अत्रापि न प्राप्तो व्याप्तोऽपि मम किंकरैः।
किं कुर्मः कुत्र वा यामो यमोऽयं मे समागतः।।33।।

ततो दैवादिमां बुद्धिमुपगतः — नारीगणे सोऽस्ति। तत्र गत्वा परिखां दैर्घ्ये दशहस्तमितां व्यासे द्विहस्तमितां रचयित्वा सुन्दरीसमूहमुवाच—परिखापारं यातेति। ततः क्रमतः तारावती-मालावती— हारावती-शशिकला—चन्द्रकला-विद्यापि पारं गता। पारे विद्या केवलं सुन्दरमुखकमलं निरीक्षन्ती स्थितातिदुःखिता। अस्मिन् पारे शतशः क्षुतादिकुशकुनं दूरीकृत्य निःशङ्को महाराजतनयो दक्षिणपादं निक्षिपति, विधिविमोहितो यथा। ध्रियतां ध्रियतामिति स तैर्धृतः। ततश्चकिता विद्या रजनीपालपादयोर्विनिपत्य वदति—

शृणु त्वं रजनीपाल प्राणनाथं मम त्यज।
धनानि यानि मे सन्ति नय तानि निजालयम्।।34।।

अपि च–

भो भो यामिक पादयोस्तवनतिर्मद्वाक्यमाकर्ण्यतां
चौरो नायमहो नसीरपनृपतेः पुत्रोऽतिविद्यान्वितः।
ज्ञात्वैवं रहसि स्वयंवरमथो कृत्वा कृतः संगमो
यामोऽस्यालयमागृहाण च महद्द्रव्यं मतिर्दीयताम्।।35।।

ततः सुन्दरः –

चकर्त रामो जनकात्मजाकृते शिरांस्यसृक्पानपतेर्दशेषुभिः।
त्वदर्थमेकं मृगशावलोचने ममोत्तमाङ्गं यदि याति यातु तत्।।36।।

सुन्दरि, गृहं गम्यतामिति पुनः पुनराह।

अथानन्तरं कुररीव विलपन्त्या विद्याया वचोऽनादृत्य सेनाचंकेन निःशङ्कं सुन्दरो नृपान्तिकमानीतः। ततो राज्ञा कोपावेशेन सेनाचंकं प्रति कथितं तत्शास्त्यर्थम्। नगरचंकेनापि कथितम्– नृपनन्दन, वन्दनां कुरु इष्टदेवतायाः स्मरणं च। ततः कुमारो वदति–

अद्यापि तां कनकचम्पकदामगौरीं
फुल्लारविन्दवदनां तनुरोमराजिम्।
सुप्तोत्थितां मदनविह्वलतालसाङ्गीं
विद्यां प्रमादगलितामिव चिन्तयामि।।37।।

अपि च–

अद्यापि तां शशिमुखीं नवयौवनाढ्यां
पीनस्तनीं पुनरहं यदि गौरकान्तिम्।
पश्यामि मन्मथशरानलपीडिताङ्गीं
गात्राणि सम्प्रति करोमि सुशीतलानि।।38।।

एतच्छ्रुत्वातिलज्जितो जगतीजानिः क्रोधेन जगाद– अमुं दक्षिणश्मशाने शातय। ततः सुन्दरः शैलसुतासुतोऽति निर्भयो वदति– महाशय, वाक्यमेकं शृण्विति–

अद्यापिं तां यदि पुनः कमलायताक्षीं
पश्यामि पीवरपयोधरभारखिन्नाम्।
संपीड्य बाहुयुगलेन पिबामि वक्त्र-
मुन्मत्तवन्मधुकरः कमलं यथेष्टम्।।39।।

'अहो, सभामध्ये एवं वदतीति अतिकुपितनृपतिवचोऽवसाने कुमारो वदति– वाक्यमेकमाकर्ण्यतामिति–

अद्यापि तां निधुवनक्लमनिःसहाङ्गी–
मापाण्डुगण्डपतितालककुन्तलाक्षीम्।
प्रच्छन्नपापकृतमन्थरमावहन्तीं
कण्ठावसक्तमृदुबाहुलतां स्मरामि।।40।।

पुनरपि क्रोधपूरितनृपतिवाक्यमाकर्ण्य वदति– नृपते वाक्यमाकर्ण्यताम्–

अद्यापि तां यदि पुनः श्रवणायताक्षीं
पश्यामि दीर्घशयने स्खलितांगयष्टिम्।
अंगैरहं समुपगुह्य ततोऽतिगाढं
नोन्मीलयामि नयने न च तां त्यजामि।।41।

'अधुनाऽपि वर्तते' इति नृपतिवचोऽन्ते कुमारः –

अद्यापि तां सुरतताण्डवसूत्रधारीं
पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरमुखीं मदविह्वलाङ्गीम्।
तन्वीं विशालजघनां स्तनभारखिन्नां
व्यालोलकुन्तलकलापवतीं स्मरामि।।42।।

पुनः पुनरसौ कदुक्तिं वदति, रे मूंढा झटिति हतेति तद्वचोऽन्ते सुन्दरो वदति– भूपते सावधाना भवन्तु। शृण्वन्तु किमपि वदामि–

अद्यापि तां निधुवने मधुगन्धदिग्ध -
लीढाधरां कृशतनुं चपलायताक्षीम्।
काश्मीरपंकमृगनाभिकृतांगरागां
कर्पूरपूगपरिपूर्णमुखीं स्मरामि।।43।।

रे दुःसाधवो धृत्वा देव्यै दीयतामिति कुपितनृपतिवचोऽन्ते सुन्दरो वदति हसित्वा– महाराज, अवधीयतां किमपि भणति सुन्दरः –

अद्यापि तां मसृणचन्दनपंकमिश्रां
कस्तूरिकातरललेपविशुद्धगन्धाम्।
अन्योन्यचञ्चुपुटचुम्बनखञ्जरीट-
युग्माभिरामनयनां शयने स्मरामि।।44।।

इति लपितश्रवणादकथ्यमानकोपक्वथितोऽवनीपालो यदा मारणायादिशति तदा कुमारो वदति–भो भो भूपाल, एकाग्रमना अवधारय–

अद्यापि तन्मनसि संप्रतिवर्तते मे
रात्रौ मयि क्षुतवति क्षितिपालपुत्र्या।
'जीवे'ति मंगलवचः परिहृत्य कोपात्
कर्णे कृतं कनकपत्रमनालपन्त्या।।45।।

इति श्रुत्वा कोपाविष्टे राजनि सवदति– राजन् कुतुकमाकर्णय –

अद्यापि तद्रहसि तन्मदिरोपराग-
प्रस्वेदबिन्दुकलितं वदनं प्रियायाः।
अन्ते स्मरामि रतिखेदविलोलनेत्रं
राहूपरागपरिभुक्तमिवेन्दुबिम्बम्।।46।।

अरे, असौ दुष्टः कुतः समागतः, केन कारणेन मम देशप्रवेशं चकार ? विलम्बेनालं, शातय इति भूपतिवचोऽन्तेऽसौ वदति– शृणु शृणु भूपाल, पद्यमेकं पठामि–

अद्यापि तां सुरतजागरघूर्णमानां
तिर्यक्चलत्तरलतारकचञ्चलाक्षीम्।
शृंगारवारिकमलाकरराजहंसीं
व्रीडाविनम्रवदनामुषसि स्मरामि।।47।।

इति श्रुत्वाधोवदनो यदा भूपो वदति– अरे दुष्टं यमालयं प्रापय। तदा सुन्दरः– मनोहरं नवं वदामि। भूपते, सकौतुकं शृणु–

अद्यापि तच्छ्रवणकुण्डलघृष्टमास्यं
तस्याः स्मरामि विपरीतरताभियोगे।
आन्दोलनश्रमजलस्फुटसान्द्रबिन्दु-
मुक्ताफलप्रचुरविच्छुरितं प्रियायाः।।48।।

ततः कुपितनृपतिवचोऽन्ते सुन्दरो वदति–भवता यत् क्रियतां तत् क्रियताम्। वाक्यमेकं वदामि–

अद्यापि तत् श्रवणभङ्गुरदृष्टिपातं
तस्याः स्मरामि रतिविभ्रमगात्रभङ्गम्।

वस्त्राञ्चलस्खलनचारुपयोधरान्तं
दन्तच्छदं दशनखण्डनमण्डनं च।।49।।

ततोऽतिकुपितो राजा अवदत् – अमुं कुक्कुरादिभिर्भक्षय। चौरः – वैदग्ध्यपाथोनिधे, आकर्णय –

अद्याप्यशोकनवपल्लवरक्तहस्तां
मुक्ताफलप्रचयचारुविचूचुकाग्राम्।
अन्तःस्मितोच्छ्वसितपाण्डुरगण्डशोभां
तां वल्लभां रहसि हंसगतिं स्मरामि।।50।।

पुनः क्रोधाविष्टः पापिष्ठचौरमितो नयेति वचो निशम्य सुन्दरः – भो मनोहितं शृणु–

अद्यापि तां विधृतकज्जललोलनेत्रां
पृथ्वीप्रसूतकुसुमैर्युतकेशपाशाम्।
सिन्दूरसंवलितमौक्तिकहारकण्ठा–
माबद्धहेमकटिकां रहसि स्मरामि।।51।।

अहो यामिक, एतावदपयशोऽनेनागायि सदसि, झटिति शातय। तदा सुन्दरस्त्वरितो 'वाक्यमादौ शृणु भूमण्डलीमण्डितकीर्ते' !

अद्यापि तां गलितबन्धनकेशपाशां
स्रस्तस्रजं स्मितसुधामधुराधरौष्ठीम्।
पीनोन्नतस्तनयुगोपरि चारुचुम्बन्–
मुक्तावलीं रहसि लोलदृशां स्मरामि।।52।।

इति श्रुत्वोच्चैर्वदति नृपतिः – अमुं शतय, कियन्ति वचांसि वक्तुं शक्नोति । ततो यामिकहस्तमाकलिते– पद्यमेकं पठामि सुन्दरवचः –

अद्यापि तां भवनवेश्मनि रत्नदीप–
मालामयूखपटलैः स्खलितान्धकारे।
प्राप्तोद्यमे रहसि सम्मुखदर्शनोत्थ–
लज्जाभयार्तनयनामनुचिन्तयामि।।53।।

'अमुं द्विखण्डं कुरुतातिदुःसहवाक्यं श्रावयति' इति नृपतिवचोऽन्ते सुन्दरः– महाराज, किमप्यन्यद् वदामि–

अद्यापि चाटुशतदुर्ललितोचितार्थं
तस्याः स्मरामि विपरीतरताभियोगे।
अव्यक्तरागयुतमञ्जुलकथ्यमान–
संकीर्णवर्णरुचिरं वदनं प्रियायाः।।54।।

पुना राज्ञो वचोऽन्ते सुन्दरः –

अद्यापि तां विरहवह्निनिपीडिताङ्गीं
तन्वीं कुरंगनयनां सुरतैकपात्रीम्।
नानाविचित्रकृतमण्डनचित्रिताङ्गीं
तां राजहंसगमनां युवतिं स्मरामि।।55।।

राजा–अधुनापि न भव्यं भणितमनेन, रे मारय। सुन्दरः – अवधीयताम्–

अद्यापि तां सुहसितां कुचभारनम्रां
मुक्ताकलापमणिभूषितकण्ठनालीम्।
तां केलिमन्दिरगतां कुसुमायुधस्य
कान्तां स्मरामि रुचिरोज्ज्वलकामकेतुम्।।56।।

पुना राजा 'एवं यथा पुनर्न वदति तथा क्रियताम्'। सुन्दरः – शृणु भूपते, किमपि वदामि –

अद्यापि तां सुरतघूर्णितमीलिताक्षीं
स्रस्तांगयष्टिगलितांशुककेशपाशाम्।
शृंगारवारिकमलाकरराजहंसीं
व्रीडाविनम्रवदनामुषसि स्मरामि।।57।।

ततो राजा करेण करमर्दनं कृत्वा वदति– पुनः पुनस्तथैव वदति, तदमुं झटिति शातय। सुन्दरः– सावधाना भवन्तु भवन्तः, किमपि वदामि पुनः –

अद्यापि तां प्रणयिनीं मृगशावकाक्षीं
पीयूषपूर्णकुचकुम्भयुगं वहन्तीम्।
पश्याम्यहं यदि पुनर्दिवसावसाने
स्वर्गापवर्गवरराज्यसुखं त्यजामि।।58।।

नृपतिः – नीत्वामुं बलिं त्वरितं देहि, देशादपयातु। सुन्दरः – जनाः शृण्वन्तु, वदामि पुनः–

अद्यापि तां तिमिरचेलविभूषितांगीं
प्रौढप्रतापमदनानलतप्तदेहाम्।
बालामनाथशरणामनुकम्पनीयां
` प्राणाधिकां क्षणमहं न हि विस्मरामि।।59।।

पुनस्तथैव नृपतिवाक्यान्तरे सुन्दरः – मनोदीयतां किमपि वदामि–

अद्यापि तां क्षितितले वरकामिनीनां
सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरतया प्रथमैकरेखाम्।
संसारनाटकरसोत्तमरत्नपात्रीं
कान्तां स्मरामि कुसुमायुधबाणखिन्नाम्।।60।।

पुनस्तथैव नृपवचोऽन्ते सुन्दरः– पीयूषलपितमाकर्णय–

अद्यापि तां प्रथमतो वरसुन्दरीणां
स्नेहैकपात्रघटितां नवनीतपुत्रीम्।
हंहो मनागपि वियोगहुताशतापं
सोढुं न शक्यत इति प्रतिचिन्तयामि।।61।।

ततो राजा 'सकेशाकर्षणं नीयताम्'। चौरः – 'वाक्यमेकं गोपनीयमवधारये'ति शनैर्वदति–

अद्यापि विस्मयकरी त्रिदशान् विहाय
बुद्धिर्बलाद् वलति मे किमहं करोमि।
जानन्नपि प्रतिमुहूर्तकमन्तकाले
कान्ताति वल्लभतयेति ममेति धीराः।।62।।

ततः 'सभातो दूरीकुरु अमु'मितिनृपतिवचोऽन्ते स वदति–सविशेषवचनमाकर्ण्यताम्–

अद्यापि तां गमनमित्युदितं मदीयं
श्रुत्वैव भीरुहरिणीमिव चञ्चलाक्षीम्।
निर्वाक्यताद्विगुणिताश्रुजलाकुलाक्षीं
संचिन्तयामि गुरुशोकविनम्रवक्त्राम्।।63।।

राजा– अयं वाक्छलेन विलम्बं करोति। झटिति नीयतां यमालयम्।

सुन्दरः – सविनयं मधुरं वदामि, आकर्णय–

अद्यापि तां क्षणवियोगविषोपमेयां
संगात् पुनर्बहुतरामृतवारिधाराम्।
मज्जीवधारणकरीं मदनातपत्रा-
मुनद्धकेशनिचयां सुदतीं स्मरामि।।64।।

राजा– रे दुःसाधवः, किमिति स्थिरा भवन्तः, मदीयं हृदयं दहत्यस्य वचः।

सुन्दरः – सानुरागं वचनं शृणु–

अद्यापि तत्प्रतिदिनं हृदयं दुनोति
पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरमुखं मम वल्लभायाः।
लावण्यनिर्जितशरच्छशिगौरकान्ति
भूयो न लोक्यत इतोऽपि विधिः स वामः।।65।।

तथैव तद्वाक्यान्ते सुन्दरः मनो देहि, मनोभिलषितं वदामि–

अद्यापि तां मम हितां मनसाऽचलेन
संचिन्तयामि युवतिं बत जीविताशाम्।
नान्योपभुक्तनवयौवनजातभावां
जन्मान्तरेऽपि मम सैव गतिर्यथा स्यात्।।66।।

अहो यथा गण्डोपरि मुशलघातः तथा व्यथयति मां वचोऽस्य, किं श्रूयते रे! ' सुन्दरः – एवं तदा तव हृद्यं वदामि–

अद्यापि तत्सुनिपुणं सततं स्मरामि
दृष्टं न यत्सदृशतो वदनं कदाचित्।
सौन्दर्यनिर्जितसुधानिधिचारुकान्ति–
प्रादुर्बभूव विमलेन तथा गुणेन।।67।।

नृपतिर्द्विगुणं तथैव वदति, महादुष्टं मारयत रे !

सुन्दरः – महामते आकलय, वदामि रुचिरम् –

अद्यापि वासगृहतो मयि नीयमाने
दुर्वारभीषणकरैर्यमदूतकल्पैः।
किं किं तया बहुविधं न कृतं मदर्थे
वक्तुं न पार्यत इति व्यथते मनो मे।।68।।

ततो राजा यथा न दृश्यतेऽसौ तथा क्रियताम् देवीपुरः। सुन्दरः वदामि वदामीति त्वरितो वदति–

अद्यापि तद्वदनपंकजगन्धलुब्ध–
भ्राम्यदद्विरेफचयचुम्बितगण्डदेशम्।
क्लेशावधूतकरपल्लवकङ्कणानां
क्वाणो हि मूर्छति मनः सुतरां मदीयम्।।69।।

'अहो निर्भयं वचः पुरतो वदति। नयत शीघ्रम्'।

सुन्दरः – राजन् वृथा कोपः क्रियते, श्रूयताम्–

अद्यापि तन्नखपदं स्तनमण्डले यद्
दत्तं मयापि मधुपानविमोहितेन।
उद्भिन्नरोमपुलकैर्बहुभिः समन्ता–
ज्जागर्त्ति, रक्षति, विलोकयति प्रयत्नात्।।70।।

संवर्तदहनसदृशवर्धिते कोपे वदति भूयः – झटिति शातय रे शिरः।

सुन्दरः– शृणु महावीर, वदामि–

अद्यापि रोषविमुखीं मयि गन्तुकामे
नोक्ता वचः प्रतिददाति यदैव वक्त्रम्।
चुम्बामि रोदिति भृशं, पतितोऽस्मि पादे
'दासस्तव प्रियतमे भज मां' स्मरामि।।71।।

पुनस्तथैवोक्ते राजनि राजपुत्रः– अवधीयतां महाराज –

अद्यापि धावति मनः, किमहं करोमि
सार्द्धं सखीभिरपि वासगृहे तु कान्ते।
कान्ताप्रणीतपरिहासविचित्रनृत्यै–
रेवं सदा क्षितिप यातु सुखेन कालः।।72।।

राजा– आः अदृष्टमश्रुतं वचो वदति इति विचिन्त्य यदा मारणायादिशति तर्हि सुन्दरः– भूपते अवधारय–

अद्यापि तां न खलु वेद्मि किमीशपत्नी
सा वासवी सुरपतेरथकृष्णलक्ष्मीः ।

धात्रैव किं नु जगतः परिमोहनाय
सृष्टाङ्गना युवतिरत्नदिदृक्षयेव।।73।।

अरे, शुष्कगोमये यथा वह्निः शनैः शनैः क्रमतो दहति तथास्य वचो माम्। तस्मादमुं मा रक्षत।

सुन्दरः – महितश्रुते शृणु भूपते –

अद्यापि तां जगति वर्णयितुं न कश्चि–
च्छक्नोत्यदृष्टसदृशीमतिराजलक्ष्मीम्।
दृष्टं तया सदृशया खलु येन रूपं
शक्तो भवेद्यदि स एव परस्तु नान्यः।।74।।

ततः 'किं वदति किं वदती'त्युक्त्वा कम्पितसर्वाङ्ग उर्वीशो जगाद– अधुनैव मारयत रे, कलङ्को यातु।

सुन्दरः – सत्वरं वदामि वाक्यमेकम्–

अद्यापि तां नयनकज्जलमुज्ज्वलाभां
विश्रान्तकर्णयुगलां परिहासहेतोः।
पश्यामि, ते युगलपीनपयोधराभ्यां
क्षीणं वपुर्यदि भवेन्नहि तस्य दोषः।।75।।

राजा– शास्त्रमपकृत्य वदति, चौररक्षणेऽधिकारो नास्ति। विलम्बं मा कुरु। ततः सुन्दरः कृतप्रणामो वदति–

अद्यापि निर्मलशरच्छशिगौरकान्ति
चेतो मुनेरपि हरेत् किमुतास्मदीयम्।
वक्त्रं सुधामयमहं यदि तत् प्रयत्ना–
च्चुम्बामि निर्दयतरं व्यथते मनो मे।।76।।

राजा– अवध्यरक्षणे यादृक् अपापं तादृक् पापं वध्यरक्षणे। तन्मा रक्षत। सुन्दरः – मनो दीयतां किमपि वदामि।

अद्याप्यहो कमलरेणुसुगन्धिगात्रं
तद्धेमचारु मकरध्वजमोहकारि।
प्राप्नोम्यहं यदि पुनः सुरतैकतीर्थं
प्राणांस्त्यजामि नियतं तदवाप्तिहेतोः।।77।।

पुनस्तथैवोक्ते राजनि सुन्दरः – नृपमणे, मनो देहि राजन्, सुन्दरः सरसकथां कथयति–

अद्यापि तां जगति सुन्दरलक्ष्मपूर्णे –
ऽप्यन्योन्यमुत्तमगुणाधिकतां प्रपन्ने।
अस्माभिरप्युपपथं न तथापि शक्यं
वामाङ्गनैव हि भवेन्नतु दक्षिणाङ्गी।।78।।

(पाठः संदिग्धः)

तत उच्चैर्वदति'रे दुःसाधवः अस्य वचसा भवतां कुतूहलम्, अन्यथा किमिति न हन्यते' इति वचोऽन्ते सुन्दरः– वाक्यमेकं शृणु –

अद्यापि सा नववपुस्तटिनी मदाम्भो-
रोमाञ्चवीचिविलसच्चपलाङ्गयष्टिः।
हृत्पद्मकेशररजोघनमात्रकान्ति–
श्चित्तं मम श्लथयति प्रियराजहंसी।।79।।

तथैवोक्ते राजनि पुनः कुमारः– राजराजेश्वर अवधारय–

अद्यापि तां नृपतिशेखरराजकन्यां
सम्पूर्ण यौवनमदालसरम्यगात्राम्।
गन्धर्वयक्षसुरकिन्नरराजजातां
साक्षान्नभोनिपतितामिव चिन्तयामि।।80।।

'अरे, कलंकिमुखात् कलंकिवचो निःसरति, झटिति मारय'।

सुन्दरः – सावधाना भूपतयः !

अद्यापि तत्सुरतिकेलिनिबद्धयुद्धं
बन्धोपबन्धघनपीडितरक्तहस्तम्।
दन्तौष्ठपीडननखक्षतजं च रम्यं
तस्याः स्मरामि रतिबन्धननिष्ठुरत्वम्।।81।।

पुनस्तथैवोक्ते राजनि सुन्दरः – अवधीयताम् अमृतसदृशं वदामि–

अद्यापि तां सुरतबन्धविदग्धमुग्धा–
मुत्संगसंभृतसुधास्तनकुम्भयुग्मास्।

नाना विचित्रमणिमण्डनमण्डिताङ्गीं
सुप्तोत्थितां निशि दिवा न हि विस्मरामि।।82।।

'नीयतां नीयता'मिति नृपतिर्बभाण। सुन्दरः भयकातरो वदति– किमपि वदामि–

अद्यापि तां कनककान्तिमदालसाङ्गीं
व्रीडोत्सुकां स्वजनभीतिसुवेपमानाम्।
अङ्गाङ्गसङ्गपरिचुम्बनभङ्गमोहां
मज्जीवनौषधिमिमां प्रमदां स्मरामि।।83।।

पुनरपि तथैव भूपवाक्यान्ते सप्रणामः सुन्दरो वदति–

अद्यापि तां नववधूं सुरताभियोगे
सम्पूर्णयौवनगुणाधिकतां प्रपन्नाम्।
पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरमुखीं हरिणायताक्षी-
मुन्निद्रकोकनदपद्मलतां स्मरामि।।84।।

पुनरपि प्रगाढकोपनर्तितभ्रूलतिकक्ष्मापतिवचोऽन्ते तथैव सुन्दरः – कमपि प्रबन्धमवधारय –

अद्यापि सा नववधूः सुरतप्रसङ्गे
यद्यच्चकार कुतुकं कमहं वदामि।
तस्याग्रतो मरणमेव हि दुःखशान्त्यै
विज्ञापयामि भवतस्त्वरितं लुनीत।।85।।

अद्यापितन्नववधूसुरताभियोगे
संपूर्णकालविधिना रचितं कदाचित्।
तद्गात्ररोमललितं भवदुःखशान्त्यै
विज्ञापयामि त्वरितं शिव शातयध्वम्।।86।।

इति भूपतिः सुलपितमाकलय्य सस्मेरो वदति 'भव्यं भव्यं जामातरि'ति हसति च। ततो नृपतिवचः समाकर्ण्य सानन्दो नृपनन्दनो वदति– भव्यं भणितं भूपते, अवधारयाधुना–

अद्यापि नोज्झति हरः किल कालकूटं
कूर्मो बिभर्ति धरणीं खलु पृष्ठकेन।
अम्भोनिधिर्वहति दुस्सहबाडवाग्नि-
मङ्गीकृतं सुकृतिनः परिपालयन्ति।।87।।

तस्मान्महाराज 'जामातर'मिति मामकथयद् भवान् अन्यथा मा कुरु, विद्याविवाहं मया कारय। ततो राजा कुमारवाक्यं श्रुत्वा वीरसिंहो वदति– अहो भाग्यं यतोऽसौ पुरुषसिंहः समागतो ममान्तिकम्। सविनयं कुतुकी पृच्छति– भवतः किं नाम् ? कस्य वा पुत्रः ? निवासः कुत्र वा ? तत् कथय धीर।

ततः कुमारः सर्वमकथयत्। अपि च यथा पितृपुरतो दिग्विजयिनोऽजयत्, यथा च माधवभट्टमुखतो विद्यारूपवर्णनश्रवणादात्मनो नगरागमनम्। ततो राजा दुःसाधुतः समानीय स्वसमीपे तं स्थापयामास। एतस्मिन्नन्तरे माध ावोऽपि समागतो दूरदेशतः। आगत्य प्रथमतः सर्वं वर्णयामास– यस्मिन् यस्मिन् देशे यदनुभूतम्। सुन्दरकथापि तत्पूर्वापि कथिता। सुन्दरवर्णनं श्रुत्वा प्रहरमेकं चित्रार्पित इवासीत्। ततः आनन्दपारावारपरिपूरितकलेवरो भूपवरो विविधप्रबन्धेन विद्याविवाहं कारयामासेति।

।। प्रबन्धविधिना ग्रन्थोऽयमकारि ।।
शुभमस्तु। संवत् १७३१, भाद्रे मासि
सिते पक्षे तिथौ विष्णोरले (खि),
सुन्दरस्य कथा रम्या नारायणत्रिपाठिना।।



मूर्खशतकम्

(भावानुवादसंवलितम्)

संपादिका

डा० बीना मिश्रा

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्
प्रयागः

।। प्रस्तावना ।।

संस्कृतसाहित्ये मनीषिभिः अतीव प्राचीन-कालात् सज्जनदुर्जनयोः पण्डितमूर्खयोश्च लक्षणनिर्धारणं प्रतिपादितम्। यथा महाभारते मूर्खलक्षणं इत्थं कृतम् –

"अश्रुतश्च समुन्नद्धो दरिद्रश्च महामनाः।
अर्थांश्चाकर्मणा प्रेप्सुर्मूढ इत्युच्यते बुधैः।।"

(महाभा० उद्योग प० ३३/३०)

भर्तृहरिणा नीतिशतकस्य मूर्खपद्धतिप्रकरणे मूर्खाणां विषये स्वकीयं मतमित्थं प्रकटितम् –

इह संसारे मूढ-विद्वांसौ द्वावपि प्रयत्नेन समाराधयितुं शक्यते किन्तु दुराग्रहग्रस्तस्य मूर्खजनस्य समाधानमतिचतुरेणापि जनेन न शक्यम्। तदुक्तम् –

अज्ञः सुखमाराध्यः सुखतरमाराध्यते विशेषज्ञः।
ज्ञानलवदुर्विदग्धं ब्रह्मापि नरं न रञ्जयति।।

(नीतिश० ३)

दुराग्रहिणो मूर्खस्य मनः प्रसादनं सर्वथा असम्भवं भवति –

प्रसह्य मणिमुद्धरेन्मकरवक्त्रदंष्ट्रान्तरा –
त्समुद्रमपि संतरेत्प्रचलदूर्मिमालाकुलम्।
भुजङ्गमपि कोपितं शिरसि पुष्पवद्धवारये –
न्न तु प्रतिनिविष्ट मूर्खजनचित्तमाराधयेत्।।

(नीतिश० ४)

अपण्डितैर्निजमौढ्यसंगोपनार्थं मौनेनेव वर्तितव्यम्, अन्यथा स्वरूपप्रकाशनेनापहास्यता स्यात्। विशेषतो विदुषां समाजे मूर्खाणां मौनावलम्बनं तु भूषणवदाच्छादकं भवति –

स्वायत्तमेकान्तहितं विधात्रा
विनिर्मितं छादनमज्ञतायाः।
विशेषतः सर्वविदां समाजे
विभूषणं मौनमपण्डितानाम्।।

(नीतिश० ७)

समयोचितपद्यमालिकायामपि एवमेव कथितम् –

मूर्खोऽपि शोभते तावत् सभायां वस्त्रवेष्टितः।
तावच्च शोभते मूर्खो यावत् किञ्चिन्न भाषते।।

(स० प० मा० ३१.६)

सर्वस्य प्राणिहिंसाकारणीभूतदुष्टजन्तुजातस्य शास्त्रविहितमौषधमस्ति किन्तु मूर्खतानिवारणसमर्थं सुभाषितादिरूपं शास्त्रविहितं न वर्तते। मूर्खस्य मौर्ख्यनिवारणं कथमपि केनापि कर्तुं न शक्यते। तदुक्तम् –

शक्यो वारयितुं जलेन हुतभुक् छत्रेण सूर्यातपो
नागेन्द्रो निशिताङ्कुशेन समदो दण्डेन गोगर्दभौ।
व्याधिर्भेषजसंग्रहैश्च विविधैर्मन्त्रप्रयोगैर्विषं
सर्वस्यौषधमस्ति शास्त्रविहितं मूर्खस्य नास्त्यौषधम्।।

(नीतिशतके ११)

शुक्रनीतौ शुक्राचार्येण कथितं –

"चण्डायते विवदते स्वपित्यश्नाति.मादकम्।
करोति निष्फलं कर्म मूर्खो वा स्वेष्टनाशनम्।।"

(शुक्रनी० ३.२५६)

अपि च –

"यो जानात्यर्जितुं सम्यगर्जितं नहि रक्षितुम्।
नातः परतरो मूर्खो वृथा तस्यार्जनश्रमः।।"

(शुक्रनी० ४.१५१)

अपि च –

"एकस्मिन्नधिकारे तु यो द्वावधिकरोति सः।
मूर्खो जीवद्द्विभार्यश्च ह्यतिविस्रम्भवांस्तथा।।"

(शुक्रनी० ४.१५२)

महाकविकालिदासः रघुवंशे अल्पस्य कृते बहुत्यक्तुमिच्छन्तमपि मूढं कथयति –

"अल्पस्य हेतोर्बहुदातुमिच्छन्विचारमूढः प्रतिभासि मे त्वम्।"

(रघु० २.४७)

स एव मालविकाग्निमित्रनाटके परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धित्वं मूढत्वं प्रतिजानाति। यथा –

"पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम्।
सन्तः परीक्ष्यान्यतरद् भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः।।"

(मालवि० १.२)

श्रीभिक्षुगौरीशंकरकृते सर्वतन्त्रपदार्थलक्षणसंग्रहे मूर्खस्य षट् चिह्नानि निर्दिष्टानि। यथा –

"मूर्खचिह्नानि षडिति गर्वी दुर्वचनं मुखे।
विरोधी विषवादी च कृत्याकृत्यं न मन्यते।।"

सुभाषितसुधारत्नभाण्डागारेऽपि एवमेव कथितम्।

(सु० सु० भा० २६२.२)

महाकवि कल्हणकृतायां राजतरङ्गिण्यामपि विचारशून्यत्वं मूर्खलक्षणं कृतं। यथा –

"विचारपरिहारेण धावन्तः सर्वतो जडाः।"

(राजत० ८.२१५)

वल्लभदेवकृतायां सुभाषितावल्यां देशकालानभिज्ञत्वं मूर्खत्वं इति ध्वनितम्। यथा –

"अस्थानाभिनिवेशी प्राणी जड एवं भवति नो विद्वान्।

(सुभा० ३६४)

मूर्खलक्षणविषयकाणि कानिचित् अज्ञातकर्त्तृकाणि पद्यानि समुपलभ्यन्ते। यथा –

"अतिशौचमशौचं च अतिनिन्दा अतिस्तुतिः।
अत्याचारमनाचारं षड्विधं मूर्खलक्षणम्।।"

अपि च –

"मूर्खस्य पञ्चचिह्नानि गर्वी दुर्व्यसनी तथा।
हठी चाप्रियवादी चोपकृतं नैव मन्यते।।"

व्याससुभाषितसङ्ग्रहे मूर्खलक्षणं त्रिविधं कथितम् –

निर्धनश्चापि कामार्थी दुर्बलः कलहप्रियः।
मन्दशास्त्रो विवादार्थी त्रिविधं मूर्खलक्षणम्।।

(व्या० सु० सं० ४६)

अनाहूते प्रवेशाश्चाप्यपृष्टे बहुभाषणम्।
स्तुतिश्च स्वात्मवर्णस्य इत्येवं मूर्खलक्षणम्।।

(तत्रैव ४७)

सुभाषितसुधारत्नभाण्डागारेऽपि मूर्खस्य अष्ट लक्षणानि निर्दिष्टानि। यथा –

मूर्खत्वं सुलभं भजस्व कुमते मूर्खस्य चाष्टौ गुणा
निश्चिन्तो बहुभोजनोऽतिमुखरो रात्रिंदिवा स्वप्नभाक्।
कार्याकार्यविचारणेऽन्धबधिरो मानापमाने समः
प्रायेणामयवर्जितो दृढवपुर्मूर्खः सुखं जीवति।।

(सु० सु० भा० २६५.६६)

मूर्खाणां विषये एवमपि कथितम् –

उपदेशो हि मूर्खाणां प्रकोपाय न शान्तये।
पयःपानं भुजंगानां केवलं विषवर्धनम्।।

(सु० सु० भा० २६२.४)

वनचरपरायणैर्मृगादिभिः सार्धं पर्वतादिभिर्दुगमेषु वनादिषु स्थानेषु भ्रमणम् ईषद् वरम् किन्तु महेन्द्रभवने स्वर्गेऽपि मूर्खैः सह वासो नोचितः तथोक्तम् –

वरं पर्वतदुर्गेषु भ्रान्तं वनचरैः सह।
न मूर्खजनसम्पर्कः सुरेन्द्रभवनेष्वपि।।
(सु० सु० भा० २९२.५)

अस्यामेव परम्परायां एकं संस्कृतभाषानिबद्धं लघुकाव्यं 'मूर्खशतकं' इति नाम पाण्डुलिपिरुपेण मया प्राप्तम्। १९९८ तमे ईशवीये हायने वाराणसेयात् कस्माच्चिद् हस्तलेखसंग्राहकाद् विद्यापीठ-संग्रहालयार्थमस्य काव्यग्रन्थस्य क्रयोऽस्माभिरकारि। लघुकाव्यास्यास्य विषयवस्तु पद्यानि चास्मभ्यं भृशमरोचन्त। अहं स्वपठनार्थं हस्तलेखस्य प्रतिलिपिं कृतवती। कालान्तरे अस्मिन्नेव मातृकागारे एतस्य काव्यस्य द्वे अन्येऽपि पाण्डुलिपी समुपलब्धे। एताः तिस्रः मातृकाः आधारीकृत्यं मया अस्य लघुग्रन्थस्य सम्पादनं विहितम्। आसु प्रतिलिपिषु या स्पष्टा शुद्धा च तस्या एव पाठः मया आधाररूपेण अंगीकृतः। तस्याः संकेताक्षरः 'क' इति स्वीकृतः। अन्ययोः प्रतिलिप्योर्विद्यमानं पाठान्तरं 'ख', 'ग' इति चिह्नितं विधाय पृथक् पादटिप्पणीरूपेण प्रदत्तम्।

मातृकाविवरणम् – तिस्रः मातृकाः आधारीकृत्य मया सम्पादनं विहितम्। तिस्रोऽपि मातृकाः श्री गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठस्य मातृकागारे संगृहीताः सन्ति।

(क) इदं १९५७ तमे विक्रमवत्सरे ऋषिराजस्वामिना स्वशिष्यस्य प्यारेलालस्य पठनार्थं देवनागरीलिप्यां लिपिबद्धं कृतं इति मया प्राप्तायाः पाण्डुलिपेः पुष्पिकायाम् उल्लिखितं वर्तते। मातृकायाः संख्या – ३१७ / ५०२२, विषयः – काव्यम्, पत्रसंख्या – १ – २, पूर्णम्, आकारः – २६ × ११.५, प्रतिपृष्ठं पंक्तिसंख्या – ६, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या – २८, आधारः – कर्गजम्, स्थितिः – सुस्था। इयं मातृका प्रायः शुद्धा स्पष्टा च।

(ख) पुष्पिकाविहीना मातृकेयम्। मातृकायाः संख्या – ३०६ a / ६१२८, विषयः – काव्यम्, पत्रसंख्या – १, लिपिः – देवनागरी, आधारः – कर्गजम् प्रतिपृष्ठं संख्या – १४, प्रतिपंक्ति अक्षरसंख्या – ४०, स्थितिः – सुस्था। मातृकायाः समाप्तिः – "इति श्रीमूर्खशतकं समाप्तम्, श्री रामाय नमः। कालोल्लेखः नास्ति।

(ग) इयमपि मातृका पुष्पिकाविहीना, कालोल्लेखोऽपि न वर्तते। अस्याः संख्या – ४६३०२, पत्रसंख्या – १ – २, देवनागरीलिपिः, पूर्णा सुस्था च। मातृकायाः समाप्तिः "इति मूर्खशतकं समाप्तम्।" अस्यां मातृकायां लिपिकर्तुः प्रमादाः दृश्यन्ते।

ऑफ्रेष्टकृते सूचीबन्धे (Catalogus Catalogorum) अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सूचना समुपलभ्यते किन्तु मुद्रणविषये तु सूचना नोपलभ्यते। अद्य यावद् अस्य कापि मुद्रिता प्रतिः मया द्रष्टुं नापारि।

ग्रन्थपरिचयः

अस्मिन् लघुकाव्ये षड्विंशतिः पद्यानि सन्ति। तत्र प्रथमः श्लोकः प्रस्तावनारूपेण वर्तते यत्र राजानं सम्बोध्य मूर्खाणां शतं लक्षणानि श्रोतुं तांश्च मौर्ख्यभावान् विहातुं कथितमस्ति। द्वितीयस्मात् श्लोकात् मूर्खाणां प्रकाराः वर्णितुं प्रारब्धाः सन्ति। श्लोकस्य एकैक-चरणे एकैक-प्रकारस्य वर्णनमस्ति एवं चतुर्षु चरणेषु चत्वारि लक्षणानि निर्दिष्टानि सन्ति। इमानि लक्षणानि विज्ञाय साधारणजना एतानि परिहार्य मूर्खजनसुलभदुःखेभ्यो रक्षिता भवेयुः सहृदयजनाश्च सकौतुकमधीत्य प्रमोदमावहेयुरिति मे प्रत्ययः।

यत्र तत्र विकीर्णान्यपि मूर्खाणां शतं लक्षणानि एतत्काव्याद् ऋते क्वचिदन्यत्र दुर्लभानि अतोऽपि चास्य लघुकाव्यस्योपादेयत्वं सिद्ध्यति।

अत्र पाठशुद्धिनिर्धारणे भाषानुवादे च गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठस्य प्राचार्यवर्यैः डॉ० गयाचरणत्रिपाठिमहोदयैः महत्साहाय्यमाचरितमिति तान् प्रति सश्रद्धं प्रणामाः। ते महाभागाः कार्यस्यानुमतिं प्रदाय अन्ततः कार्यं प्रकाश्य च मामुपकृतवन्तः। अन्ते च –

अज्ञानदोषान्मतिविभ्रमाद्वा
यदर्थहीनं कुरुते मयात्र।
तत्सर्वमार्यैः परिशोधनीयं
कोपन्न कुर्यात्खलु लेखकस्य।।

।। इति ।।

विदुषां वशंवदा
डा० बीना मिश्रा



मूर्खशतकम्

श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः।[1]

श्रृणु मूर्खशतं राजन् तं तं भावं विवर्जय[2] ।
येन[3] संदीप्यते[4] लोके दोषहीनो मणिर्यथा।। १ ।।

हे राजन् ! मूर्खशतक सुनिये और उन.उन भावों को छोड़ दीजिये। इससे मनुष्य संसार में निर्दोष मणि के समान चमक उठता है।.

सामर्थ्ये विगतोद्योगः स्वश्लाघी प्राज्ञपर्षदि।
वेश्यावचनविश्वासी प्रत्ययी दंभडम्बरे[5] ।। २ ।।

(मूर्खों के लक्षण हैं) सामर्थ्य होने पर भी कार्य को न करने वाला, बुद्धिमानों की सभा में अपनी प्रशंसा करने वाला, वेश्या के वचन में तथा दम्भी व्यक्ति की डींगों पर विश्वास करने वाला –

द्यूतादिर्वित्तबद्धाशः कृष्याद्यर्थेषु[7] संशयी।
निर्बुद्धिः प्रौढकार्यार्थी[8] विविक्तरसिको वणिक्।। ३।।

द्यूतादि निन्दनीय कार्यों से धन की आशा करने वाला, कृषि आदि कार्यों में संशय रखने वाला, बुद्धिहीन होने पर भी गुरुतर कार्य की इच्छा करने वाला, व्यापारी होकर भी एकान्तप्रिय –

१.	ॐ	ख	५.	दंडिदुम्बरे	ग
	श्रीगणेशायनमः	ग	६.	चित्त	ग
२.	विवर्जयेत्	क	७.	पुष्पाद्यायेषु	ग
३.	केन	ग		कृष्याद्याद्येषु	क
४.	त्वं राजसे	ग	८.	प्रौढ़कार्या	ग

ऋणेन स्थावरक्रेता स्थविरः कन्[1]यकावरः।
व्याख्याता चाश्रुते[2] ग्रन्थे प्रत्यक्षार्थेप्यपह्नवी।। ४ ।।

ऋण के द्वारा अचल सम्पत्ति का क्रय करने वाला, वृद्ध होने पर भी कन्या से विवाह करने वाला, बिना गुरु से पढ़े ग्रन्थ की व्याख्या करने वाला, प्रत्यक्ष और स्पष्ट विषय को भी छिपाने वाला –

चपलापतिरीर्ष्यालुः शक्तशत्रुरशङ्कितः[3]।
दत्त्वा धनान्यनुशयी स्वकाव्ये[4]हठपाठकः।। ५ ।।

व्यभिचारिणी स्त्री का पति होने पर भी ईर्ष्यालु, बलवान् शत्रु होने पर भी निःशङ्क, धन देकर के पछताने वाला, अपनी कविता को हठपूर्वक सुनाने वाला –

अप्रस्तावे पटुर्वक्ता[5] प्रस्तावे मौनकारकः।
लाभकाले कलहकृन्मन्युमान् भोजनक्षणे।। ६[6] ।।

अनुचित अवसर पर अत्यधिक बोलने वाला, उचित अवसर पर मौन रहने वाला, लाभ के समय झगड़ा करने वाला, भोजन के समय क्रोध करने वाला –

कीर्णार्थः स्थूललाभेन क्षुद्रलाभेन संग्रही[7]।
पुत्राधीने[8] धने दीनः[9] पत्नीपक्षे[10]ऽर्थयाचकः।। ७ ।।

---

१. 'कन्य' पदनास्ति — ग
२. चाश्रुत — ग
३. शशङ्कितः — क
४. कवित्त्वे — ख
कविता — ग
५. वक्तुं — ग
६. प्रथम, द्वितीय पंक्तयोः व्यत्यासः — क
७. "क्षुद्रलाभेन संग्रही" इत्यस्य स्थाने-लोकोक्तौ क्लिष्टसंस्कृतः — ख
"लोकोक्तिक्लिष्टसंस्कृतः- — क
८. पुत्राधीनैः — ग
पुत्राधीनो — ख
९. धनैर्दीनः — ग
धनाधीनः — ख
१०. पत्नीपक्षे च — ख

अधिक धन मिलने पर उसका अपव्यय करने वाला या इधर–उधर बाँटने वाला, थोड़े धन को प्राप्त कर उसका संग्रह करने वाला, पुत्र के हाथ में धन के चले जाने पर दुःखी होने वाला या पुत्र को सब धन सौंपकर दीन बन जाने वाला, पत्नी के मातृपक्ष से धन माँगने वाला –

भार्याखेदात्कृतोद्वाहः[१] पुत्रकोपात्तदंतकः[२] ।
कामुक[३]स्पर्द्धया दाता गर्ववाँ[४]न्मार्गणोक्तिभिः[५] ।। ८ ।।

एक पत्नी से खिन्न होकर दूसरा विवाह करने वाला, क्रोधवश पुत्र का अन्त कर देने वाला, कामुको की स्पर्द्धा से दान करने वाला, याचको के द्वारा की गई स्तुति को सुनकर गर्व करने वाला –

धीदर्पान्न हितश्रोता कुलो[६]त्सेकादसेवकः ।
त्यक्त्वा[७]र्थान्दुर्लभान्कामी दत्त्वा शुल्कममार्गर्ग :।। ९ ।।

अपनी बुद्धि के अहंकारवश हितवचन न सुनने वाला, उच्चकुल के अभिमान से सेवा रहित, दुर्लभ वस्तुओं को त्यागकर उनकी पुनः कामना करने वाला, शुल्क देकर भी कुमार्ग से गमन करने वाला अर्थात् निर्धारित मार्ग से न चलने वाला –

लुब्धे[९] भूभुजि लाभार्थी न्यायार्थी दुष्टशास्तरि[१०] ।
कायस्थे[११] स्नेहबद्धाशः क्रूरे मंत्रिणि[१२] निर्भयः।। १० ।।

१.	द्विहाकर्ता	क	.	दत्वा	ग
२.	दंतकृत्	क	८.	मार्गतः	ग
३.	कामुकः	ख, ग	९.	लब्धे	क
४.	गर्वमान्	ग	१०.	"न्यायार्थी दुष्टशास्तरि इत्यस्य स्थाने "नीरसे गुणविक्रयी"	क
५.	यांचकोक्तिभिः	ग			
	प्रथम, द्वितीय पंक्तयोः व्यत्यासः	ग	११.	कायास्थे	ख
६.	कलो	क		कायार्थे	ग
७.	कृतार्थ	क, ख	१२.	वैरिणि	ख

लोभी राजा से लाभ की आशा करने वाला, दुष्ट शासक से न्याय की इच्छा करने वाला, कायस्थ से स्नेहपूर्ण आशा रखने वाला, क्रूर मन्त्री के प्रति निर्भय –

कृतघ्ने[1] प्रति कार्यार्थी नीरसे गुणविक्रयी[2] ।
स्वस्थो[3] वैद्यक्रियाकांक्षी[4] रोगीपथ्यपराङ्मुखः[5] ।। ११ ।।

कृतघ्न से अपने कार्यसिद्धि को चाहने वाला, नीरस पुरुष के प्रति अपने गुणों का प्रदर्शन करने वाला, स्वस्थ होने पर भी चिकित्सा को चाहने वाला, अस्वस्थ होने पर भी पथ्य से विमुख –

लोभेन स्वजनत्यागी वाचा मित्रविरागकृत् ।
लाभकाले कृतालस्यो महद्भिः[6] कलहप्रियः[7] ।।१२ ।।

लोभ के कारण स्वजनों का त्यागी, वचनों से मित्र को विरक्त (प्रेमरहित) कर देने वाला, लाभ के समय आलसी, महापुरुषों से कलह करने वाला –

राज्यार्थी गणकस्योक्तौ मूर्खमन्त्रे कृतादरः ।
शूरो दुर्बलबाधायां दृष्टदोषाङ्गनारतिः ।। १३ ।।

ज्योतिषी के वचनों पर विश्वास करके राज्य चाहने वाला, मूर्ख की सलाह का आदर करने वाला, दुर्बल या कमजोर को सताने में शूर, प्रत्यक्ष दोषयुक्त स्त्री से प्रेम करने वाला –

---

१. कृतघ्ने — क
२. "नीरसे गुणविक्रयी" इत्यस्य स्थाने "न्यायार्थी दुष्टशास्तरि" — क
३. स्वास्थे — ग
४. वैद्यक्रियान्वेषी — ग
५. "रोगीपथ्यपराङ्मुखः" इत्यस्य स्थाने "दत्वा शुल्कममार्गगः" — क
६. महर्द्धिः — ख, ग
७. फलप्रियः — ग

क्षणरागी[1] गुणाभ्यासे[2] संचये न[3] कृतव्ययः ।
नृपानुकारी मानेन जने राजादिनिन्दकः ।। १४ ।।

गुणों के अभ्यास में क्षणभर प्रेम करने वाला, सञ्चय होने पर व्यय न करने वाला, राजा से मान पाने की इच्छा से उसके मन के अनुकूल कहने और करने वाला, किन्तु साधारण जन से राजा की निन्दा करने वाला –

दुःखे दर्शितदैन्यार्त्तिः[४] सुखे विस्मृतदुर्गतिः ।
बहुव्ययोऽल्परक्षायै परीक्षायै विषाशनः ।। १५ ।।

दुःख के समय दैन्य और पीड़ा दिखाने वाला, सुख के समय अपनी दुर्गति भूल जाने वाला, थोड़े की रक्षा के लिये बहुत धन का व्यय करने वाला, परीक्षण के लिये विष खाने वाला –

दग्धार्थो[५] धातुवादेन रसायनरसःक्षयी ।
आत्मसंभावनास्तब्धः[६] क्रोधादात्मवधोद्यतः ।। १६ ।।

धातुवाद से (सोना बनाने के लिये) सम्पत्ति को नष्ट कर देने वाला, (गलत या अत्यधिक) रसायनों के रस से अपने शरीर को क्षीण कर लेने वाला, अपनी प्रसंशा से गर्वित हो जाने वाला, क्रोधवश आत्महत्या के लिये तत्पर हो जाने वाला –

१.	क्षणं रागो	ग	५.	दग्धार्यो	ग
२.	गुणाभ्यासी	ग		धनार्थी	ख
३.	सञ्चयेऽय	ख, ग	६.	नोतब्ध	क
४.	दैन्यार्थी	ग			

नित्य[1] निष्फलसंचारी[2] युद्धप्रेक्षी शराहतः।
शयी[3] शक्तविरोधेन स्वल्पार्थः स्फीतडम्बरः[4] ।। १७ ।।

प्रतिदिन निरर्थक भ्रमण करने वाला, युद्ध देखने में बाण से घायल, बलवान् के विरोध के कारण चिन्तित, थोड़े धन पर बहुत अधिक आडम्बर या दिखावा दिखाने वाला –

पण्डितो[5]ऽस्मीति वाचालः सुभटोऽस्मीति निर्भयः।
उद्वेजनो[6]ऽतिस्[7]तुतिभिर्मर्मभेदी[8] ऋजूक्तिभिः[9] ।। १८ ।।

अपने को पण्डित मानकर निरर्थक और अत्यधिक बोलने वाला, मैं सुभट हूँ यह मानकर निर्भय रहने वाला, अत्यधिक प्रशंसा के द्वारा दूसरों को उद्विग्न करने वाला, सीधे सपाट वचनों से दूसरों का हृदय दुखाने वाला –

दरिद्र[10]हस्[11]तन्यस्तार्थः[12] सन्दिग्धेऽर्थे कृतव्ययः।
स्वव्यये[13] लेखकोद्वेगी[14] दैवाशा त्यक्तपौरुषः।। १६ ।।

दरिद्र के हाथ में धन या धरोहर सौंप देने वाला, संदिग्ध सिद्धि वाले कार्य के लिये धन का व्यय करने वाला, अपने व्यय में लेखक (मुनीम) को दुखी करने वाला, भाग्य की आशा में पुरुषार्थ या प्रयत्न का त्याग करने वाला –

१.	नित्य	ग	७.	'स्तु' नास्ति	ग
२.	निष्फल	ग	८.	वेधी	ग
३.	आद्या	ग	६.	ऋतोक्तिभिः	ख
				वृथोक्तिभिः	ग
४.	"स्वल्पार्थस्फीतडम्बरः" इत्यस्य स्थाने क्रोधादात्मवधोद्यतः"	क	१०.	दरिद्रि	ख
			११.	हस्ते	ग
			१२.	न्यास्ताशः	ग
५.	पण्डिततो	ख	१३.	स्तव्यये	ग
६.	उद्वेजने	ख	१४.	लेखन्मोद्वेगी	ग

गोष्ठीरतिर्दरिद्रश्च सेवाविस्मृतभोजनः।
गुणहीनकुलश्लाघी सभामध्याद्[१]विनिर्गतः।। २० ।।

दरिद्र होने पर भी सभा में जाने या सभा करने का प्रेमी, सेवा के कारण अर्थात् सेवा करते.करते भोजन को भी भूल जाने वाला, गुणहीन होने पर भी कुल की प्रशंसा करने वाला, सभा के बीच से उठ जाने वाला –

दूतो विस्मृतसन्देशः कासवान्[२] चौरकारकः[३]।
भूरिभोज्यव्ययः[४] कीर्त्यैः[५] श्लाघायै त्यक्त[६]भोजनः।। २१।।

दूत होने पर भी सन्देश भूल जाने वाला, खाँसी रोग से युक्त होने पर भी चोरी करने वाला, कीर्त्ति के लिये भोज्य वस्तुओं में अत्यधिक व्यय करने वाला, प्रशंसा के लिये भोजन छोड़ देने वाला –

भार्याभयान्निषिद्धार्थी कार्पण्ये[७] नार्प्त[८]दुर्यशाः।
व्यक्तदोषजनश्लाघी गीतगायी[९] खरस्वनः।। २२ ।।

भार्या के भय से याचक को हटा देने या मना कर देने वाला, कंजूसी के कारण अपयश प्राप्त करने वाला, जिसका दोष स्पष्ट हो चुका हो ऐसे जन की प्रशंसा करने वाला, कर्कश स्वर होने पर भी गीत गाने वाला –

१.	सभामध्ये	ख		भूरिभोजीवयः	ख
	सभामध्यार्द्ध	ग	५.	कीर्त्तिः	क
२.	कास्ववान्	ग		कार्त्यै	ग
	प्रकाशे	क	६.	स्वल्प	ग
३.	चोरकारतः	ग	७.	कार्पण्यैः	ख
	चौर्यकारकः	क	८.	न्यस्त	क, ख
४.	भूरिभोज्यव्ययी	क	६.	गीतगायई	ग

बहुयज्वातिरसिको[1] विक्षिप्तश्छद्म[2]चाटुभिः।
वेश्यासपत्नकलहो[3] द्वयोर्मध्ये[4] तृतीयकः।। २३ ।।

बहुत से यज्ञ करने वाला होने पर भी अत्यधिक रसिक, कपटपूर्ण वचनों से विक्षिप्त अर्थात् झूठी प्रशंसा से वश में हो जाने वाला, समान वेश्या के पास जाने वाले अन्य व्यक्ति से कलह करने वाला, दो के बीच में तीसरा होने वाला –

राज्ञः[5] प्रसादे स्थिरधीरन्यायेन[6] विवर्द्धिषुः[7]।
अर्थहीनेऽर्थकार्यार्थी[8] जने[9] गुप्तप्रकाशकः[10]।। २४ ।।

राजा की प्रसन्नता में स्थिरबुद्धि रखने वाला अर्थात् राजा की प्रसन्नता को स्थिर समझने वाला, अन्याय से बढ़ने की इच्छा वाला, धनहीन से धनप्राप्ति की आशा करने वाला, साधारण जन से अपने गुप्त रहस्य को प्रकाशित करने वाला –

अज्ञात[11]प्रतिभू[12]कर्त्ता[13] हितवादिनि मत्सरी[14]।
सर्वत्र विश्वस्तमना न लोकव्यवहारवित्[15] ।।२५।।

अज्ञात को जमानतदार बनाने वाला, हितवादी के प्रति द्वेष रखने वाला, सब पर विश्वास करने वाला, लोकव्यवहार से अनभिज्ञ –

१.	स्वल्पभोज्येन	ग	८.	अर्थहीनी	ग
२.	श्लथ	ग	९.	जनो	ग
३.	सपत्निकलही	ग	१०.	गुह्य	ग
४.	मञ्चे	ग	११.	अज्ञातः	ग
५.	राज	ग	१२.	प्रतिभूः	ग
६.	न्यायेच	ग	१३.	कीर्त्यै	ग
७.	विवादकृत्	ग	१४.	मच्छरी	ग
	विर्द्धिषु	क	१५.	व्यवहारकृन्	ग

भिक्षुकश्चोष्णभोजी[1] च गुरुश्च शिथिलक्रियः।
कुकर्मण्यपि निर्लज्जः[2] स्यान्मूर्खश्च[3] सहासगीः[4] ।।२६।।

भिक्षुक होने पर भी गरम भोजन का इच्छुक, (परिवार में) बड़ा होने पर भी कर्तव्यों में सुस्त रहने वाला, कुकर्म करने पर भी निर्लज्ज तथा हँसकर बोलने वाला मूर्ख होता है।

इति मूर्खशतकं समाप्तम्।

लिखितं अल्लमग्राममध्ये संवत् १६५७ आषाढ़कृष्ण
१ गुरुवासरे लिपीकृतं ऋषिराजस्वामीस्वशिष्यप्यारेलालपठनार्थम्।



१.	चोष्ण	क	४.	सहातगीः	ग
२.	निलज्जः	ग		सहायगः	क
३.	" च" नास्ति	क			

अकारादिक्रमेण मूर्खलक्षणानि

क्रम-संख्या	मूर्खलक्षणानि	श्लोक-संख्या
२३.	गुणहीनकुलश्लाघी	२०
२४.	गुरुश्च शिथिलक्रियः	२६
२५.	गोष्ठीरतिर्दरिद्रश्च	२०
२६.	चपलापतिरीर्ष्यालुः	५
२७.	जने गुप्तप्रकाशकः	२४
२८.	जने राजादिनिन्दकः	१४
२९.	त्यक्त्वार्थान्दुर्लभान्कामी	६
३०.	दग्धार्थो धातुवादेन	१६
३१.	दत्त्वा धनान्यनुशयी	५
३२.	दत्त्वा शुल्कममार्गणः	६
३३.	दरिद्रहस्तन्यस्तार्थः	१६
३४.	दुःखे दर्शितदैन्यार्त्तिः	१५
३५.	दूतो विस्मृतसन्देशः	२१
३६.	दृष्टदोषाङ्गनारतिः	१३
३७.	दैवाशा त्यक्तपौरुषः	१६
३८.	द्यूतादिवित्तबद्धाशः	३
३९.	द्वयोर्मध्ये तृतीयकः	२३
४०.	धीदर्पान्नहितश्रोता	६
४१.	न लोकव्यवहारवित्	२५
४२.	नित्यं निष्फलसञ्चारी	१७
४३.	निर्बुद्धिः प्रौढकार्यार्थी	३
४४.	नीरसे गुणविक्रयी	११
४५.	नृपानुकारी मानेन	१४

TO OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The *Journal of the Gangānātha Jhā Kendrīya Sanskrita ïdyāpeetha* is a quarterly research Journal of Indology. Articles in all branches of Indology are invited from the scholars for publication in the Journal.

The articles should normally be written in English. However, those written in Sanskrit or Hindi may also be accepted. The journal also publishes small, hithertoo unknown Sanskrit works or those edited afresh with the help of new manuscripts material. The articles sent in for publication should be typed in double space with sufficient margin on the left on one side of the paper. Footnotes should be numbered in consecutive order. All Sanskrit and non-English ords should be underlined. In Bibiliographical refernces the titles journals and books should be underlied and the place as well s the year of the publication in respect of books should be menioned at its first occurrence.

The journal follows the international system of transliteration Sanskrit words.

Each contributor is given 25 offprints of his article free of cost ong with a copy of the issue of the Journal containing his paper. e authors are requested to give their full postal addresses and supply a short *bio data* for favour of publication in the journal.

The Journal also publishes obituaries of the Sanskrit scholars, comments on the articles published in this Journal, book reviews and other relevant material pertaining to the field of Indology. The publishers are requested to send two copies of the work that they want to get reviewed in the columns of this Journal.

All communications are to be addressed to :

The Principal
G.N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha
Chandrashekhar Azad Park
ALLAHABAD-2
(India)